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IRELAND
BEFORE AND AFTER THE UNION
WITH
GREAT BRITAIN.

BY R. M. MARTIN, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF THE BRITISH COLONIES," ETC.

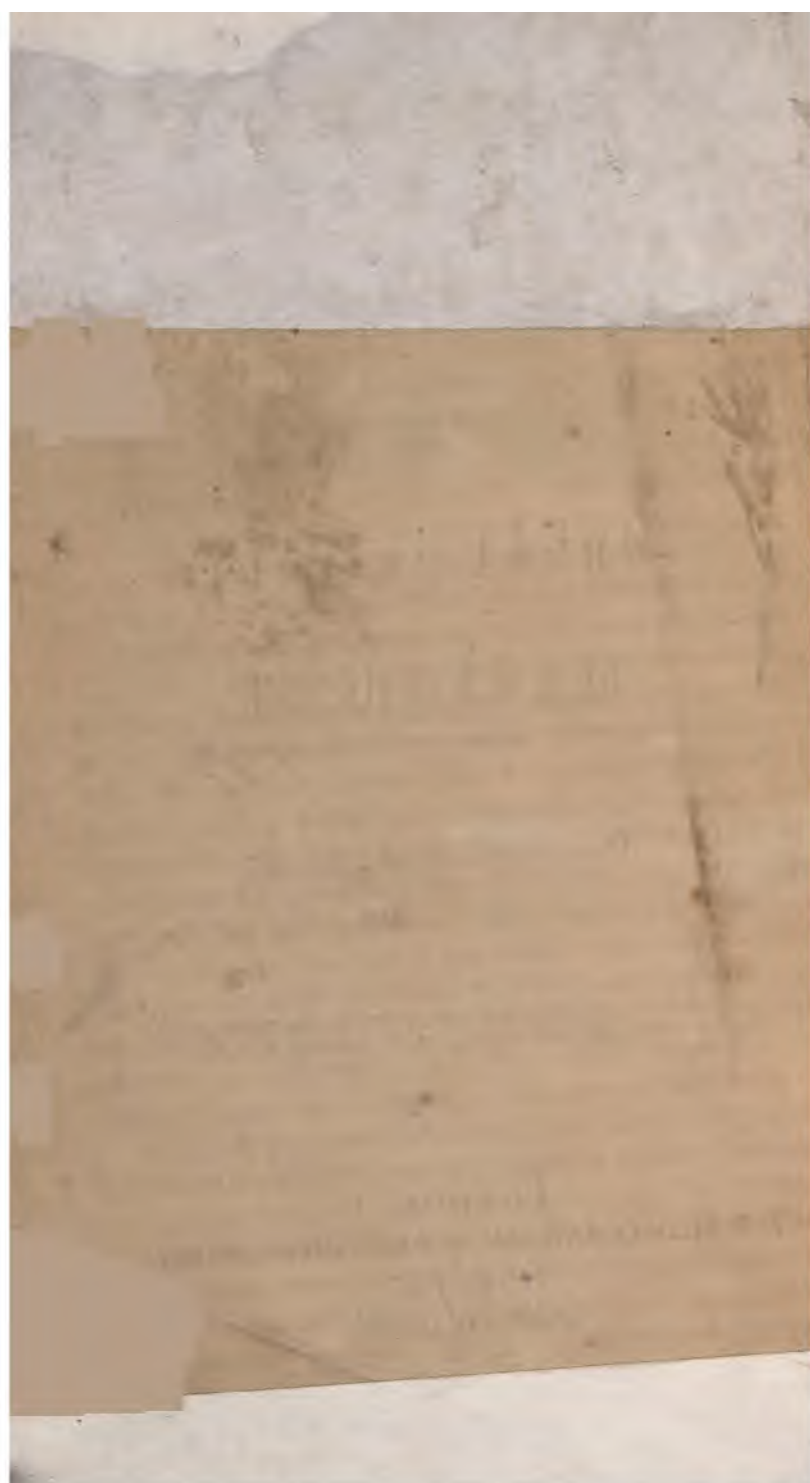
THIRD EDITION—WITH ADDITIONS.

*"Is it not the true interest of both nations to become one people?
And are either sufficiently aware of this?"—Bishop Berkeley.*

LONDON:
J. B. NICHOLS AND SON, 25, PARLIAMENT-STREET.
DUBLIN:
JAMES M'GLASHEN.

MDCCCXLVIII.

1748



PREFACE TO THE SECOND AND THIRD EDITIONS.

* * *The plan for the reclamation of boglands, the issue of Exchequer bills, emigration, and other remedial measures, are given only in this Edition, in Chap. III.*

THIS work was originally published in 1832,* when the agitation for the Repeal of the Union was becoming popular in Ireland. Its publication was found useful, and it was issued in a more extended form in 1843 in consequence of the mis-statements promulgated at one of the "monster meetings" at which I was accidentally present in that year. In both instances the work was undertaken and completed without solicitation or support from Government, and the statistical data which it contained were derived from the various returns laid before Parliament,—therefore, accessible to every inquirer after truth.

The revived agitation of this momentous subject, the views now openly expressed for an entire severance of interest between the two countries, and an extending desire for the formation of an Irish republic, have induced me to re-examine the data on which my convictions were originally founded,—to ascertain whether recent statistics would shew former conclusions to be at variance with the best interests of Ireland, or whether the late disastrous calamity had so materially altered existing relations as to render the Union no longer desirable for either country,—and to propose for consideration such measures as appear advisable for the amelioration of the condition of the labouring poor, and for the permanent improvement of Ireland. [*See Ch. III. pp. 83 to 100, on the reclamation of waste lands, emigration, &c.*]

Earnestly seeking truth, and disposed by feelings of nationality to espouse what is termed the popular cause in Ireland, I can conscientiously say that a continued and unbiased examination of the proposition for repealing the Union has not only strengthened

* "Ireland as it Was, Is, and Ought to be," and "Poor Laws for Ireland, a Measure of Justice and Humanity." Published by Allen and Co. London, 1832-3.

the belief that the allegations of the evils inflicted on Ireland by the Union are untenable and at variance with facts, but that no greater calamity could befall Ireland than a disunion of the solemn legislative compact of 1800, and its inevitable result,—a severance from, and war with, England.

Whatever injury Great Britain might experience from that severance, the far greater injury which Ireland would suffer is beyond comparison. Situate on the western shores of England and Scotland, Ireland, in ceasing to be incorporated with Great Britain, must inevitably become her foe, and be re-conquered.

There can be no doubt that Great Britain could exist and flourish independent of Ireland, but, unless it were possible to remove Ireland to some distant part of the Atlantic, it must be dependent on, if not united with, England. Granting, for the sake of argument, that the Union has caused the evils alleged, the wiser and more practical course would be to endeavour to correct those evils, and to make the Union beneficial; for it is the direct and manifest interest of England that Ireland should be prosperous and happy.

The facts contained in these pages demonstrate that Ireland has derived from the Union many benefits and advantages which would have been greatly enhanced but for the continued agitation in which she has been sedulously kept for years,—an agitation which would have utterly ruined any country connected with a less opulent neighbour, or united with a kingdom of despotic rule. As in the example of Poland, poverty, degradation, and conquest would now have been the fate of Ireland, had England not been truly generous and of a most Catholic charity.

It seems advisable at this period to submit some details relative to the progress of Ireland since the edition of this work was issued in 1843. The facts now adduced re-affirm, in the most decisive manner, that Ireland has in every way benefitted by the Union, and that even during the last three years, notwithstanding the loss of the potato crop, on which three-fourths of the labouring class were unhappily dependent for subsistence, the general prosperity of the middle classes of Ireland has not been interrupted.

In illustration of this remark I refer primarily to the

Excise, Customs, Stamps, and the Paper, Malt, and Spirits made in Ireland for Four Years, ending 5th January, 1846, and to some other items, corroborating the statements in the former edition of this work.

	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.
Paper, lbs. . . .	4,053,429	4,723,106	4,557,306	5,662,104	
Malt, bushels . .	1,268,656	1,184,281	1,441,177	1,684,112	
Spirits, gallons .	5,290,650	5,546,483	6,451,137	7,605,196	
Licences, No. . .	51,633	52,376	55,611	62,491	
Customs collected, £	2,214,996	2,169,668	2,348,629	2,323,802	2,497,221
Excise collected, £	1,324,426	1,247,358	1,356,482	1,580,825	
Game Certificates, No.	3,439	3,756	3,040	3,490	
Postage Revenue £	136,768	144,682	158,312	173,354	
Stamp Duties Collected . . . £	540,240	564,950	579,413	594,491	

Articles retained for Home Consumption in Ireland.

	Tea.	Sugar.	Coffee.	Spirits.	Timber.
	lbs.	cwts.	lbs.	gal.	loads.
At the Union* . .	1,700,000	200,000	150,000	3,000,000	20,000
1830	3,800,000	320,000	500,000		66,000
1845	6,600,000	415,000	1,000,000	7,600,000	230,000

Ireland is essentially an agricultural country, and her increased productions testify to augmenting wealth. In 1800, with great difficulty 4,000,000 derived a scanty subsistence from the soil; now there are more than 8,000,000 inhabitants. The exports from Ireland to Great Britain were thus, at an interval of 45 years,

Year.	Grain and Meal.				
	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Wheatmeal.	Oatmeal.
	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Cwts.	Cwts.
At the Union	Altogether about 500,000 qrs.				
1845	372,719	93,095	1,679,958	1,422,379	1,059,185
	Equal to, in quarters, 3,251,901.				

* Average of several years before and after 1800.

Year.	Cattle exported to Great Britain.			
	Oxen.	Calves.	Sheep.	Swine.
	No.	No.	No.	No.
At the Union . . .	20,000		None	6,000
1846* . . .	126,483	6,363	259,257	480,227

The advantages of the English market for Irish agricultural produce is manifest by the following returns of imports into Liverpool from Ireland since 1841.

Year ending Dec.	Cattle.		Sheep and Lambs.		Pigs.		Horses.	
	No.	Value.	No.	Value.	No.	Value.	No.	Value.
1841	91,992	£ 1,103,904	170,486	£ 221,621	147,511	£ 331,922	1,832	£ 27,480
1842	84,441	928,851	147,675	169,826	189,233	378,466	1,070	16,050
1843	78,363	940,854	134,444	181,492	254,710	500,420	969	17,802
1844	83,765	1,038,845	137,370	199,126	243,650	523,854	1,688	32,073
1845	92,663	1,204,619	160,399	249,508	306,275	689,121	1,999	39,930
1846								
1847								

Year ending Dec.	Bacon and Hams.		Butter.		Pork.		Beef.	
	Cwts.	Value.	Cwts.	Value.	Barrels.	Value.	Tierces.	Value.
1841	79,754	£ 169,513	198,400	£ 793,960	19,373	£ 73,616	9,475	£ 56,350
1842	78,515	165,918	195,289	781,156	17,991	49,255	6,022	32,879
1843	85,860	171,720	250,499	1,001,996	15,858	43,610	6,177	29,341
1844	90,056	189,118	249,259	1,046,822	14,801	44,403	4,027	16,913
1845	96,509	217,145	262,677	1,076,975	18,997	62,960	3,511	15,079
1846								
1847								

* There being no complete returns for 1845.

Year ending Dec.	Wheat.		Wheatflour.		Oats.		Oatmeal.		Beans.
	Quarts.	Value.	Cwts.	Value.	Quarts.	Value.	Cwts.	Value.	Value.
		£		£		£		£	£
1841	115,125	322,350	70,043	168,103	294,452	334,939	381,062	523,962	2,098
1842	82,417	197,810	77,217	177,599	215,356	215,356	276,430	331,716	7,162
1843	152,446	353,248	212,148	422,528	200,659	172,232	417,618	415,928	6,570
1844	124,714	302,431	247,882	493,692	182,872	176,776	244,136	268,550	5,104
1845	310,923	746,215	383,658	766,327	208,095	225,436	221,143	302,229	6,411
1846									
1847									

Year ending Dec.	Wool.		Flax.		Lard.		Malt.
	lbs.	Value.	Tons.	Value.	Cwts.	Value.	Value.
		£		£		£	£
1841	3,490,560	159,984	704	32,384	20,497	45,496	6,792
1842	2,501,280	109,431	748	33,660	18,516	43,231	1,017
1843	2,808,600	152,132	476	21,896	19,462	48,655	23,002
1844	2,374,890	133,582	348	15,660	21,673	56,350	14,151
1845	2,601,360	146,306	863	37,835	22,734	62,518	27,300
1846							
1847							

In addition to the foregoing imports from Ireland into Liverpool, there were other articles, such as barley, rye, peas, &c. The eggs and poultry for 1844 amounted to £120,000; salmon, £40,000; other fish, including oysters, £30,000; hides, hair, feathers, porter, &c. £110,000: in all £700,000.

The total value of Irish produce imported into Liverpool is about £6,000,000, and into Bristol about £1,000,000 per annum.

The North of Ireland steam packets, laden with provisions, &c. ply to Port Fleetwood and to Scotland.

Linen yarn is now exported from Ireland to the Continent. The values were—

In 1837,
£3,164.

1840,
£172,602.

Of late years attention has been directed to the great mineral wealth of Ireland. The Irish copper ore sold in Swansea, and lead ore raised, was in the years—

	Copper Ore.		Lead Ore raised.
	Tons.	Value.	Tons.
1844	18,597	£77,622	—
1845	18,430	£97,122	1,944
1846	17,471	£106,078	1,641

There is an increasing export of porter and whiskey from Ireland. Grain spirits exported from Dublin alone during the last two years, amounted to 946,322 gallons at proof.

The total quantity exported from all Ireland from 1772 to 1800, according to Morewood, was only 78,000 gallons. In 1847, to England alone, it amounted to 1,072,450 gallons.

The Customs Duties collected in different districts shews progress, although several articles are now imported into Ireland on which the duty was paid in Great Britain.

	1830.	1831.	1834.	1835.	1840.	1841.	1844.	1845.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Dublin . .	669,181	647,568	761,832	768,632	829,564	977,718	1,032,696	1,012,089
Waterford .	111,337	108,293	124,920	125,029	196,388	168,359	195,969	175,133
Cork . .	185,664	191,495	196,519	198,089	256,612	263,364	300,540	282,951
Limerick .	84,782	97,293	136,775	136,910	169,490	170,552	177,294	193,497
Derry . .	72,911	73,792	87,022	87,470	103,900	108,507	105,224	108,685
Belfast . .	237,044	201,947	288,756	289,025	365,023	372,972	366,426	372,853
Total of the above and other Ports.	1,520,833	1,463,623	1,746,199	1,756,131	2,140,666	2,254,771	2,348,629	2,323,802

In maritime trade the progress of Ireland has been remarkable.

The TONNAGE belonging to and registered at the different Ports in Ireland, at intervals and for 3 years at each period. Years ending in January.

Years 1797, 98 & 99.	Years 1824, 25 & 26.	Years 1833, 34 & 35.	Years 1840, 41 & 42.	Years 1843, 44 & 45.	Years 1846, 47 & 48.
112,333	225,866	337,772	569,294	631,981	737,141
Increase of Irish property between the first and last periods, Tons 624,808.					

The *Steam* tonnage which entered the ports of Ireland in 1836 was half a million; in 1846 it was doubled. The total tonnage which entered Ireland in 1836 was 1,600,000 tons;—in 1846, 2,600,000 tons; being an increase of a million tons in ten years.

The intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland was

INWARDS.				OUTWARDS.			
1845.		1846.		1845.		1846.	
Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
11,481	1,511,023	8,133	1,416,130	19,785	2,111,481	19,622	2,211,696

In 1801 the total Tonnage Inwards was only 456,000 Tons.
In 1847 " " was 2,544,387 Tons.

New vessels built in Ireland	In 1845	No. 45	Tons 2618
" "	1846	38	2726
" "	1847	30	2884

Great improvements have been made in Kingstown Harbour, Dublin, and at other ports. The expenditure on Port Patrick Harbour alone, since 1820, has been £165,441.

The Statements at pp. 134 to 140 shew how greatly the internal traffic of Ireland has augmented since 1800; the tolls, traffic, and wharfage received on the Shannon waters, were in

	1840.	1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.
Tolls . .	£1,849	£1,856	£1,646	£1,556	£1,564	£1,779	£1,779
Traffic from Canals to Shannon. Tons .	14,267	14,991	14,185	12,479	10,924	12,977	15,571
From Shan- non to Can- als. Tons	16,721	17,254	16,472	66,215	14,883	18,561	13,833
Landed at the Piers. Tons .	No return	6,419	3,960	4,676	4,477	11,619	18,289
Loaded at the Piers. Tons .	No return	6,405	6,210	10,475	10,892	26,127	23,152

The number of passengers that were booked at the different places on the Shannon in the Company's boats during 1846 was 21,871. The sum of £55,000 was issued by the Treasury during 1846 for improving the Shannon navigation.

	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.
GRAND CANAL,—						
Tolls paid inwards £	19,869	24,225	24,525	26,599		
Do. do. outwards £	8,399	7,110	7,489	10,162		
Tonnage . . tons	194,062	213,195	239,104	285,602		
Passengers . . .		89,611	98,937	111,225		
ROYAL CANAL,—						
Tolls . . . £	10,097	11,665	13,352	13,737	12,474	
Tonnage . . tons.	73,688	83,201	91,965	88,142	99,550	
RIVER BARROW NA- VIGATION,—						
Tolls . . . £	4,626	4,917	5,825	5,581	6,404	
Tonnage . . tons	68,656	70,025	84,697	88,854	86,750	
TYRONE NAVIGATION, Tonnage . . tons	10,211	9,850	13,168	15,950	17,200	

The Passengers on Irish Railways are also increasing.

Rails.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.
Kingstown & Dublin	1,758,878	1,962,051	2,234,433	2,348,613	2,303,910
Ulster Line	425,864	436,317	604,388	652,071	690,477
Drogheda			572,856	584,810	
Great Southern and Western,—					
5 months ending 31 Decr. 1846, Passengers, 145,425.					
Half-year ending 30 June, 1847, „ 217,397.					

The fisheries are now receiving some attention, and Government granted in 1846 £51,687 for their encouragement. The West coast of Ireland abounds in varieties of the finest fish in the world, and would be a great source of wealth if ordinary industry were manifested. The vessels of all kinds, and the number of men, employed in the Irish fisheries since 1836, were—

	1836.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.
Vessels . . .	10,761	15,935	17,955	19,883	21,075
Men	54,119	73,979	84,708	93,073	99,422

At p. 142 the accumulation in the Irish Savings Banks are given for a series of years. Latterly endeavours have been made to weaken the confidence of the people in these provident institutions, and the trustees at Killarney and Tralee have neglected their duty; the balances on the 20th November stood thus—

Years.	Leinster.	Ulster.	Munster.	Connaught.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£
1845	1,078,309	621,338	131,156	1,045,584	2,876,388
1846	965,315	668,787	140,782	1,107,280	2,882,166
1847	840,042	547,219	120,736	932,493	2,440,491

The number of depositors and amount of their deposits were in—

Years.	No.	£
1829 . .	31,262 . .	854,329
1841 . .	77,522 . .	2,243,246
1842	No Return	
1843 . .	81,422 . .	2,384,806
1844 . .	90,144 . .	2,685,698
1845 . .	95,348 . .	2,858,260
1846 . .	92,859 . .	2,792,708

The total deposits up to 20th May, 1847, in the Irish Savings Banks were £9,534,522.

The Loan Funds, which were established in Ireland in 1837, to assist the industrious classes with small sums of money at a low rate of interest, also indicate progress.

Year.	No. of Funds.	Capital.	Circulation.
		£	£
1838	50	. .	180,526
1846	250	408,842	1,770,397

The yearly increasing sums of money transmitted by post-office orders in Ireland testify that there is an augmentation of the available means of the middle and working classes.

Years.	Money.	Years.	Money.	Years.	Money.	Years.	Money.
	£		£		£		£
1839	111,864	1841	461,295	1843	714,857	1845	918,670
1840	198,133	1842	593,543	1844	789,753	1846	1,131,197

The Stamp Duty received on Legacies, and Probates and Administrations, at two periods, shows the increase of property: (see pages 147 and 148.)

	Legacy.	Probate & Admin.
For the years 1821, 22, and 23	£50,783	80,708
„ 1846, 47, and 48	186,030	223,803
Increase	£135,247	143,097
Total Increase on three years .	£278,344	

Stock transferred from England to Ireland from 1838 to 1848 was	£	13,945,742
Ditto from Ireland to England	ditto	6,193,879
Difference		7,751,863

The annuities for terms of years transferred from England to Ireland in the above years were £214,512, and *vice versa* only £14. The Long Annuities from England to Ireland £46,020, and *vice versa* only £457. These facts prove the accumulation of funded property in Ireland.

The Grand Jury cess, or presentments for the general use of each county or barony, shew the increased value of landed property in Ireland. They have been augmented since the Union from about £200,000 a year to £1,150,000 a year.

There is no proof of increasing poverty on examining the number of debtors—

	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.
Confined for debt in Ireland under orders of quarter sessions and superior courts of law	4,902	4,965	3,799	3,047	4,521
By order of courts of conscience (small debts) .	941	934	807	697	593
Total confined for debt .	5,933	5,899	4,606	3,744	5,114

There is a wider distribution as well as an augmentation of property manifested by the increasing number of the middle classes, who are acquiring the elective franchise.

Number of Electors Registered.	Number Registered.		Total Registered.	
	1 Feb. 1845 to 1 Feb. 1846.	1 Feb. 1846 to 1 Feb. 1847.	On 1 Feb. 1846.	On 1 Feb. 1847.
In counties . . .	4,336	6,841	65,231	69,161
In cities and boroughs	5,360	7,471	63,524	69,493
Totals . . .	9,696	14,312	128,755	138,654 .

The seventh chapter, p. 200, contains ample details of the remarkable extension of education in Ireland. The "National Education Schools" were commenced in 1833 with 789 schools, 107,042 pupils, and with a parliamentary grant of £25,000. This grant has been yearly increased, and amounted in 1846 to £100,000, which provides 3,637 schools for 456,410 pupils of all religious denominations. Not more than one-seventh of the children are Protestants, and therefore the benefit is mainly for the children of the Roman Catholic poor. The secular education is kept quite distinct from religious instruction.

There are workhouse schools, gaol schools, agricultural schools for both sexes, and model schools for teachers. Evening and Sunday schools are also extensive and well attended.

The Sunday schools have been rapidly increasing, and stood thus 1st January, 1847.

	Ulster.	Leinster.	Munster.	Connaught.	Total.
Number of Schools	1,987	441	402	152	2,982
Number of Scholars	186,279	34,115	17,423	7,786	245,603
Gratuitous Teachers	16,859	3,308	1,885	668	22,720

The "Church Education Society," instituted in 1839, for in-

struction on Church of England principles, is wholly supported by voluntary contributions, and stood thus in 1839 and 1846 :—

	Schools.	Pupils.	Receipts.
1839	825	43,627	£ 2,470
1846	1,209	96,215	41,639
Increase . .	984	53,188	33,169

Of the 96,815 scholars in 1846, 29,691 were children of Roman Catholic parents, and 12,832 of Protestant Dissenters.

By Act 8 & 9 Vic. c. 66, the Imperial Parliament authorised the grant of £100,000, to build three new colleges in Ireland, for all classes of the people, and £21,000 a-year for salaries to Professors, &c. Nineteen hundred pounds are voted annually by Parliament to the “Royal Belfast Academical Institution.”

The total GRANTS by the State in aid of Religion in the United Kingdom.

	Church of England.	Church of Scotland.	Church of Rome in Ireland.	English Protestant Dissenters.	Irish Protestant Dissenters.
In 1844	£ 1,529	£ 24,283	£ 8,028	£ 1,262	£ 34,629

In this, as in every other instance, Ireland has received grants from the public revenues at least equal to those made to England and Scotland.

By the Act 8 & 9 Vic. c. 25, £30,000 was authorised by the Imperial Parliament to be vested in trustees for the improvement of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, and £6,000 a-year for salaries to the President and Professor of the college; which, in addition to the above £8,000, constitutes an income of £14,000 a-year. The Protestant college (Trinity College) receives no support whatever from the revenues of the State.

The spread of intelligence is shown by the number of newspapers in Ireland, and their circulation.

	Dublin.	Country.	Total No.	Circulation.
1800	7	18	25	Very small.
1841	25	56	81	5,961,192
1842	26	57	83	6,081,780
1843	25	58	83	6,350,647
1844	25	60	85	6,769,067
1845	25	66	91	7,015,477
1846	24	65	89	6,960,442
1847				

The liberty, or rather licence, of language granted to the newspaper press in Ireland has never been permitted to the British press, or accorded to the newspapers of Europe or America by their respective governments.

A provision for the destitute, aged, and infirm—that charter for the poor which was established by Queen Elizabeth for England, and which has saved this part of the United Kingdom from anarchy and revolution for the last 200 years—by means of a rate on property for the maintenance of the poor, has been established within the last few years, after long opposition from the late Mr. O'Connell and others. The progress of the Act is thus shewn.

Year.	No. of Unions.	Expenditure on Poor. £
1840	4	37,057
1841	37	110,278
1842	92	281,233
1843	106	244,374
1844	113	271,344
1845	123	316,025
1846	129	435,001
1847 rates made		1,618,240

The poor of Ireland are indebted to the Imperial Parliament for this legislative provision for their support.

The money sanctioned by the Treasury for each Poor Law Union in Ireland under the Land Improvement Act (10 Vic. c. 32) was up to 13 December, 1847, £1,003,950, and on 1 July, 1847, Parliament granted £600,000, of which £500,000 was applied in donations in aid of rates by the Relief Commissioners, and £100,000 for works of public utility.

struction on Church of England
by voluntary contributions, and

	Scholarships
1839	823
1846	1,807
Increase . .	984

Of the 96,815 scholars in 1846, 12,832 of
Catholic parents, and 12,832 of

By Act 8 & 9 Vic. c. 66, the
the grant of £100,000, to build
all classes of the people, and at
fessors, &c. Nineteen hundred
Parliament to the "Royal Bell

The total GRANTS by the State in 1844

	Church of England.	Church of Scotland.
In 1844	£ 1,529	£ 24,283

In this, as in every other
from the public revenues of
and Scotland.

By the Act 8 & 9 Vic. c. 66,
Imperial Parliament to be
the Roman Catholic College
salaries to the President and
addition to the above £8,000
a-year. The Protestant
support whatever from the

It is painful to turn from the foregoing statements to an investigation of the recent returns of crime. By Parliamentary Return No. 64, dated 15 February, 1847, it appears that the

	In 1845.	1846.	1847.
Offences against the person were . . .	1,698	1,923	
„ „ the public peace . . .	4,645	4,766	
„ „ property . . .	1,739	5,670	
Other offences . . .	27	21	
	<hr/> 8,104	<hr/> 12,380	

This is a fearful catalogue of crime. The number of homicides in 1846 was 176; of firing at the person, 158; and of conspiring to murder, 6, =340. There were 100 cases of infanticide, and of maiming the person, 49. Assaults endangering life, 290, and aggravated assaults, 604. Of rape, 105, and of endeavours to perpetrate this unmanly crime, 49. Desertions of children amounted to 147.

The incendiary fires in 1846 were 465; firing into dwellings, 167; attacking houses, 536; and injury to places of worship, and sacrilege, 23; burglary, 813; highway robbery, 258; and the mean revenge of killing or maiming cattle numbered 287.

Is it possible that they who thus set at nought the laws of God and man should prove possessed of the rare qualities by which alone self-government could prove permanent or beneficial.

The greatest amount of crime was in the months of December, November, October, September, January, February, and March. In Ulster the number of crimes was only one-third that of Munster, and only half that of Leinster.

The number of women having illegitimate children in 119 workhouses for the half-year ending 29th September, 1846, was 2,091; and the illegitimate children 3,688.

A Return laid before the House of Commons, 24th February, 1847, details the name, condition, &c. of each person killed in each county in Ireland during 1846; viz. 176; of these no less than 23 were women, 10 boys and girls, and 1 infant.

The men murdered were principally of the class of labourers and small farmers. There are but 4 classed as gentlemen. The

laws for the preservation of life in Ireland are mainly essential to the poor, who are the chief victims of violence and crime. The rewards offered by Government for the discovery of forty murders amounted to £2,405; and by private individuals to £235, = £2,640. Not one shilling of these rewards was claimed; this was also the case after the murders of Lord Norbury, Mr. Scully, and others, when large sums were vainly offered for the discovery of the perpetrators, who were known to hundreds of the people.

NUMBERS who have lost their lives in Affrays with or otherwise by the Constabulary in Ireland since 1st December, 1830.

Years.	Persons.		Constabulary.	
	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.
1831	17*	8*	19	17
1832	20	6*	2	12
1833	7	4	4	9
1834	15	4	2	19
1835	4	8	—	16
1836	7	3	—	5
1837	5	4	2	14
1838	1	2	3	23
1839	1	5	2	15
1840	1	5	—	6
1841	1	3	—	5
1842	6	8	—	10
1843	3	3	—	12
1844	2	4	—	16
1845	12	17	1	17
To April 1846	—	3	—	11
Totals . . .	102	87	35	207

That the law has not been administered with severity is shewn by the capital convictions and executions for a series of years.

* Several persons killed and wounded in the county Kilkenny, in the month of November, 1831, and several wounded in the month of October, 1832, whose names cannot be ascertained, are not included in this Return.

Years.	Capital Convictions.	Executions.	Years.	Capital Convictions.	Executions.
1826	281	34	1837	154	10
1827	346	37	1838	39	3
1828	211	21	1839	66	17
1829	224	38	1840	43	0
1830	262	39	1841	40	5
1831	307	37	1842	25	4
1832	319	39	1843	21	5
1833	237	39	1844	20	9
1834	197	43	1845	13	3
1835	179	27	1846	14	7
1836	175	14			

It has not been for want of a well-ordered police that this extent of crime has occurred. In no part of the world is there a better organised force than the constabulary of Ireland, which stood thus, 1st January, 1847:—Total, 10,639 men, reserve force 372. Horses, 318. The charge was £492,881, of which £340,833 was borne by the Consolidated Fund, and only £152,047 by the counties, cities, and towns in Ireland.

It may be necessary now to advert to a subject on which there has been much misrepresentation. Ireland is one of the least taxed portions of the British empire. Out of £52,000,000 levied in the United Kingdom, scarcely £4,500,000 is raised in Ireland, from a population equal to half the population of England. The total net revenue of Ireland in 1846 was only £4,333,933—a sum barely more than sufficient to provide the interest of the portion of the national debt assigned to Ireland.

		£
The capital of the funded debt of Ireland, as it stood 5 January, 1817, was	.	134,602,769
Deduct debt cancelled previous to 1st February, 1847	.	4,041,732
Actual amount of the funded debt of Ireland, 1st February, 1847	.	130,561,037
The total charge for this debt in 1847 was	.	4,176,458
The charge in 1817 was	.	6,038,311
By which Ireland gains annually	.	1,861,853
Taking the annual revenue, in round numbers, of Ireland at present as	.	4,600,000
The expenditure at	£3,600,000	} = 7,800,000
Interest on debt	4,200,000	
Deficiency	£3,200,000	

Ireland therefore costs the British exchequer at least £3,200,000 a-year. Estimating the annual deficiency of Ireland at three millions sterling, the cost of Ireland to England since the Union amounts to £141,000,000. This fact deserves consideration in both countries.

In 1845 there was no charge on the Irish revenue for the royal navy; in 1846 but 8,085. Yet Ireland derives as much advantage from this valuable branch of the national defences as any other portion of the kingdom, and, were she separated from England, must provide the means for maintaining an efficient naval force. There is no charge on Ireland for the colonies, although she derives a proportionable benefit from those territories.

There are no assessed taxes in Ireland whatever; no land tax on lands and tenements; no stamp duties on stage carriages and railways; no tax on soap, bricks, hops, post-horse duties, &c.; no window tax, or taxes on servants, horses, carriages, &c.; no property or income tax. The produce of these and other taxes, from which Ireland is exempt, was in 1846 nearly £13,000,000.

Then the stamp duties, licences, &c. are in many instances lower in Ireland than in England or in Scotland. The favour which Ireland has received from the Imperial Legislature may be illustrated by the article of spirits, which pays per gallon,—in England, 7s. 10d.;* in Scotland, 3s. 8d.;† in Ireland, 2s. 8d.†

In her local taxation Ireland presents exemptions; thus, England is taxed locally £12,000,000, or 15s. per head; Scotland, £1,000,000, or 8s. per head; Ireland, £2,000,000, only 5s. per head.

In every respect Ireland has been favoured by the Imperial Legislature, and by the Government of the united kingdom; even at this pressing moment, when there are so many financial difficulties in Great Britain, Government have refused to tax incomes or property in Ireland.

I advert briefly to the recent disastrous famine in Ireland, of which the history has been so ably and feelingly recorded by Mr. Trevelyan, whose unceasing exertions in his responsible and arduous office of Secretary to the Treasury during this trying

* Tax in 1846, £4,660,914.

† Tax in 1846, £1,288,529.

period elicited the strongest commendations from those statesmen best qualified to judge of their value. Mr. Trevelyan has well said that "neither ancient nor modern history can furnish a parallel to the fact that upwards of *three millions* of persons were fed every day in the neighbourhood of their own homes by administrative arrangements emanating from and controlled by one central office."*

In order to show the extent of the efforts made by the British Government to relieve the immediate exigency, it may be stated that the number of rations issued daily free of cost for three months in 1847 was,—in May, 777,884; June, 1,923,261; July, 2,342,000. The total rations *issued daily*, mostly free, some at a small cost, and some of which accurate returns were not received, were during May, 826,325; June, 2,729,684; July, 3,020,712.

The average number of persons daily employed in relief works of drainage and of roads was,—in October, 1846, 114,000; November, 285,000; December, 440,000: in January, 1847, the number was 570,000; in February, 700,000; and in March, 734,000.

I have compiled the following Table from the Returns laid before Parliament, in order to show clearly the great exertions made by Government to relieve the poor.

DAILY AVERAGE number of Persons employed on RELIEF WORKS in IRELAND, and Cost per Week.

Week ending	Leinster.	Munster.	Ulster.	Connaught.	Total.	Cost.
						£
6th March, 1847	134,372	304,058	86,843	209,519	734,792	257,709
13th " "	128,181	303,614	86,446	210,497	728,738	258,105
20th " "	119,804	288,110	73,216	204,802	685,932	251,394
27th " "	100,748	249,639	65,565	163,071	579,023	205,315
3rd April "	88,286	227,108	53,879	156,245	525,518	176,581
10th " "	83,726	219,239	53,114	144,644	500,723	152,993
17th " "	79,935	205,800	53,539	133,514	472,788	143,488
24th " "	80,442	205,837	51,334	136,437	474,650	138,675
1st May "	71,722	189,510	38,682	119,132	419,046	142,299
8th " "	44,670	104,303	24,732	74,332	248,037	101,068
15th " "	30,273	93,333	21,946	67,892	213,450	81,662
22nd " "	24,736	73,362	16,065	61,407	175,570	71,476
29th " "	21,349	54,474	16,698	53,169	145,690	45,811
5th June "	20,952	41,000	15,158	41,527	118,637	49,370
12th " "	18,987	32,144	14,044	27,438	92,613	40,203
19th " "	16,639	16,350	12,054	15,245	60,288	28,835
26th " "	13,683	8,863	10,241	12,852	45,639	23,257
3rd July "	14,465	6,513	10,085	9,642	40,705	19,127
10th " "	12,306	6,111	9,359	9,176	36,952	12,446

* *The Irish Crisis.* By C. E. Trevelyan, Esq. p. 90.

The amount voted by the Imperial Parliament for Ireland during the famine was (in round numbers), for labour relief, £5,000,000; for food and hospitals relief, £2,200,000; donations to relief committees, £190,000; Board of Works staff and Relief Commission, £310,000; land improvement, £1,500,000; drainage and navigation works, £400,000; commissariat operations, £250,000; fishing piers, £40,000; loans to railroads, £620,000. Total, £10,350,000. [*Parly. Paper No. 13, Dec. 2, 1847.*]

Mr. Trevelyan states that "it is a fact very honourable to Ireland that among upwards of 2,000 local bodies to whom advances were made under this Act there is not one to which, so far as the Government is informed, any suspicion of embezzlement attaches."

The efforts made by Government to obtain food from every quarter of the globe were very great, and some of the finest vessels in the Royal Navy were employed in its conveyance to and distribution along the coasts of Ireland. The grain and meal imported into Ireland from 1st September, 1846, to 5th July, 1847:—*Grain.* Wheat, 482,477 qrs.; barley, 123,490; oats, 41,763; rye, 20,126; pease and beans, 74,240; Indian corn, 1,957,523; buck wheat, 31,996. Total, 2,731,615 qrs. *Meal.* Wheat flour, 1,256,869 cwts.; barley flour, 51,492; oatmeal, 67,544; rye meal, 11,139; pease and bean meal, 6,625; Indian corn meal, 758,704; buck meal, 152. Total, 2,152,525 cwts.

There were also considerable quantities of animal food imported.

The meal and grain landed in Ireland for the ten weeks preceding 22nd May, 1847, was, from Great Britain, 397,898 qrs.; from British possessions and foreign countries, 900,176.

The administrative department of this great national charity was most ably supervised by Sir John F. Burgoyne, aided by the highest officers of the commissariat, and efficiently executed by the most trustworthy half-pay officers of the navy and army. Be it remembered that this noble effort was made at a time when England was herself suffering both from existing difficulties and anxieties for the future, anxieties which were but too fully and too speedily justified.

To say that the Government of the United Kingdom have no faults, either of omission or of commission, to answer for, is an assertion of infallibility which I have no inclination to make; but it is surely impossible for any reasoning man to examine the returns made by the Relief Commissioners during the most awful period of Ireland's visitation without being struck with both wonder and admiration at the strenuous, self-denying, and continued exertions made by the Queen, and by Her Majesty's Government, and so warmly seconded by the people not of England only, but of the whole British empire, to succour and sustain their suffering brethren in Ireland.

I have now gone through the more important documents laid before Parliament since 1843, and collated the statistics given in Mr. Thom's excellent Irish Almanac for 1848. The basis on which I have unvaryingly advocated the Union for the last fifteen years is strengthened every year by additional facts; one of the most remarkable is that even during the recent famine there were large exports of provisions from Ireland. Mr. Pim gives the following returns of the exports by steam vessels for the first 10 months of 1846 and 1847 of cattle, pigs, and eggs, from only three ports in the South of Ireland, where the effects of the famine were most severely felt.

		Dublin.	Cork.	Waterford.	Total.
1846	{ Cattle, No.	49,993	6,294	3,345	59,572
	{ Pigs, „	97,159	47,960	49,487	194,606
	{ Eggs * .	27,485	26,977	329	54,791
1847	{ Cattle, No.	53,771	10,304	9,314	73,389
	{ Pigs, „	20,690	7,213	15,240	43,143
	{ Eggs, Crates	12,414	13,929	256	26,599

Exports of grain in 1845, 3,251,901 quarters; and in 1846, 1,825,394 quarters.

* Crates and boxes. Each crate contains from 6 to 8,000 eggs, each box about 2,500 eggs.

"In spite," says Mr. Pim, "of all depressing circumstances, Ireland has improved during the past sixty years. Statistical proof could be readily obtained. The City of Dublin may have lost something by the removal of the Irish nobility and gentry consequent on the Union with England; *but even Dublin has improved, while the progress of many of the small country towns has been great and rapid. The comforts of the upper and middle classes have increased. The internal trade of the country has increased greatly, and many small towns have well-stocked shops and comfortable shopkeepers, where, a few years since, it would have been difficult to purchase the common necessities of life. The state of society is better, the people are more industrious and more provident.*" [Pages 35 and 36.] It is quite true that in all these respects Ireland is still much behind England, but it is because, as Mr. Pim remarks, "the wealth and civilisation of England date from so much earlier a period than that of Ireland." These truths of the progress of Ireland, so corroborative of the views I have been urging for years, are the result of the experience of one of the most extensively informed men in Ireland, and written in 1848, after the effects of the recent famine have been felt.

However disastrous the failure for two successive years of a root on which three-fourths of the poorest classes were dependent for subsistence, the condition of the middle classes of society has not been deteriorated by that calamity. The improvement has been yearly progressive; but I have ever contended that the condition of the poor cottiers and labourers deserved the most sedulous attention of the State, and until they can be raised from the degrading condition of a potatoe-feeding population they will always be subject to such dreadful calamities as the recent famine.

Yet out of this very misfortune good, by God's blessing, may ensue. Mr. Trevelyan rightly remarks, that "posterity may trace up to that famine the commencement of a salutary revolution in the habits of a nation singularly unfortunate, and will acknowledge that on this, as on many other occasions, Supreme Wisdom has educed permanent good out of transient evil." (Page 1.)

Previous to a general deduction from the data submitted it is desirable to advert briefly to the great staple of Ireland—agriculture.

The Estimated Proportion of different kinds of LAND in the three divisions of the United Kingdom in Statute Acres, are—

	Arable and Gardens.	Meadows, Pastures, and Marshes.	Wastes capable of improvement.	Annual value of Wastes.	Wastes incapable of improvement.	Summary in Statute Acres.
England and Wales . .	11,143,370	17,605,630	3,984,000	£ 1,900,000	4,361,400	37,094,400
Scotland . .	2,493,950	2,771,050	5,950,000	1,680,000	8,523,930	19,738,930
Ireland . .	5,389,040	6,736,240	4,900,000	1,395,000	2,416,664	19,441,944
United Kingdom	19,026,360	27,112,920	14,834,000	4,975,000	1,5301,994	76,275,274

We have, however, now received more accurate data of the cultivation and agricultural produce of Ireland than has yet been obtained for England or Scotland.

According to the agricultural returns collected by the constabulary, the land under cultivation in Ireland in 1847 was as follows :—

	Area in Acres.	Under Grain and Beans.	Potatoes, Turnips, &c.	Flax.	Meadow.	Total under Crop.
Ulster . .	5,475,438	1,116,511	216,601	53,701	263,149	1,649,962
Leinster . .	4,876,211	975,583	205,731	1,644	451,339	1,634,297
Munster . .	6,064,579	823,022	230,874	1,156	315,848	1,370,900
Connaught	4,392,043	398,463	74,532	1,811	108,610	583,416
Total . .	20,808,271	3,313,579	727,738	58,312	1,138,496	5,238,575

Thus it appears that out of nearly twenty-one million acres of surface not four million acres are employed in the growth of vegetable food for 8,000,000 people.

The SUMMARY of these valuable returns shews of

	Acres under Crop.	Produce in qrs.	Average Produce per Acre at 8 Bushels per qr.
Wheat . . .	743,871	2,925,733	About 30 bushels per acre.
Oats . . .	2,200,870	11,521,606	More than 40 " "
Barley . . .	283,587	1,379,029	Nearly 50 " "
Bere . . .	49,068	274,016	Nearly 45 " "
Rye . . .	12,415	63,094	About 42 " "
Beans . . .	23,768	84,456	
Total . .	3,313,579	16,248,934	Average 5 quarters per acre
		Tons.	
Potatoes . . .	284,116	2,048,195	About 7 tons per acre
Turnips . . .	370,344	5,760,616	More than 15 tons per acre
Wurzel . . .	13,766	247,269	Nineteen tons per acre
Other green crops	59,512	729,064	Twelve tons per acre
Total . .	727,738	8,785,144	
		Cwts.	
Flax . . .	58,312	249,872	Six cwt. weight per acre
		Tons.	
Hay . . .	1,138,946	2,190,317	Nearly two tons per acre

From these data it will be seen what a large and lucrative field is open for cultivation in Ireland, if capital and skill were applied to the soil, of which at least one-half is not yet under culture.*

It would be very desirable if every effort should be made to extend the cultivation of flax in Ireland;—the substitution of grain for potatoes as the food of the peasantry will necessitate the production of another export instead of grain. The value of imports into the United Kingdom in 1844 was, of *flax*, 79,424 tons, at £50 per ton, £3,971,200; of *flax seed*, 616,947 quarters, at 45s. per quarter, £1,388,131; of *oil cake*, 85,890 tons, at £7 10s. per ton, £641,175. Total, £6,003,506. Ireland may readily supply not only the whole of this £6,000,000, but also become a large exporter to France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, &c. who now consume an inferior Russian article. The Census Commissioners report that there are 13,464,300 acres (exclusive of all other land)

* Sir Robert Kane, whose work on the industrial resources of Ireland deserves high praise, is now usefully directing public attention to the importance of agricultural and industrial education.

adapted for the growth of flax. If $\frac{1}{10}$ th of this quantity of land were devoted to flax culture, the value of the produce would be nearly twelve millions sterling. The manufactures of the United Kingdom consume about 100,000 tons of flax per annum, in value about £5,000,000. Of this $\frac{2}{3}$ ths is supplied from Russia, and not $\frac{2}{3}$ ths from Ireland, though superior to every country excepting Belgium for the growth of the article.

The energy, industry, and perseverance of the non-agitating Ulster men, is now directed successfully to the growth and preparation of flax. Societies were formed in 1841, and the quantity since grown has been,—

Year.	Tons.	Value.
1841 . . .	25,124	£1,055,208
1842 . . .	28,030	1,205,290
1843 . . .	36,465	1,640,926
1844 . . .	39,611	1,782,495
Total . .	<u>129,230</u>	<u>£5,683,919</u>

Sixty-two large factories are now in operation with steam engines to the extent of 2,860 horse power, and employing 13,700 hands in spinning yarn. The export of linen is computed at 70,000,000 yards annually, employing half a million people. The progress of this branch of trade is most encouraging for Ireland. After an unexampled struggle of 17 years against the German and French looms, and an indifference to home manufactures, the result of the struggle is thus shown:—In 1830 the sale of Irish cambrics in the English markets was in the proportion of 100 pieces of Irish to 1,000 dozen French. In 1846, for every 1,000 pieces of French there were 16,000 pieces of Irish cambric sold. Now the Irish cambrics are underselling the French in their own markets. Under the paternal administration of Lord Clarendon it is to be expected that every encouragement will be given to the growth of flax; and the large tracts of land now waste may soon become exceedingly valuable by means of the culture of this extensively-required article, for which the climate of Ireland seems so well adapted.

In 1841 the floating agricultural capital of Ireland was esti-

mated at £33,340,636, of which the live stock was £20,671,068 ; but, assuming that each statute acre requires £5 for its due cultivation, the sum necessary for 13,464,330 acres in Ireland would be £67,321,500. There was therefore before the recent famine, the distemper among cattle, and consequent destruction of property, a deficiency of £34,000,000 farming capital. It is also estimated that the drainage of land in Ireland would require £50,000,000 ; fencing and subsoiling £50,000,000 ; farm buildings £26,000,000 : total fixed agricultural capital £126,000,000 ; making a deficit of fixed and floating capital necessary for the improvement of Irish agriculture to a level with that of England, to the extent of £160,000,000.

But what security have skilled agriculturists with capital in England or Scotland to settle in Ireland for the improvement of the soil under the present “reign of terror?”

The capital authorised by Parliament to be raised for, and to be borrowed on, railways by public companies amounted in

	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.
To be raised	£1,300,000	£7,175,000	£8,517,000	£
To be borrowed	£433,000	£2,390,997	£2,830,558	£
Total	£1,733,000	£9,555,997	£11,347,558	£

How is upwards of twenty million of capital to be raised and borrowed for railways in Ireland under a continued “*peaceful*” agitation for separation from England? British capital would as soon seek investment in France or in South America as in Ireland under the present excitement.

Mr. Pim, in the valuable work before quoted on the “Condition and Prospects of Ireland,” adverts to British capital seeking for profitable occupation in every part of the world, and asks—“Why then does so little of it come to Ireland, which is so near home, which offers so wide a field for its employment, and where it is so much wanted?” He answers this question himself truly, by saying—“Capital cannot be found; mercantile confidence is of slow growth; the slightest appearance of insecurity disturbs

it; men of capital become alarmed and withdraw. If we are to obtain assistance from the abounding wealth of our neighbours, we must first obtain their confidence by showing that we offer good security." (p. 147.)

This gentleman,* who possesses extensive practical knowledge of Ireland, and who established the first railway in Ireland (that between Dublin and Kingstown), states that not only English capital does not go to Ireland, but that even the augmenting capital of Ireland seeks small profits in the funds, is deposited in banks, or is invested out of Ireland. It is a confirmation of this remark that three-fourths of the million paid-up capital of the "Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company," which conducts the greatest line of steam navigation in the world—namely, from England to India and China—belongs to *Irish* proprietors, whose capital has thus effected one of the most important national enterprises.†

Mr. Pim also shows that this want of capital has left the masters more dependent on those they employ, and that combinations among the workmen have materially and "very seriously injured" and impeded the trade and manufactures of Ireland, not only by raising the price, but also by deteriorating the quality, of the work, and creating uncertainty as respects the time and manner of its delivery. He shows that in Dublin these combinations have effectually prevented ship-building.

The want of capital, and these ruinous combinations, have done more to injure the trade of Ireland than any legislative enactments. There are now, as Mr. Pim truly says, no restrictions which cramp trade and fetter industry. "There is nothing now in the

* Mr. Pim belongs to the "Society of Friends," whose exertions in Great Britain and Ireland during the famine are beyond all praise. Wherever the "Friends" are settled in Ireland they effect great good. It is one of the promising prospects that English Quakers are now purchasing land extensively in Ireland.

† It may be added, that a few Irish gentlemen have been the main founders of this great company, and that to the talents, foresight, business knowledge, and spirited enterprise of Mr. Francis Carleton, of Mr. James Hartley, and Mr. W. Williams, the Government of Great Britain are indebted for bringing our possessions in the East within a monthly communication of London, and for the establishment of the most powerful mercantile steam marine that was ever yet formed.

laws or institutions of the country which places Irish manufactures in a worse position than those of England."

What advantage, then, would a repeal of the Union confer? If bounties or protection duties were to be established in Ireland against English manufactures, it might lead to a similar course in England against Irish products; and hostile tariffs would ere long be followed by national rivalry and personal warfare.

The deductions derivable from the facts contained in this volume may be thus briefly stated:

1st. Ireland, in the true sense of the word, never was an independent kingdom, and never possessed a free constitution until her legislative union with England in 1800.

2d. By means of that union, her people have obtained a complete participation in every liberty which the united energies of Englishmen and Scotchmen have acquired, after centuries of struggle and sacrifice.

3d. There is no portion of the world in which political, religious, mercantile, and moral freedom, is more complete than in Ireland.

4th. The property, talent, and industry of Ireland are fairly represented in the Imperial Legislature, according to the existing franchises in the three kingdoms; and that representation rightly exercised is capable of effecting whatever further legislative improvement may be requisite.

5th. The commerce of Ireland, which was feeble and retrograde before the Union, has increased in a remarkable degree since 1800; the progressive increase of wealth is evident in almost every branch of industry.

6th. Ireland is one of the least taxed countries in Europe, and possesses a remarkable exemption from taxation compared with Great Britain; her revenue being in the proportion of £5,000,000 to £45,000,000.

7th. The liberality of the Imperial Legislature and of the people of England on every emergency or distress in Ireland since the Union has no parallel in the history of nations.

What then has Ireland to gain by a repeal of the Act of 1800

which united her dependent Legislature with that of Great Britain in the same manner as the Parliament of Scotland was united with that of England at the beginning of the 18th century? If an extension of the elective franchise, or vote by ballot, or annual parliaments be sought, they may more readily be obtained by a co-operation with those who are seeking the same legislative changes in England and in Scotland.

Have the proprietors or occupiers of land any benefit to expect by what is now erroneously termed "Repeal," but which in reality would end in "Separation" from England, and an attempt, equally ruinous, to form an "Irish Republic?"

Were such a disastrous measure accomplished, the large proprietors would soon learn that "tenant-right" meant permanent occupancy free of rent, and the possessors of estates who have received their property from former confiscations would find that the names of the alleged rightful heirs are still carefully registered, and that *re*-confiscation would be of easy enactment by a mob parliament elected by universal suffrage.

The small cultivators would soon ascertain the loss of the English markets for every thing the earth can produce, and would not find in French fraternity or American sympathy much compensation for the constant ready-money customers they had cast off. Indeed, to no class would a separation from England be more ruinous than to the small cultivators of the soil.

Would the labouring poor, now sustained when in want, sickness, or old age by acts of the Imperial Legislature which compel the property of Ireland to attend to and provide systematically for every necessity of the poor—would those classes benefit by a separation which would probably almost immediately be followed by a repeal of the Christian enactment of the United Parliament which establishes the right to support of every human being born in the land? It required all the exertions, and large pecuniary grants, of the British Government and Parliament to secure the complete enforcement of this most salutary act.

And now let me ask how soon after a separation from England would religious discord—the old bane and curse of Ireland—

commence? Most assuredly the Protestant Ulster men would endeavour to resume their former dominant position, not from ambition, or from dislike to their Roman Catholic countrymen, but because they would consider their dominance the only security for their lives and property, and the only means of preserving their political liberty.

The Roman Catholics, numerically superior, would not permit this dominant power: civil war, with all its attendant horrors, must ensue; the property of Ireland would side with the Protestants; the Romanists, after a terrific struggle, would be subdued, or the power of Great Britain would be solicited to restore peace; to re-unite Ireland with England, and to re-establish that perfect religious freedom and social equality which now so completely pervades Ireland.

No person who has studied the past history of Ireland, and who knows the present temper of both Protestants and Romanists, can doubt that such would be the inevitable course of events; and, that after years of bloodshed, an incalculable destruction of property, and a fostering of evil passions which a century might not subdue, Ireland, even if restored to peace and re-united to England, would have retrograded centuries in wealth, comfort, and social order.*

And here let me ask the Roman Catholic hierarchy and priesthood, what can they expect to gain by separation, revolution, and republicanism? Does the history of any revolutionised state shew that the Romish Church can long stand by the side of Republicanism? Will men who assume the right of self-government, freed from all human laws but those which the ephemeral and ever-changing passions of the multitude create, will they be long obedient to Divine laws, or subject their minds and consciences to a priesthood?

How can priests or laymen have any faith in the virtue of governments, or in the stability of institutions, when they see *the most positive, precise, and holy* commandment of the Decalogue

* At this moment 200,000 children of the poor of Ireland, without distinction of creed, are daily fed by an English charitable association.

rejected? The French Republic have decreed the first legislative proceedings of their government to commence on the Lord's day, when every opposing human passion and ambition will be brought into collision by candidates contesting for their election to a seat in the French Republican Assembly!

Has Romanism maintained its supremacy during the revolutions of Spain or Portugal? How long will it do so in Italy or in Austria? These are questions well worthy the consideration of the Romish priesthood in Ireland. There are many exemplary priests like Dr. McEnery of Kerry who have foreseen the pernicious consequences of the agitation for a repeal of the Union, and who have struggled earnestly, if not openly, for its suppression.

I would venture to implore every minister of the Roman Catholic Church, as they respect their own holy calling,—as they value the precepts of peace which Christianity places above all things,—as they desire quietude here and happiness hereafter,—to aid the Government and the constituted authorities of their country to preserve it from the sedition, anarchy, and ruin to which it is now fast hastening.

The late Mr. O'Connell truly declared that no amount of human liberty was worth a single drop of blood. The history of all nations, of all individuals, proves this. No empire or rule founded by bloodshed has lasted long: no man who has risen to station by bloodshed but has had his retribution; so true is the decree that "he who liveth by violence shall perish by violence;" and that that which is gotten by blood can never be retained.

Ireland is termed a Christian country; but what are the occupations of her men in many parts of Ireland on the Lord's day? Collecting in numbers or in clubs to practise firing with rifles, and make themselves expert in the destruction of their fellow-beings! Can any thinking man suppose a government constituted of such materials would long abstain from violating the other commandments of their Maker? These and other serious thoughts press upon the mind at this period, when the thrones of Christendom are tottering, when all the rights of authority are disputed, and when continental Europe is shaken as with a moral earthquake,

presenting no firm footing on which the principles of political and social re-construction can be based. At such a fearful period, it is of the utmost consequence to us as a nation, to preserve internal peace, to maintain the unity of the Legislature, and to uphold intact the kingdom of our Sovereign. The British empire, which is spread over the habitable globe, is now an example for other nations,—a refuge for the persecuted, and an asylum for the distressed, whatever their creed, colour, or clime.

It has required eight centuries of time to construct this wonderful empire, the most free, the most tolerant, the most enlightened, the most Christian that the world ever beheld. For aught finite mortals can tell, the Divine Providence which rules states as well as individuals, has permitted the gradual formation of this vast dominion for some wise purpose conducive to the happiness of mankind.

And now I would respectfully appeal to my fellow-countrymen to reflect on the matter contained in this volume, to examine the facts adduced without reference to the hasty and imperfect context, to weigh seriously the present state of Ireland as compared with its past condition, and *especially to consider what they can gain by a separation from England.*

There is no proved evil which the Queen and Parliament of the United Kingdom are not anxious to redress. There is no practical good which legislative enactment can confer, that they are not ready to pass. One hundred and five Irish representatives in the Imperial Parliament have only to pronounce their wishes for the passing of an Act not injurious to the connection of the two countries, or abstractedly unjust, and it would be carried with acclamation.

But for the unfortunate agitation that has existed, our Gracious Sovereign would probably ere this have visited Ireland, and have triennially held her court in its metropolis.

Irishmen have heretofore been loyal subjects of the Crown; in the army and in the navy, abroad and at home, they have been among its bravest defenders, and upheld their national qualities in every field.

Let those qualities which have given Ireland a name among nations, be united in the holy cause of the social regeneration of their country; let those baneful religious feuds and bitter sectarian animosities be merged in the true brotherhood of Catholic Christianity. Nowhere will the real union of Irishmen of every creed for the improvement of Ireland be received with more joyful welcome than in England; for England has a pride, a pleasure, and a satisfaction in the welfare of Ireland. Her gallant armies in England and in India are commanded by Irishmen; her intricate foreign affairs are ably swayed by an Irishman; and Burke, Canning, Wellesley, and other great statesmen, are among the noblest monuments of her senatorial wisdom. Self-interest, policy, duty,—above all, Christian principles,—are in favour of preserving the United Kingdom in all its entirety. There is everything to be lost, nothing to be gained, by a severance. From the Peer to the Peasant, it is the solemn obligation of all to maintain the Union, to aid in redressing existing evils, and to co-operate in raising the condition of the poor in Ireland. With the blessing of Divine Providence this may be accomplished without any disturbance of our free and glorious Constitution, and in this pious work Irishmen will find all Englishmen ready to second their efforts.

Let then the energies and talents (and, I may add, patriotism, however mistaken) which are now employed to obtain a severance from England, be devoted to the real and permanent improvement of Ireland. Let a charitable construction be put upon the violent language which a misdirected enthusiasm has influenced; and, when Government has vindicated the power of the law for the maintenance of order, let oblivion be cast on the past, in the hope of witnessing a brighter future.

I cannot close these pages without expressing an earnest hope that the beneficent wishes of our Sovereign for the happiness of Ireland, may find a response in the hearts of Her Majesty's subjects in the sister kingdom; that the temperate and humane policy of the British government may be rightly appreciated; and that

the impartial, firm, yet conciliatory administration of the ruling Viceroy, may remove long-standing prejudices—counteract a widespread infatuation—and sustain and direct a patriotism not the less fervent because it is guided by reason and reflection—nor the less permanent because under the governance of a religion which teaches that Christian ends must be sought only by Christian means.

R. M. MARTIN.

LONDON,
April, 1848.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since the foregoing was printed I have received the following detailed account of the amount of money issued in grants and loans for relief of distress in Ireland from the commencement of that distress, under the following Acts of Parliament:—

Title of Act of Parliament.	Amount Issued.	In Loan.	In Grant.
	£	£	£
9 Vic. cap. 1	476,000	238,000	238,000
9 Vic. cap. 2	130,000	130,000	.
9 Vic. cap. 3	90,000	.	90,000
10 & 11 Vic. cap. 75 }			
Loss by Commissariat operations, freight on Charitable supplies* . .	300,000	.	300,000
Donations	260,000	.	260,000
Drainage Works	73,500	.	73,500
10 Vic. cap. 107	4,814,000	2,407,000	2,407,000
10 Vic. cap. 7, 22	1,669,886	953,355	716,531
10 Vic. cap. 32	190,000	190,000	.
Advances to Boards of Guardians . .	32,000	.	32,000
District Drainage	329,436	329,436	310,000
Extra Staff of Board of Works . .	310,000	.	.
10 Vic. cap. 73	620,000	620,000	.
Totals	9,294,822	4,867,791	4,427,031

* This does not include various sums not yet issued. It does not include £1,500,000 authorised by Act 10 Vic. cap. 32, for improvement of land, of which but £190,000 has yet been issued; and it does not include a further charge for Commissariat loss to the extent of upwards of £200,000.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

ENGLAND stands charged before the civilised world with having conquered Ireland, and destroyed its independence as a kingdom ; with having practised the most cruel oppressions towards Ireland for seven centuries ; and with having iniquitously contrived, by “ demoniac, fraudulent, and corrupt measures,” a Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, which has produced “ *misery, wretchedness, exhaustion, and destitution ; and which has diffused throughout the nation want and woe ; bitter discontent and heart-rending sorrow :*” furthermore, it is openly and loudly alleged, that “ *there is no truth more undeniable than this, that ENGLAND HAS INFLICTED MORE GRIEVOUS CALAMITIES UPON IRELAND THAN ANY COUNTRY ON THE FACE OF THE EARTH BESIDES HAS DONE UPON ANY OTHER. IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND THERE IS NOTHING TO BE COMPARED WITH THE ATROCITY OF THE CRIMES WHICH ENGLAND HAS PERPETRATED ON THE IRISH PEOPLE ; nor as yet has the spirit which created and animated such crimes been much mitigated, if mitigated at all, from its original virulence. The consummation of such crimes, up to the close of the last century, is to be found in the atrocious manner in which the Legislative Union between both countries was effected ;*” and it is added, that “ THE VOICE OF THE CIVILISED WORLD LAYS TO THE CHARGE OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT THE GUILT OF HAVING PRODUCED THIS EXASPERATION OF NATIONAL FEELING, THIS MISERY, THIS WRETCHEDNESS, THIS EXHAUSTION, THIS DESTITUTION.”—*Address to the Inhabitants of the Countries subject to the British Crown, issued from the Corn-Exchange, Dublin, 13th September, 1843.*

Happily for mankind, the expression of enlightened public opinion now operates on nations as well as on individuals, and charges thus loudly proclaimed and widely disseminated wherever the English language is understood, deserve, if true, the deepest and gravest consideration; and, if false, the severest reprobation and punishment.

It is due, therefore, to the character of England that these charges should be fully and minutely investigated; it is essential to the repose of Ireland, that the reality of her past history and present condition be faithfully submitted for contemplation; and it is not beneath the dignity of the British Empire to develop to foreign nations the course of policy adopted by England towards Ireland, and the effects of the Legislative Union between the two islands.

The object of the following pages is therefore to inquire calmly, without acrimony, and with an anxious solicitude for the discovery of truth, into the accuracy of these charges; to test Ireland in all her positions, from the earliest period of which we possess any written records; to examine minutely her condition politically, commercially, financially, and socially; to ascertain her relative state in every point of view, before and after the legislative incorporation of the two islands in 1800; and, having submitted every fact which will bear upon the question, without any imputation on the motives or conduct of those who are in favour of a Repeal of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, to leave the whole case in the hands of public opinion for unbiassed and final adjudication.

The charges against England are contained in several published and extensively circulated documents, and set forth at considerable length in an address which was printed, 13th September, 1843, for dissemination in different parts of the world, and addressed "to the Inhabitants of the countries subject to the British Crown."

The allegations in this document are that England has *since and by means of the Union* "continued and aggravated every pre-existing evil," and "omitted no opportunity to inflict new and severe grievances upon this unhappy country"—(Ireland); that she

has "annihilated" its manufactures, "put down its productive commerce" and "substituted" "in its room the export of the prime necessities of life," that absentee landlords may riot in foreign lands and strangers to the soil be benefited,—that she has "conveyed away from our shores our hardy population," "to enrich by their productive labour any country but their own;" "has wilfully and of *malice prepense* created Irish pauperism to the extent of two millions of human beings; has converted the most lightly-taxed country in Europe, under the protection of the Irish Parliament, into "the most heavily-taxed country on the face of the earth" "whilst under the rule of the British Legislature;"—that she has within the last ten years *depopulated* Ireland annually by the terrific number of 700,000 souls; has "aggravated" the "physical evils produced by the Union" "by political injury and religious insult,"—has compelled Ireland to pay England such a tribute as no country in the world pays to another—"a tribute creating exhaustion, poverty, misery, and destitution in all their frightful forms:"—that she has encouraged "wholesale murders, followed by the assassination in detail of the instruments of landlord rapacity:" has enabled Irish landlords to "usurp a bigotted power over the souls as well as the bodies of their wretched serfs:"—that she now offers "such insults to us as were never inflicted on any other;" and that she denies "to the moral, the temperate, the religious, the brave Irish nation the poor boon conceded to the negro and the hill-coolie."

In various other documents the same charges are again and again promulgated; not to multiply instances, however, take for example the following passage of a recent work, written and extensively disseminated by the "*Loyal National Repeal Association of Dublin*,"

"Failing to obtain her ends by treaty, England resolved upon the Union, in order thereby to regain and extend her old domination. Parliamentary corruption unfortunately gave her the means; and by that, and *the DEMONIACAL EXPEDIENT OF FOMENTING A REBELLION* to distract the country, and give excuse for military violence, she reversed our triumph only fifteen years

later, and *destroyed our commerce, our manufactures, our legislative independence, and our national prosperity.*" [From the "REPEAL ASSOCIATION REPORT ON THE GENERAL CASE OF IRELAND FOR A REPEAL OF THE LEGISLATIVE UNION," p. 68. Dublin, 1843.]

The following pages are in answer to these reiterated allegations. The work has no literary pretensions; it is a plain statement of facts which appear to me to carry with them a complete refutation of these calumnious charges.

Dedication.

TO THE RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART.,

FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY.

SIR,

Your early official career as Secretary for Ireland—your subsequent administration of the affairs of the Home Department—and the exalted and deeply responsible office you now fill, induce me to lay before you the following facts relative to the state of Ireland *Before and After the Union*.

In the accompanying pages I have investigated the past and present condition of Ireland—I have examined into the truth of the grave allegations that have been made against the British Nation and Government—and, finally, I have endeavoured to ascertain what benefits Ireland has received from the incorporation of her Legislature with that of Great Britain.

The statements herein given speak for themselves: they show that *Ireland has had her population doubled, and her shipping and commerce, internal and external, quadrupled since the Union*; that by means of this much-calumniated Union, she has obtained Parliamentary Reform, Roman Catholic Emancipation, a National System of Education, a Legislative Provision for the Poor, a Commutation of Tithes, a Reform in her Corporations, a perfect Freedom of Trade with Great Britain, and many other important advantages, such as she never before possessed, and such as she never could have gained from her local and dependent legislature.

These pages also fully demonstrate, that the agriculture of Ireland has been greatly extended since the Union—that the linen

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and cotton manufactures have been considerably augmented—that the savings banks, customs, excise, post office receipts, and stamps have largely increased; thus indicating the improved condition of the great bulk of the people—that the value of land has been raised from seventeen to twenty-seven years' purchase—that the taxation of Ireland, which was *twenty* shillings annually per head in 1800, is now only *ten* shillings annually—that the excess of taxation in Great Britain compared with Ireland, since the year 1800, amounts to 325,316,861*l.* sterling—that Ireland has fifty representatives in the Imperial Parliament more than she is entitled to send by her contributions to the Imperial revenue, by her property, and by her foreign commerce—that a great deal of time and attention has been paid in the united Legislature to the affairs of Ireland—that the penal laws were not the result of religious bigotry—that the Established Church is the ancient Church of Ireland, and its income, amounting to one shilling per head annually, cannot justly be considered a national grievance, or a cause of general suffering. Finally :—that whatever evils may exist in Ireland, those evils cannot be ascribed to the Legislative Union of 1800, which has been the means of conferring vast and incalculable benefits on Ireland.

Sir, you have truly declared that “*Ireland never had an independent Parliament, and never can have one consistently with the sovereignty of the British Crown, and the connection with the island of Great Britain ;*”* and you have also emphatically declared that “IT IS MADNESS TO ATTEMPT TO SEVER THE UNION.”†

In this Imperial sentiment, the loyal population of Ireland, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant, most fully concur.

Every British subject who rightly appreciates Constitutional freedom—who desires the preservation of Civil and Religious Liberty—and who is solicitous for the maintenance of this great Empire, will doubtless aid in preventing the continuance of this “madness,” and in the punishment of those by whom it has been caused and perpetuated.

* House of Commons debate, Feb. 25, 1834.

† Ditto, Feb. 8, 1830.

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The question does not affect Ireland alone: it involves in its fate the Monarchy and our widely-extended dominions;—it includes the Reformed faith and the Aristocracy of this realm—and it embraces the rights of Property, and the preservation of social Order throughout the whole Kingdom.

Believing, as I do, that the present crisis deserves the deepest consideration, I have, unsolicited and unaided, prepared this Work, in the hope that it may be useful to my country, and by its exposition of truth be rendered conducive to the preservation of the public peace and to the restoration of domestic tranquillity.

The question is not one of party interest; every good subject of the Crown must be desirous of suppressing the existing agitation, and no reputable Anti-Ministerial politician can, by fomenting or secretly conniving at sedition in Ireland, reasonably hope to return, or raise, his party to ministerial power in England. Neither can any class of society wish to injure or misgovern Ireland: it is for the direct, immediate, and permanent benefit of Great Britain that the people of the sister island should be morally and politically free, prosperous, and happy; and the remarkable exemptions from taxation,—the large sums of money, public and private,—and the amount of practical legislation devoted to Ireland, most fully indicate the anxious solicitude experienced for their welfare.

The co-operation in the same Cabinet of four highly distinguished statesmen who have filled the post of Secretary for Ireland, and who have evinced, by the introduction of various useful measures, an earnest desire for her improvement, is an assurance that any proposed measures for the welfare of Ireland will receive a just and practical consideration.

While evidencing the benefits which Ireland has already received from her perfect legislative incorporation with Great Britain, I beg, Sir, to solicit your consideration on two points:

First,—As regards the density of population. *Eight million two hundred thousand* human beings are located on thirty-two thousand square miles, of which one third are covered with lakes, rivers,

mountains, and bogs. On the whole area, the density is in the proportion of more than 250 individuals to each square mile; but the proportion (as will be seen by the accompanying Statistical Chart) of inhabitants to the cultivable surface, is to the great amount of 388 to each square mile.

When we consider that Ireland is chiefly an agricultural country,—nearly *three centuries behind England* in the resources and numerous advantages of long-established peace and civilisation,—and devoid of the accumulated capital resulting from successful manufacturing and commercial skill and industry, the exceeding pressure of population on the means of production will be more fully apparent. In many counties this physical pressure is fearful. In the rich grazing counties of the province of Leinster, there are only 219 to each square mile of cultivable surface; in the large province of Munster there are 391; in the poor province of Connaught there are 411; and in Ulster, where the linen and cotton manufactures furnish employment, there are 431 individuals to each arable square mile. But when we examine the counties separately, the pressure becomes more apparent, the average density in various districts being from 360 to 560 on the square mile. In Sligo and Leitrim the density is 398. In Cork, Clare, and Limerick, 400; in all the Northern counties it is considerably above 400; in Kerry, 452; in Antrim, 460; in Mayo, 500; in Armagh, 560!

Sir, I earnestly entreat your deep reflection on this vital subject. England, with her vast, almost incalculable wealth,—her gigantic manufacturing power, rich mineral productions,—extensive fisheries, and her widely-spread maritime commerce, could not sustain in comfort the same density of population as exists in the comparatively poor country of Ireland.

Second.—The defective monetary circulation. *One county* in England, (Lancashire, or Yorkshire,) has a greater amount of metallic and paper circulation than all Ireland and its eight millions of inhabitants. I respectfully submit the details on this important subject, in the Fifth Part of the following pages, to your mature consideration. To this redundancy of population and deficiency

of capital is, I think, mainly ascribable the physical condition of the people of Ireland; hence the labour-market is always overstocked,—wages are low,—the interest of money high,—and the smallest patch of mountain bog, capable of growing a few potatoes for the mere sustainment of life, an object of fierce contention, and a cause of the existing morbidly diseased state of society.

Were the monetary circulation in proportion to the number of inhabitants, the largest coal field in the British Empire (Mallow) would not be utterly valueless;—the rich veins of copper, lead, and iron would be profitably worked,—the fine slate and beautiful marble quarries would be in full activity, ministering to the comfort and elegance of society,—the deep bays, large lakes, and noble rivers teeming with fish of every variety, would not be, as now, perfectly useless. Nearly three million acres of bog land (as shown in the Appendix, page 418) which might be reclaimed for about one million sterling, would be yielding food and employment for thousands of our fellow-creatures. Railways would not be confined to a small district of a few miles in extent; but Cork, with its capacious haven, would, if connected by a railroad with Dublin, most probably become the naval entrepôt for British post-office communication with continental Europe, America, and our colonies.

For these and other adducible reasons, I venture, Sir, to suggest to your superior knowledge and judgment the propriety of permitting the incorporation of public bodies, who may be disposed to invest capital in the development of the resources, and in the employment of the people of Ireland.

Millions of British capital have been vested in foreign loans and speculations, which have been entirely lost. One of the chief reasons for this lavish investment was the known extent of liability. Were this definite liability conceded to Ireland, her mines and fisheries would contribute largely to the national wealth; the poor fishermen, without boats or nets, or piers to shelter them, would gladly avail themselves of small loans to pursue their dangerous vocation; and an invaluable class of seamen would be trained for the service of their country.

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Wealth, properly employed, would create more wealth; an industrious and keen-minded population, when in full, permanent, and remunerative occupation, would have their energies and talents devoted to useful pursuits, instead of to a pernicious political agitation, and the whole British Empire would become a participator in the general tranquillity and productive industry of the people of Ireland. To England there would be great gain by the increased prosperity of Ireland. Notwithstanding its manifest improvement since the Union, the consumption of British manufactures in Ireland is not more than one guinea per annum for each inhabitant of Ireland,—whereas the negroes in the West Indies consume each *five* pounds worth per annum of British manufactures, and their fellow-subjects in Australasia, each to the extent of *fifteen* pounds worth annually.

If English capital were judiciously employed in Ireland, land, which now only yields one-third per acre of the same produce as in England, would contribute largely for domestic use as well as for exportation; the Irish would become a *consuming* as well as a producing people, and instead of requiring merely seven to eight millions worth annually of British manufactures, their wants might soon be increased, and the demand for manufactures be raised to at least five pounds a head yearly, thus requiring annually of British goods to the amount of *forty millions sterling*.

Fervently hoping, Sir, that the British Government and Legislature will preserve in its integrity and puissance this great and glorious Empire, and adopt and carry into effect just and practical measures really conducive to the welfare of Ireland, I have the honour to inscribe myself,

With sincere respect,

Your obedient and faithful Servant,

R. M. MARTIN.

LONDON,

December, 1843.

DUBLIN AND CORK RAILWAY.

"THE national benefits derivable from communication by railway are now universally admitted, and the period, it is to be hoped, has arrived for extending to Ireland a portion of the advantages which rapid and economical transit confer on agriculture and commerce, by which the welfare of the Sister Island, as well as that of England, will be materially promoted, and the unity of the British empire strengthened and consolidated. The Irish Railway Commissioners, among other advantages derivable from railways in Ireland, make the following remarks:—

"A well-arranged system of railways in Ireland would have the effect of continuing and extending throughout the country the benefits which the outports have obtained by the introduction of steam-vessels. The subsisting relations of business and commerce would be thereby extended and enlarged, and others formed, opening fresh resources to the industry and enterprise of the trading portion of the community; while an object of no less consideration would be immediately attained, in rendering agricultural produce, which may be called the grand staple of this country, at the same time more profitable to the producers, and accessible on easier terms to the principal purchasers and consumers.' . . . 'In short, where the capabilities of the system are brought fully into operation, they present such an accumulation of advantages, as to render it an instrument of unequalled power in advancing the prosperity of a country.'—*Irish Railway Commissioners' Report*, pp. 91 and 95.

"The line between Dublin and Cork, passing through, or connected with, several of the principal towns in Ireland—with the richest intervening agricultural counties—some of the most populous districts, and, in proportion to its length, the fewest natural impediments—offers the greatest inducements for the formation of a railway, which shall connect the Irish metropolis with one of the finest harbours in the world. The Railway Commissioners appointed by the Crown, in 1836, make the following observations on this point:—'We earnestly recommend that every effort be made to combine into one interest, and under one management and control, the whole of the southern system of communication between Dublin and Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and Kilkenny. If a body of capitalists be found ready to undertake this great work as a whole, we presume that the general feeling of the Legislature and of the country will be to leave the execution of it as little fettered as possible, by restriction to the management of private enterprise; and, in addition to this, it would be just and advisable to relieve them from all needless expenses, to which, otherwise, in the existing state of the law they would be liable. With this view we recommend particularly that the Act of Parliament be granted free of any charge, as for a *public measure*; that a mode of determining the amounts to be paid in compensation of land and damages be adopted on principles more fixed and independent of private or local bias than the present practice, and that some general enactment be provided, authorising to a certain extent alterations of obvious utility, to be introduced with the original plan, without the costly expedient of resorting in every case to Parliament for a new or amended act. To accomplish so important an object as that contemplated, we may look forward to a certain degree of assistance from the state, as great, at least, as has been given for the encouragement of other public works in Ireland; and on those grounds of policy which, we believe, have not been disputed. We therefore suggest that Government should advance, by way of loan, a considerable proportion of the amount of the estimates, at the lowest rate of interest, and on the easiest terms of repayment, to be secured by a mortgage of the works.'—*Irish Railway Commissioners' Report*, 1838, p. 94.

"The very moderate rate at which the land necessary for the formation of the railway may be obtained—the general flatness of the country through which it is intended to pass, and along which no tunnelling will be requisite—the absence of numerous cross-roads and canals, thus saving the heavy expense of bridges and viaducts—the avoidance of engineering expense, on account of the line having been already surveyed and laid down by Government—the low wages of labour, together with the reduced price of stone, lime, and timber, and the diminished cost for termini at the principal towns in Ireland compared with England, justify the expectation of the work being accomplished within the given estimate; while increasing prosperity and augmenting traffic afford the most satisfactory prospect of an ample and enhanced return for the capital that may be invested, the calculations being the result of actual data, prepared by the official authorities for the information of Government."

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Provinces.	Counties.	Area in English Square Miles.	Arable Land, in Square Miles.	Population.			Pre- s. N	
				In 1821.	In 1831.	In 1831.		
						Males.		Females.
LEINSTER.	Dublin	345	307	335,891	379,739	170,930	22,014	
	Wicklow	781	439	110,767	122,301	63,489	8,847	
	Wexford	897	798	170,806	182,991	97,918	13,217	
	Carlow	345	288	78,952	81,649	42,428	7,742	
	Kildare	654	558	99,065	111,141	58,030	2,697	
	Kilkenny	795	735	181,946	193,432	99,114	13,815	
	Longford	421	300	107,570	112,391	57,610	3,143	
	Louth	314	280	101,011	125,546	54,651	1,681	
	King's County	771	527	131,088	148,984	72,651	3,596	
	Queen's County	662	535	134,275	145,843	76,403	5,060	
	Westmeath	708	571	128,819	166,883	70,385	5,149	
East Meath	906	856	159,183	190,309	100,140	5,014		
Total of the Province		7,599	6,194	1,739,373	1,961,109	963,647	1,000,975	
ULSTER.	Antrim	1,161	787	262,860	372,938	172,391	18,937	
	Armagh	512	415	197,427	220,653	113,892	12,782	
	Cavan	746	587	195,076	228,040	120,814	13,810	
	Down	954	804	325,410	360,853	173,538	18,690	
	Donegal	1,865	615	248,270	300,694	145,821	17,667	
	Londonderry	808	498	193,869	222,416	106,825	11,683	
	Tyrone	1,260	704	261,865	304,247	153,463	15,937	
	Monaghan	500	447	174,697	195,532	98,071	10,281	
	Fermanagh	714	452	130,997	147,555	76,982	8,203	
Total of the Province		8,520	5,309	1,990,471	2,353,928	1,161,797	1,250,990	
MUNSTER.	Cork	2,875	2,045	730,444	857,576	420,551	48,124	
	Kerry	1,853	648	216,185	263,280	147,307	15,091	
	Clare	1,293	711	208,089	263,262	144,109	15,683	
	Limerick	1,060	824	277,617	200,080	161,997	16,650	
	Tipperary	1,656	1,318	346,896	406,977	216,650	21,527	
	Waterford	719	509	156,521	172,519	95,576	10,951	
Total of the Province		9,456	6,055	1,935,752	2,163,694	1,186,190	1,200,026	
CONNAUGHT.	Galway	2,445	1,161	165,679	429,211	219,564	22,692	
	Leitrim	613	390	124,785	145,457	77,501	7,790	
	Mayo	2,130	778	293,112	367,961	194,198	19,479	
	Roscommon	949	689	208,729	246,601	127,016	12,334	
	Sligo	721	455	146,229	171,508	89,563	9,825	
Total of the Province		6,858	3,473	938,534	1,360,738	707,852	71,121	
Grand Total .		32,433	21,031	6,604,130	7,839,469	4,019,486	4,150,539	

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IRELAND

BEFORE AND AFTER THE UNION.

CHAPTER I.

The Political State of Ireland from the Earliest Period to the Union ;—Showing its Misery and Turbulence under a Separate Legislature ;—The Origin of that Legislature, and its Non-Essential Feature of a Parliament by Want of the Power to Vote or Check Supplies to the Crown ;—the Cause of the Rebellion of 1798 demonstrated ;—that it was not Fostered by the British Government for the Purpose of Carrying the Union proved ;—Ireland never so much an Independent Kingdom as at the Present Moment.

IN examining the arguments in favour of a Repeal of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, a primary point for discussion is the allegation, that "*Ireland must be a kingdom again, and no longer a pitiful province.*" A minute investigation of the works of any historian who has written on Ireland demonstrates that she never possessed such practical liberty, or was so thoroughly a free kingdom, as at the present period. Of the aborigines of Erin we know as little with certainty as we do of the early inhabitants of Albion ; but national pride has been strained to the utmost limit to display antiquity of descent. Cæsara, a niece of Noah, is said to have emigrated thither with a large retinue *previous* to the Deluge ; this honour is, however, denied to Cæsara by some, who contend that the first coloniser was Partholan, a descendant of Japhet, who in the year of the world 1956, on the dispersion of the presumptuous builders of the Tower of Babel, sought refuge with his followers in the Emerald Isle, after being expelled from Greece. To the descendants of Shem, who refused to coalesce with the cursed

posterity of Ham, the merit of discovering Ireland is also assigned; while others contend that the execrated children of Ham, under the name of Fomorians, came from Africa to Ireland, A.M. 2400. A colony of the posterity of Japhet is also said to have arrived there from the Euxine, and to have fiercely contended for the dominion of the island during four centuries with the wicked Fomorians. The latter, although finally successful, were themselves destroyed after many years' bloody contests by the renowned Firl-bogs from Belgium, A.M. 2503; and these again, after retaining their conquests several years, were beaten in turn (A.M. 2541) by the gallant Danonians, from Norway and Sweden, who, after slaying many thousand Firl-bogs, including their monarch, drove the remnant to the Isles of Man, Hebrides, &c. and remained masters of Ireland for more than two centuries. Then came the Milesians, a celebrated race, who, quitting Egypt and Phœnicia for the subjugation of Spain, became the rulers of Ireland, after many sanguinary contests with the Danonians (A.M. 2736).

The chronology of these contending colonisers runs thus:—

The Partholarians	.	.	.	.	.	1956 A.M.
The Nimhedians	.	.	.	.	.	2286 do.
The Firl-bogs	.	.	.	.	.	2503 do.
The Danonii	.	.	.	.	.	2541 do.
The Milesians	.	.	.	.	.	2736 do.

From this period, and for the greater part of eleven centuries, the island was kept in a state of constant excitement by invasions of the Firl-bogs, Gauls, Danes, Picts, &c. and by never-ending dissensions among the rulers; for, of 178 monarchs of the Milesian colony, from Heber and Heremon down to Roderick O'Connor (who was ruler when the English arrived, A.D. 1170), only twenty died natural deaths; sixty were treacherously murdered and succeeded by their assassins, and seventy-one were slain in battle.* The most ferocious or the most subtle man was nominally ruler of the whole island; then there were four or five provincial kings or rulers beneath him, as well as innumerable

* Harris's edition of Sir J. Ware's *Antiquities*.

grades of tributary chiefs, hating each other, but professing fealty to the power directly above them; and, last of all, came the mass of the people, in a state of brutal servitude.

From the eighth to the tenth century the Danes, Norwegians, and other Scandinavian pirates ravaged the coasts of Ireland, and formed some settlements. The Venerable Bede states that in the year 684 the General of Egfrid, King of Northumberland, made a descent on Ireland; and a charter of King Edgar, dated at Gloucester, A.D. 964, recites that this prince had "conquered Ireland." William the Norman contemplated the annexation of Ireland to England, as did also Henry I.

The condition of society in Ireland, subject to constant invasion and plunder, may easily be imagined. *No man* (says Sir John Davis, the historian) *could enjoy his life, wife, lands, or goods in safety, if a mightier man than himself had an appetite for them; and the weak had no remedy against the stronger.* The neglect of lawful matrimony was necessarily followed by repudiation of wives, and promiscuous generation of children. These habits, among many others equally uncivilised, which the Brehon Institutes display, one of which ordained that *murder* was commutable into a fine, denominated the "*eirich*," to be levied according to the rank of the individual, all sufficiently attest the barbarism which pervaded Ireland on the landing of Henry II. at Waterford, in October, A.D. 1172. Indeed, every Irish historian, however partial to his native land, admits that, previous to the arrival of Strongbow, Ireland was an *Aceldama*—a field of blood!

The crime which Henry was invited over to Ireland to punish—the want of almost the commonest architectural structures for the people—the deep degradation to which the mass of the populace were subjected, as also the very trifling number of inhabitants which the whole island contained,—all demonstrate that Ireland could not even then be considered as ranking among the kingdoms of the earth. Yet this is the only period which can be named as a confirmatory proof that Ireland ought again to become a kingdom as before. Henry immediately began the task of incorporating the two islands. He wisely saw that nature

had placed them in juxtaposition, to be a support to each other, and that such a measure would be best secured by giving to his Irish subjects the same constitution as England; accordingly, the districts were divided into counties or shires; courts of justice were erected in Dublin (*viz.* Chancery, King's Bench, and Exchequer), and the Irish in the vicinity of Dublin soon sued for English laws as a boon: thus virtually acknowledging the benefit they derived from them. But Henry II. although he assembled a sort of Parliament in Dublin, to aid his efforts for the tranquillisation and prosperity of the country, did not erect Ireland into a separate kingdom; he merely took the title of *Lord of all Ireland*, a title which the Pope confirmed; while it must be borne in mind that the assumption by Henry VIII. of the style of "King of England, France, and Ireland," was attended by no change of circumstances in the latter country, the word *King* being merely substituted for *Lord*, which the Pope had conferred, and which Henry VIII. renounced when throwing off all allegiance to the Pope, and assuming the supremacy of the Church. It is, therefore, idle to assert the right of Ireland to be restored to her former state as a kingdom: the claims of Scotland and Wales, or the different branches of the Saxon Heptarchy, would be equally tenable and reasonable.

Every local institution and municipal right was introduced from England. Trial by jury and the appellants of sheriffs over counties were much encouraged in Ireland by Elizabeth, but opposed by the chieftains beyond "the pale," or circuit within which English laws were enforced, and beyond which the Brehon Institutes were in full power. In conformity with the desire of Queen Elizabeth to extend the principles of English liberty to Ireland, Her Majesty's Deputy Fitzwilliam, in the 39th year of her reign, announced to the chieftain of Fermanagh (Maguire) the intention of sending a sheriff into his county. The reply of Maguire will show the state of Ireland, and the nature of the Brehon laws:—"Your sheriff shall be welcome," said Maguire, "but let me know his *eirick* (value), that, if my people cut off his head, I may levy the expense upon the county." [*Vide* Sir John

Davis's Irish History, page 259, written A.D. 1613.] It was, indeed, very difficult to produce unity and restore order in Ireland. A document, written A.D. 1494, enumerates no less than sixty divisions of various interests, together with a long catalogue of "barbarized alien English."

Let us now proceed to examine the nature of that anomalous assembly denominated the Irish Parliament.

Ireland never possessed that essential branch of a constitution denominated a House of Commons, in the only correct designation of the term. Assemblies under the designation of Parliaments were, it is true, convened at different periods for the better government of Ireland, and to protect the people from the injustice and oppression of feudal chiefs, who plundered their vassals under various pretences. Sometimes these assemblies were convened in Dublin, sometimes in one of the provinces (viz. at Kilkenny, Drogheda, Trim), and sometimes in London, and of late most frequently in the first-mentioned city. The chief legislation required by the age was carried on in England, for the Irish were then utterly unfit to govern themselves. For example, in the thirteenth year of King Edward I., the Statutes of Westminster and of Merchants were sent by the King's command to his Chief Justice in Ireland, to be there proclaimed and observed. By the 49th and 50th record of Edward III., a Parliament composed of learned and distinguished peers, prelates, and commoners residing in Ireland was summoned to attend in England, "to treat" (as the writ expresses it) "with the king about the affairs of Ireland, and others of the king's arduous and urgent concerns,"—*de aliis negotiis arduis et urgentibus non convenientibus*. Here we see, that, although the Crown had previously assembled Parliaments in Ireland, yet it had the power to assemble them in London as well as in Dublin—a power afterwards exercised by Cromwell, who desired to consolidate England and Ireland the more firmly by having one code of laws, one system of commerce, one parliamentary assembly; and therefore, during the Protectorship, forty representatives were summoned from Ireland to attend the United Parliament in London, none being permitted to be assembled in Dublin. But another circum-

stance shows more clearly the nature of the so-called Irish House of Commons. Up to the period of its incorporation with the British Parliament in 1800, the Crown was under no necessity of applying annually to the Irish Parliament for supplies, the revenues of Ireland being hereditarily vested in the Crown for the support of Government. Nor was it till after the Union that Irishmen can be said to have had representatives, on the intelligible principle of controlling national taxation and expenditure. In fact, as correctly observed by Alderman Butt, "the Parliaments of the Edwards and the Henrys were mere conventions of the English settlers, irregular in their constitution, in their place and time of meeting, without any of the attributes of legislative, or even of deliberative, assemblies."

The annals of Ireland record, that in 1310, in the 3rd year of Edward II., a Parliament or Assembly was held at Kilkenny. In 1327, 1328, and 1330, Parliaments or Assemblies were held also at Kilkenny. "Anno 1331 (5 Edward III.), Anthony Lord Lacy, Justice of Ireland, ordained a Parliament at Dublin, at the uta's of St. John the Baptist, unto which certain ancients of the land came not; whereupon he removed it to Kilkenny, unto which place there repaired the Lord Thomas Fitz Thomas and others which came not in before, submitting themselves to the King's grace and mercy." The same year "King Edward III. by advice of Council, in a *Parliament of England*, ordained ordinances and articles for the reformation of the state, weal, and peace of Ireland, and sent them to his chief officers, there to be kept and observed by them and others his subjects of the land."

1408, James Boteler, Earl of Ormond, chosen Lord Chief Justice, held a Parliament at Dublin, wherein the statutes of Kilkenny and Dublin were confirmed, and a charter, under the Great Seal of England, was granted against purveyors.

In 1465 (5 Edward IV.), a Parliament was held at Trim, before Thomas Earl of Desmond, at which it was ordained that the "Irishmen dwelling in the counties of Dublin, Myeth, Oriel, and Kildare, shall go apparelled like Englishmen, and wear their

beards after the English manner, swear allegiance, and take English surnames."

I have diligently searched the whole of the rolls of the House of Commons, (from 1310,) and House of Lords, (from 1634,) and find nothing worth recording; the settlement of subsidies for the Crown seems to have been the chief business. The following is an entry in the Lords' Journals; it shows the small amount of subsidy the Crown then derived from Ireland:—"1634, 2 Martii. It is ordered upon question, that the distribution of the subsidies for the several provinces, as they are now proportioned and reported from the Lord Deputy, shall be confirmed by this House: viz. Leinster, 13,000*l*. Ulster, 10,000*l*. Munster, 11,200*l*. Connaught, 6800*l*. Total, 41,000*l*."

The most ancient summons extant for convening an Assembly or Parliament in Ireland, bears date 25 March, 1374, when the following places only were directed to return members to Parliament:—County of Dublin (4 Knights), Liberty of Meath, Cross of Meath, Counties of Loueth, Kildare, and Catherlagh, City of Dublin, and Towns of Drogheda and Dundalk. *Total Members summoned, twenty.*

The writs, bearing date November 22, 1374, were, County of Dublin (2 Knights,) Counties Kildare, Catherlagh, Loueth, Waterford, Corke, and Limerick: *Liberties* of Ulster, Meath, Wexford, Tipperary, and Kerry; *Crosses* of Ulster, Meath, Wexford, Tipperary, and Kerry; *Cities* of Dublin, Corke, Waterford, and Limerick; and *Towns* of Drogheda, Yoghill, Kinsale, Ross, Wexford, and Kilkenny. *Total, fifty-four.*

In 1397, the writs were in number *sixty-two*; and, in addition to the foregoing places, the counties of Clare and Longford are mentioned, also the towns of Galway and Athney.

In 1380 and in 1382, the writs were reduced to fifty-eight.

No other summons to Parliament remains on record prior to 1559 (2 Elizabeth,) when the House of Commons was composed of 76 members. In 1585, the number was augmented to 122; in 1613 to 232; in 1634 to 254; in 1639 to 274; and in 1692 to 300 members, at which number it remained until the Union.

The proceedings of the Irish Parliaments next deserve attention. The evils of a separate legislature were soon felt to be very great: during the ruinous contests of the Houses of York and Lancaster, but more particularly during the lord-lieutenancy of the Duke of York and his successors, the Irish Viceroy summoned Parliaments at his pleasure, (*rege inconsulto*,) and bills were passed without any regard to order or decency, the statutes made by one faction being held of no validity by the lord deputy of another faction, by whom they were rescinded. The rival factions did not, however, confine themselves to repealing each other's laws; they also confiscated each other's estates when in power, and convened at the same moment different assemblies, each assuming to themselves the rights, privileges, and authorities of a Constitutional Parliament. After a terrible state of discord, the strongest faction at last set up an impostor named Lambert Simnel, as the representative of the House of York, and crowned him king of England as Edward VI. at Christ Church, Dublin, A. D. 1486! Here we have a specimen of the proceedings which would inevitably take place in the event of the "Repeal of the Union" project being realised. The wisdom of Henry VII. soon put a stop to such disastrous confusion; an able lawyer, named Sir Edward Ponynys, was sent over to compose the distracted state of the "English pale,"—thus called, because all persons residing within the boundaries thereof were under English laws.

A Parliament was summoned before Sir Edward Ponynys, as the King's Deputy, and held at Drogheda, A.D. 1495, and an act passed, since known under the name of Ponynys' Act, by which it was provided that "no Parliament be holden hereafter in Ireland but at such season as the King's lieutenant in council there first do certify to the King, under the Great Seal of the land, the causes and considerations thereof, and all such acts as to them seemeth should pass in the same Parliament; and such causes, considerations, and acts, affirmed by the King and his Council, to be good and expedient for that land, and his licence thereupon, as well in affirmation of the said causes and acts, as to summon the said Parliament under his Great Seal of England had

and obtained; that done, a Parliament to be had and holden after the form and effect afore-rehearsed; and if any Parliament be holden in that land hereafter, contrary to the form and provision aforesaid, it shall be deemed void and of none effect in law." The Lord Lieutenant or the King in Council became by this act the proposer of all laws to be passed, and the dependence of the Irish Parliament was completely enacted, and declared by the Irish themselves.

In the ever earnest endeavours to influence the minds of the people of Ireland against the English, attention is repeatedly called to "Ponynys' Act," as one of the specimens of English domination; but the circumstances under which it originated are carefully omitted, and perfect silence is preserved, that it was at the time one of the most popular acts ever passed in Ireland, on account of the people being thereby relieved from thousands of local oppressions under the cover of acts of Parliament. This act was modified in the third year of Philip and Mary, by the Governor and Council being empowered to certify such other causes requiring legislation as were not foreseen at the beginning of the session.

In fact, the Irish legislature was never considered independent of Great Britain; and English acts of Parliament in which Ireland was named were held to be binding. An act was passed 10 Henry VII. c. xxii. in the Irish Parliament, declaring that "all statutes late made within the said realm of England, concerning or belonging to the public weal of the same, from henceforth be deemed good and effectual in the law; and ones that be accepted, used, and executed within this land of Ireland, in all points, at all times requisite, according to the tenor and effect of the same, and ones that by authority aforesaid, that they and every of them be authorised, proved, and confirmed in this said land of Ireland. And if any statute or statutes shall have been made within this said land hereafter to the contrary, they and any of them, by authority aforesaid, be annulled, revoked, void, and of none effect in the law."

This power was further positively declared by statute 6 Geo. I.

c. 5, which originated in disputes between both Parliaments, as to the finality of an appeal in the Irish House of Lords; the Irish Parliament was therefore, as Campbell, the historian of 1789, says, little better than the registry of royal edicts.

By the Duke of Dorset's letters-patent, in 1750 (a copy of which is now before me), his Grace was authorised "to summon and hold a Parliament in Ireland whensoever it shall seem most expedient to him, *the royal consent in that behalf being first asked and obtained;*" and by the 22d paragraph of the same letters-patent, his Grace was "authorised to prorogue and adjourn the Parliament as often as necessity shall require, and fully to determine and dissolve the same."

From 1666 to 1692, that is, for twenty-six years, *there was no regular meeting of the Irish Parliament at all*, so little was it considered a constituent assembly. Four sessions were held in the reign of William III.; and from 1703 to 1783, it was only convened *biennially*. Until 1767 the deputation of the Lord Lieutenant was but biennial, and his residence for only one winter, the country being governed by three lords justices, one of which was the Lord Primate or Lord Chancellor, with whom were conjoined two nobles chosen by the Crown.

In 1753 violent disputes arose between the Irish legislature and the Crown, as the Irish members of Parliament were squandering some surplus revenue in the most shameful manner, for their private advantage.

The contest respecting the appropriation of the surplus revenue, which it was contended belonged to the King, to be disposed of for the benefit of the nation (the revenues being hereditarily vested in the Sovereign), shook the kingdom, and terminated only by the Irish Commons conceding to the Crown the contested claim. Dissension was for a time suppressed, but its seeds were not eradicated. The period when England was waging a fearful contest against France and America was chosen by the agitators of the day for the completion of their project. They asked for troops to defend the coast from invasion (well knowing that England had none to spare); and deluded men of the highest

rank and talent in the land to join them in what was pretended to be a patriotic cause.

With the permission of England 50,000 armed "Volunteers," as if sown by Cadmus, instantly sprang into action, and were no sooner organised than they commenced dictating to the Parliament, and threatening England with separation.

His Majesty accordingly in 1782 sent through the Viceroy a "message" to the Irish Parliament, with a *carte blanche*, for the general redress of Irish grievances. The Commons of Ireland, under the influence of the guns and sabres of the Volunteers, declared that none but the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland had power to make laws for Ireland. Mr. Grattan undertook to be the tranquilliser of his country; and Ponynys' Act was modified but not entirely repealed by the following act of the Irish Parliament, A.D. 1781, 2 Geo. III. 21 and 22, c. 47, entitled "An act to regulate the manner of passing bills, and to prevent delays in summoning of Parliament."

"SECT. 1.—No bills are henceforth to be certified to Great Britain but such as have been approved of by both Houses of Parliament under the great seal of Ireland, without alteration.

"SECT. 2.—Such acts returned under the great seal of Great Britain, and not altered, shall pass, and no other.

"SECT. 3.—No bill shall hereafter be certified for the holding of a Parliament in Ireland.

"SECT. 4.—*No Parliament shall be held without licence under the great seal of Great Britain.*"

By a subsequent act of the Irish Parliament, c. 48, "it is declared, that all statutes made in England or Great Britain concerning commerce, or seamen, or forfeited estates, or concerning proceedings at law or in equity, or in any Court of Delegacy or Review in case of a demise of the Crown, shall be accepted, used, and executed in this kingdom (Ireland), according to the present tenor of the same respectively." The assent of the Sovereign, under the great seal of *England* (not of Ireland), was still required to any acts passed by both houses of the Irish Parliament. The great seal of England was responsible to the English House of Commons, and not to that of Ireland. There was no Irish Cabinet. The English Cabinet, therefore, virtually

and necessarily controlled all acts passed by the Irish Legislature. The Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary were still nominated by and responsible to the English Cabinet.

The Irish Lords and Commons having however obtained power to pass, as well as to originate, bills without the previous consent of the English Privy Council, and to assemble a Parliament annually, a *final adjustment upon all* constitutional points was said to be completed, so that no difference should ever again arise between England and Ireland; and a solemn thanksgiving was offered in gratitude that there no longer existed any constitutional question to disturb mutual tranquillity. "But," says Mr. Plowden, the enthusiastic defender of Ireland and the Irish Parliament, "it appears as if it had been written in the book of fate, that the felicity of Ireland, while separate from Great Britain, should be short-lived, precarious, and uncertain."

New points of dispute between the two legislatures soon commenced, and even the noisy debaters of the Irish Parliament itself took opposite sides. Mr. Flood, for instance, contended that a repeal of the declaratory act, 6 Geo. I. did not establish the constitutional independence of Ireland: Mr. Grattan as fiercely contended that it did.

The real friends of Ireland, who preferred the substantial welfare of their country to the fanciful prospects of interested partisans, soon saw that what was *absurdly* termed the "Constitution of Irish Independence," must inevitably lead to separation from England, or a legislative incorporation; they wisely chose the latter as the lesser evil of the two, and accordingly, so early as 1782 (the famed year of independence), the Legislative Union between both countries (which had been petitioned for by the Irish House of Lords during the reign of Queen Anne) was proposed and debated. I use the word *absurd* as applied to the boasted constitution of Ireland, because it was clearly shown in the Parliamentary debates of the period that it was a mockery of terms to apply the word "constitution" to the mere modification of an act of parliament (Ponyngs' Act), and which could never by any perversion afterwards be considered as erecting a consti-

tution, seeing that the alteration of the act was but the removal of a restriction, and that to pull down an obstruction is a very different thing to building up an edifice. It has before been stated that a solemn thanksgiving was offered up in 1782, in gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of Kingdoms, that no constitutional differences could ever again take place between England and Ireland. The patriots of that day were as sure that a "*final* adjustment" had taken place as those of the present day are that Repeal is the *ultimatum* of Irish grievances, and that it would not be followed by separation or civil war. But human nature is not more virtuous now, nor less selfish and discontented, than it has ever been. The "*final*" adjustment of 1782 was soon found so far from being final, that it actually led, as was predicted, to the danger of separation. This is corroborated by many facts; take, for instance, the language of the patriotic Mr. Foster, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, who said in the Irish Parliament, in 1785, scarcely more than two years after the *final* adjustment, "Things cannot remain as they are; commercial jealousy is roused, and it will increase with *two* independent legislatures. Without an united interest in commerce, in a commercial empire, political union will receive many shocks, and *separation of interest* must threaten *separation of connection*, which every honest Irishman must shudder to look at as a possible event." Mr. Grattan declared, even after the boasted settlement of 1782, that the Legislature of Ireland neither possessed the substance nor the shadow of independence; and on the 26th February, 1790, he asked, "What has our renewed constitution as yet produced? A place bill? No. A pension bill? No. Any great or good measure? No. But a city police bill—a press bill—a riot act—great increase of pensions, fourteen new places for members of Parliament, and a most notorious and corrupt sale of peerages. Where will all this end?"

The British Parliament did all in its power to conciliate the personal interests and feelings of the few individuals who swayed the Irish Parliament. An act of parliament was passed at Westminster (23d Geo. III. c. 28) entirely rescinding the act of

George I. : Ireland was admitted to a participation in the East India trade (then in the monopoly of the East India Company) for twenty years ; and various regulations and laws were passed, and fleets fitted out for the protection of Irish trade and manufactures.

At the instance of the *British* Ministry, the first concessions were made to the Irish Roman Catholics in 1788, by a bill enabling them to take leases for 999 years, and abolishing all penal statutes against discoveries, &c. ; and by the Bill of 1793 the elective franchise was, at the same instigation, granted to the Roman Catholics without qualification, though they asked for it under certain restrictions. They were declared eligible as grand and petit jurors ; empowered to hold commissions in the army and navy ; every restraint on property was removed, and but a few of the highest situations (as in the Emancipation Bill of 1829) were closed against the upper ranks, while the middle and lower classes were placed on an equality with their neighbours of different religious persuasions. Such were (among many others) the efforts of the British Government to conciliate and calm the restless desire for change ; but the breach between both countries became daily wider. The incorporation of Ireland with Great Britain after the manner of Scotland with England in 1707 now became a topic of general discussion. Lord Charlemont, referring to his frequent and instructive discussions with the philosophic legislator Montesquieu, thus gives the opinion of the profound author of "*L'Esprit des Loix* ;"—"In the course of our conversation, Ireland and its interests have often been the topic ; and upon those occasions I always found Montesquieu an advocate for a union between that country and England. 'Were I an Irishman,' said he '*I should certainly wish for it ; and, as a general lover of liberty, I certainly desire it ; and for this plain reason, that an inferior country connected with one much her superior in force, can never be certain of the permanent enjoyment of constitutional freedom, unless she has, by her representatives, a proportional share in the legislation of the superior kingdom.*'" Molineux, referring to the discussions in the Irish Legislature, as to the

power of the English Parliament to make laws for Ireland, thus remarked:—"If from these last-mentioned records it may be concluded that the Parliament of England may bind Ireland, it must also be allowed that the people of Ireland ought to have their representatives in the Parliament of England; and this I believe we should be willing enough to embrace, but *this is a happiness we can hardly hope for.*" The very act by which the ministry had sought to secure peace, namely, admitting the Roman Catholics to the exercise of the elective franchise, split the Irish Volunteers of 1782 into contending parties. Lord Charlemont, supported by much of the wealth and talent of the country, violently opposed the measure; and this nobleman, who, at the head of the officers of 50,000 volunteers at Dungannon, was termed "the father of the constitution and the saviour of his country," was now denounced and marked out as an object for popular vengeance.

The country was torn (from 1782 upwards) by factions and intestine feuds; the whole island was kept in the most wretched turmoil, night and day, by furious communities, under the designations of Patriots, Agitators, Right-boys, White-boys, Peep-of-Day-boys, Conventions, Aggregate Bodies, Catholic Committees, Tarring and Feathering Committees, Defenders, Assassins, Houghers of Men and Houghers of Cattle Associators, Whig Clubs, St. James's Delegates, Exchequer Street Delegates, National Congresses, Emancipators, United Irishmen, Reformers, Revolutionists, Societies of Peace and Societies of War, *cum multis aliis!* An individual who was obnoxious for his principles was marked for punishment by the "standing feathering committee," seized, covered with tar while naked, and then plentifully sprinkled with feathers large and small! The "Houghers Society" was formed in consequence of a dispute between the citizens of Dublin and some soldiers at Island Bridge. The pride of the former was hurt, although they almost massacred the soldiers, whose further punishment they demanded. The troops were drawn out, the offenders selected from the ranks, and punished. This, however, did not appease the citizens' wrath, and the

"*Houghers' Society*" was called into action; every straggling soldier met by night or day had his hamstrings cut across; and Lord Carhampton was obliged to introduce a bill into the Irish Parliament "to prevent the citizens *houghing* the soldiers." The Abbe Seyes himself did not manufacture "Constitutions" on paper more speedily or in greater variety than the Irish Patriots of 1782. The County Kerry regiment demanded one hundred "Constitutions" at different periods. Mr. O'Driscoll, the Irish historian, says, that "previous to the Union the tyranny of the Orange faction was found to be more tolerable than the despotism of the mob and their leaders." A grand armed convention of the "Irish Volunteers" assembled at the Exchange, in Dublin, in 1783 (after the *final* adjustment); they prepared a bill for parliamentary reform, it was read before them, committed, engrossed, and passed, with all the usual parliamentary forms. After which the bill was forwarded to the House of Commons, and given in by some members of the armed convention, accoutred in their military uniform.

The effect of such an unconstitutional proceeding is thus described by the late Mr. Edgeworth, who was present:—

"The appearance of Mr. Flood, and of the delegates by whom he was accompanied, and their volunteer uniforms, in the Irish House of Commons, excited an extraordinary sensation. Those who were present, and who have given an account of the scene that ensued, describe it as violent and tumultuous in the extreme. On both sides the passions were worked up to a dangerous height. The debate lasted all night. 'The tempest, for towards morning debate there was none, at last ceased.' The question was put, and Mr. Flood's motion for reform in Parliament was negatived by a very large majority. The House of Commons then entered into resolutions declaratory of their fixed determination to maintain their just rights and privileges against any encroachments whatever; adding, that it was at that time indispensably necessary to make such a declaration. Meantime an armed convention continued sitting the whole night, waiting for the return of their delegates from the House of Commons, and impatient to learn the fate of Mr. Flood's motion. One step more, and irreparable fatal imprudence might have been committed. Lord Charlemont, the president of the convention, felt the danger, and it required all the influence of his character, all the assistance of the friends of moderation, to prevail upon the assembly to dissolve, without waiting longer to hear the report from their delegates in the House of Commons. The convention had, in fact, nothing more to do, or nothing that they could attempt without peril; but it was difficult to persuade the assembly to dissolve the meeting, and to return quietly to their respective counties and homes. This point, however, was fortunately accomplished, and early in the morning the meeting terminated."

Mr. Hardy, Lord Charlemont's biographer, after describing the progress of the question of reform, adds:—

“Parliament now became the theatre of popular exertion. Whoever was present in the House of Commons on the night of the 29th of November, 1783, cannot easily forget what passed there. I do not use any disproportionate language, when I say that the scene was most terrific. Several of the minority, and all the delegates who had come from the convention, were in uniforms, and bore the aspect of stern hostility.”

The Irish House of Commons, however, had the spirit indignantly to reject a measure thus presented to them on the point of the bayonet. In March 1794, an armed mob broke into the House of Commons, in consequence of the rejection of a bill, and James Napper Tandy, a broken shopkeeper, at the head of the “Aggregates,” engaged and took on himself to overawe Parliament and the Government, and to regulate the police of the metropolis. In fact, armed associations controlled every act of the Legislature. *Non-importation of British produce* was resolved on; the houses and persons of shopkeepers who were suspected of not obeying the “non-importation act” were furiously assailed; the patriots, in highly obnoxious instances, proceeding to tar and feather the popular delinquent. No loyal gentleman could venture to remain in his country-house, unless protected by a military guard; the magistrates of the kingdom were daily threatened; jurors perjured themselves rather than be murdered; assassins were acquitted; crown witnesses slain; and the rebel wore his green or yellow badge in triumph.

In 1793, the House of Commons was set on fire while the Members were sitting, and, amidst the shouts of an immense and ferocious multitude, the Representatives had just time to escape, when the vast dome became enveloped in flames, and, falling in, crushed everything beneath it. The infernal deed was caused by a chemical preparation, which lit before its intended time; but, so little did its projectors fear discovery, that a few days before the conflagration a placard was posted under the proclamation for the apprehension of James Napper Tandy, then affixed to the gate of House of Lords, which placard ran as follows:—“The members of a certain great house, not far from the College, are hereby cau-

tioned how they persecute to ruin a virtuous citizen, for defending his character, and asserting the liberties of Ireland; if they do not, let them beware of the awl of the cobbler of Messina!" A depôt of pikes was found at the same time in Suffolk-street, adjoining the Parliament House.

In fine, assassinations became terribly frequent, and, as a writer of the day says, every principle of humanity and morality was sapped by the insidious speeches, proclamations, and publications of pretended patriots or dangerous enthusiasts; plans of general insurrection were drawn up; military organisation was effected; negotiations for foreign assistance in men and money arranged; the designed separation of Ireland from England, and the establishment of a republic *under the protection of France and America*, were unhesitatingly acknowledged. History shows that such has uniformly been the progress of sedition in Ireland.

In 1607, Tyrone, Tyrconnell, O'Cahan, &c. conspired to seize the Castle of Dublin, murder the active officers of state, secure the principal garrisons, and call in *foreign aid*. Foreign aid was also the plan of Lord Edward Fitzgerald in 1798. Foreign aid is now solicited *pecuniarily* (and *expected physically*) from America and France.

There have been fifty rebellions instigated by sheer ignorance and prejudice against England,—O'Neal was restored to favour five times by his acknowledged sovereign, against whom he had rebelled; and Elizabeth not only received him with distinction at her court, and created him Earl of Tyrone, but so pressed her Deputies to be lenient towards him, that he was enabled to prosecute, almost with final success, his grand rebellion. Yet, even after that terrible contest, which cost Elizabeth 2,000,000*l.*, James I. restored Tyrone to his lands and honours; when he again rebelled, and, fearing that he could not again receive forgiveness, he fled to Rome or Spain, and there died, when his lands became escheated to the Crown. Did this conduct look like tyranny in the English Government? And let it be remembered that the rebellions of Tyrone, as well as subsequent insurrections, had not their origin in resistance to tyranny, but in a vehement

desire to expel the followers of Martin Luther from Ireland. Tyrone avows this in various parts of his manifesto; in one passage he says: "Let us join all together to deliver the countrie from the infection of heresy, and for the planting of the Roman Catholic religion; if I had gotten to be *King of Ireland*, I should not accept the same without the extension of the Catholic religion." The rebellion of 1641 was a rebellion of hostility to England and to the Protestant faith. Cromwell, on its suppression, confiscated the lands of the rebels, and gave them to those who assisted in the suppression and conquest of the most sanguinary bigots that ever lived; and, when the monarchy was restored, the Crown resigned all claim to the forfeited lands. But on James the Second's arrival in Dublin, he assembled a Roman Catholic parliament, 7th May, 1689, the first act of which was to *justify* the rebellion, or rather the appalling massacre of the Protestants, in 1641, (a massacre which has no parallel in the annals of *Christian* bigotry but that of St. Bartholomew's); the Act of Settlement was repealed; the estates of all persons in England, Scotland, or Ireland, who would not acknowledge the regal authority of James were confiscated; an act of attainder was passed, by which 2,461 persons of rank (and both sexes) were attainted by name; the property of absentees was seized, as was also that of Trinity College; any person corresponding with another who had not acknowledged James, had his lands, &c. confiscated; to ascertain which, all letters in the post-office were previously opened; and to such a height was the rigour against Protestants carried, that they were not permitted to meet in greater numbers than two at a time. The pretended horror of shedding blood announced at the "Repeal Association" has marked the career of every rebellion. Emmett and Lord Edward Fitzgerald strongly deprecated assassinations. But were their admonitions or letters heeded? The following letter from one of the leaders of the Irish rebellion, 1641, written on the second day of the breaking out of that sanguinary insurrection, confirms the opinion that when the wild and revengeful passions of men are once roused, it is beyond the power of their leaders to restrain them.

"To my loving and worthy friends Captain Vaughan, Marcus Trevor, and all other commanders in Down:—Dear friends—My love to you all, although you think as yet otherwise. True it is I have broken Sir Edward Trevor's letter, fearing that anything should be written against us. We are for our lives and liberties as you may understand. *We desire no blood to be shed*; but, if you mean to shed our blood, be sure we will be as ready as you for the purpose. This being in haste, I rest your assured friend—as I am still—

"CONNAR MAGNEISE,

"*Newry*,—25th Oct. 1631."

(now called Magennis.)

Here we find the same cry that is now raised of shedding no blood—while thousands of innocent women and children were being massacred.

To resume the narrative of events: the success of the British arms against France in 1793 checked for a moment the progress of the enemies of British connection; the associations, however, were still maintained; large bodies of men assembled, under pretence of attending funerals, in order to demonstrate their strength; the Irish emissaries in France did everything in their power to retard the efforts of Lord Malmesbury, at Lille, for peace; many people joined the "United Irishmen," supposing them to be the strongest party in the state; while others joined for fear of being sacrificed: a fact which is confirmed by the Reports of the Select Committees of Parliament, which specifically charge the United Irishmen with holding "assassination committees," to whose denuncements numbers of the loyal fell victims: the names of the denounced were even printed and circulated, among whom were Lords Carhampton and Clare, the Beresfords, and others, who all had their lives attempted, and who seemed to have been almost miraculously preserved. No concession, no kindness, could produce tranquillity. In 1795, the poor were relieved from the hearth-money tax; a Roman Catholic college was founded at Maynooth, and a satisfactory mode of issuing money from the Treasury adopted. The administration of Lord Camden was blamed either for imbecility or for mistaken humanity, in refusing to use harsh measures towards the disturbers of

the country : his Lordship's invariable answer was,—“Let us try every effort at conciliation ; it is terrible to resort to force.” Yet, with all these facts staring us in the face, the English Government are charged with fomenting the rebellion of 1798, for the purpose of carrying the Union.

Roman Catholic emancipation was brought forward in 1797, in the Irish House of Commons, and, out of 300 voices, but nineteen supported it. The measure, however, produced no excitement in the public mind ; the system of military organisation throughout the country was of far greater importance ; and, such was the profound secrecy with which it was conducted, that not a single Orange Lodge was established in Wexford within one month previous to the dreadful massacres in that county, when 160 Protestants were savagely butchered, in cold blood, in the streets, and when five clergymen (two of them above eighty years of age) were massacred in as ignominious and painful a manner as it was possible to invent. Indeed, when the Irish Government were disarming Kildare, and were desirous of pursuing the same course in Wexford, particularly on account of its being the nearest port to Brest, hypocritical loyal addresses, professing the greatest anxiety for peace, and horror of bloodshed, were signed by thousands, and immediately sent to the Castle. The Government believed the protestations made to them, and all the troops were withdrawn, except a small detachment of the North Cork Militia : the insurgents throughout the county rose at a given signal ; the unfortunate company of the militia were speedily massacred. Murder, most foul and unnatural (for it was perpetrated in some instances by servants on masters and mistresses under whose roofs they had resided for years in the enjoyment of every comfort and indulgence), spread its desolation over the land, and 50,000 well-armed, ferocious insurgents carried fire and slaughter throughout the country. Why was all this ? Because the authorities believed the protestations from Wexford, and had drawn off the troops to assist in searching for arms in other counties which were supposed less loyal than ill-fated Wexford.

12th Feb. 1797. A charge was made against the Government

for neglecting to provide sufficient troops for the defence of Ireland; and on the 22nd Feb. 1797, the Government proposed to add 10,000 men to the regular forces in Ireland. The Government, however, opposed the motion made by Sir Laurance Parsons, 24th Feb. 1797—to employ 50,000 Yeomanry in addition to those already employed; so strong were the hopes entertained that no rebellion would be hazarded.

Mr. Plowden, the historian, in detailing the proceedings of the Irish Parliament, admits that so early as 1793, “every precautionable measure was taken by Lord Westmoreland to check the progress of rebellion.”

The Speech from the Throne on the opening of Parliament in 1796 was as follows:—

“My Lords and Gentlemen—It is with regret that I feel myself obliged to advert to those secret and treasonable associations, the dangerous extent and malignity of which have in some degree been disclosed in several trials, and in the disturbances which have taken place in some parts of the kingdom. It remains for your prudence and wisdom to devise such measures as, together with a continuance of those exertions, and the additional powers which, by the advice of the Privy Council, I have thought it necessary to establish in several counties, will prevent the return of similar excesses, and *restore a proper reverence for the laws of the country.*” Parliament again assembled in the same year, and on the 14th Oct. 1796, a motion was made by the Government of the day for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, which was however opposed by Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Curran.

The disasters of Britain in her struggles against all Europe produced no sympathy in Ireland, but the contrary. In 1795 the communications with the French Directory were assiduously carried on; and in 1796 the military organisation of Ulster was reported as complete. In 1797 plans of general insurrection were drawn up, and the negotiations for foreign assistance arranged. In a Memoir presented to the French minister at Hamburgh, in June, 1797, by a convention of the United Irishmen, it was stated that the “counties of Louth, Armagh, Westmeath, King’s

County, and Dublin were the best organised, and that the Catholic priests had ceased to be alarmed at the calumnies propagated respecting French irreligion; that the priests were all well affected to the cause, and with *discreet zeal* propagate the system of the United Irishmen." Lord Edward Fitzgerald, in a despatch written by himself, stated the number of *armed* men in Ulster, Leinster, and Munster to be 279,896, but that the treasure in hand was only £1,845.

To aid these internal traitors, the French Directory despatched an immense armament for the separation of Ireland from England, and the creation of an Hibernian republic in an indivisible alliance with France; and on the 14th December, 1796, no less than eighteen sail of the line, and eighteen frigates and transports competent to the transmission of 25,000 men, sailed from Brest for Ireland. But Ireland and England were saved by the beneficent interposition of Providence, which in its mercy scattered over the ocean (as it had before done in the case of the Spanish Armada) this formidable fleet which was destined to revolutionize Ireland. Then were the eyes of the Government opened to the danger of the crisis, and the Irish opposition were compelled to permit the passing of the "*Gunpowder Bill*," by which only certain licensed persons were authorised to import gunpowder into Ireland. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, the Insurrection Act passed, and some of the founders and promoters of the "Society of United Irishmen," Wolfe Tone, Hamilton Rowan, Colonel Butler, and Oliver Bond, were proceeded against by Government on charges of high treason. Could such acts be construed into a design for encouraging rebellion for the purpose of carrying the Union?

But this was not the only step undertaken by the British Government, and forced from the Irish Parliament, despite the declaration of factious persons who contended that Ireland was tranquil. The "*Convention Bill*" was passed, by which self-created conventions were dissolved, and the seizure of unregistered arms effected. This bill was passed despite of the senseless cry of agitators, whose shout was "*Perish the Empire—live the Con-*

stitution !" By means, however, of this very bill, the Government arrested, or compelled to fly, several of the ablest of the United Irishmen, and instant steps were taken for disarming the people. General Lake was instructed to seize arms in Ulster, and "to disperse all tumultuous assemblies of persons, though they might not be in arms, without waiting for the sanction and assistance of the civil authorities, if the peace of the realm or the safety of his Majesty's faithful subjects should be endangered by waiting for such authority." There were in Ulster 99,400 United Irishmen; but by the indefatigable efforts of General Lake, upwards of *six thousand stand of arms*, and many thousand pikes and other formidable weapons, were seized; so that when the rebellion actually broke out in the subsequent year, not 30,000 out of 99,000 men could assemble armed.

But to return to the period previous to the rebellion. The Government, observing the good effects of disarming Ulster, determined also on the disarming of Leinster; and accordingly proclamations were issued, requiring a surrender of arms before a certain day. The proclamation was treated with contempt, and troops were marched into Leinster for the forcible seizure of arms. Does this look like conniving at rebellion and treason? The Executive Directory of the rebels subsequently acknowledged, that the efforts of the Government to disarm the people marred all their projects; and that, although they were desirous of retarding the explosion until the arrival of another expected French force, yet that the eagerness of the people, and the fear that Government would succeed in disarming Leinster as effectually as it had done Ulster, compelled them to give the signal for rebellion, to commence simultaneously for all Leinster, where the rebel army consisted of 50,000 men, among whom were twenty Romish priests and one bishop, on the night of the 23rd May 1797.

It does not come within the scope of this work to detail the atrocities committed by the Irish rebels during this fearful period, my object being to prove that there never was a more atrocious libel on the British character, than that which ascribes to English-

men the fostering and instigation of a bloody rebellion, in order to secure a legislative union between both countries.

The calumnious assertion is not only unsupported by a shadow of proof, but directly negatived by hundreds of facts as strong, if not stronger, than those detailed. A variety of causes have been assigned by different authors and politicians, as the true origin of the rebellion of 1798. Mr. O'Driscoll, in his able work, says it was owing to the spread of the principles of the French Revolution: another says, *tithes*; another, *separation*, &c. Theobald Wolfe Tone, in his Memoirs, says that his object in promoting the rebellion was "to subvert the tyranny of our execrable government, to break the connexion with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country. These were my objects."

Mr. Fox, when introducing his motion on the state of Ireland in 1797, said—

"From the period of 1782, there have been growing sources of dissatisfaction and discontent in that country, and at this moment Ireland is in a condition at which no man can look without the greatest alarm; and as to *political liberty*, the Irish enjoy as small a portion of it as those who live under monarchies in which the principles of freedom have never been introduced."

After a terrible expenditure of blood and treasure * the rebellion of 1798 was quelled, and men of reason, who loved their country, saw that after the *fifty-third* rebellion of hatred to England, by a party who sought separation at every hazard, the only chance left for the peace, freedom, and prosperity of Ireland was a legislative union with Great Britain; the project of 1782 was therefore revived, more particularly as the dispute between the two parliaments on the powers with which the Regent should be invested demonstrated that there was no security to prevent disagreement of opinion on ulterior constitutional questions.

It has been alleged that it was the Protestants of Ireland alone

* The property destroyed was valued at nearly one million sterling; the loss of life on the side of the Crown was 20,000, and that of the rebels was computed at 50,000.

who sought the Union with Great Britain. This was not the case. Many of the "Orange party" were the principal opponents of the Union, as they dreaded the concession of Roman Catholic Emancipation. Then, *as now*, the most respectable and wealthy Roman Catholics were equally with their Protestant brethren in favour of a legislative junction with Great Britain. Not to multiply proofs, take as samples the following remarkable documents.

The Roman Catholics of Waterford passed the following resolution: "We are firmly convinced that a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal principles, and on a sense of mutual interests and affection, is a measure of wisdom and expediency for this kingdom, and will effectually promote the strength and prosperity of both; and we trust it will afford the surest means of allaying those unhappy distractions, and removing those penal exclusions, on the score of religion, which have too long prevailed in this country; and, by consolidating the resources of both kingdoms, oppose the most effectual resistance to the destructive projects of both foreign and domestic enemies."

The Roman Catholics of Wexford said,—“As we look forward with an anxious interest to the most effectual means of establishing the internal peace and prosperity of this hitherto distracted country, upon a comprehensive and permanent basis, we consider it a duty we owe to ourselves, and to our posterity, thus openly to declare that we conceive these desirable objects can only be attained by the happy completion of the great and useful measure of a legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, which the common father of the people has, in his wisdom, recommended to the serious consideration of his Parliament.

“We are, indeed, firmly persuaded that the proposed incorporation of both Legislatures must give additional energy to the resources and vigour of the empire, by consolidating and identifying the common interests of the whole people, and that, by the liberal efficiency of its operation, diffusing from the centre *to the* extremities of the empire all those blessings which natu-

rally flow from the genuine principles of the British constitution, it will afford to every description of His Majesty's subjects in Ireland perfect security in the full enjoyment of civil, political, and religious freedom."

Similar addresses were presented from the Roman Catholics of Cork; from those of Leitrim, signed by 1,836 persons; from Longford; from Tipperary and Cahir; from the united parishes of Monasterevan, Lacka, Harristown, Merney, and Ballybrackin; from the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Kilkenny; from those of the diocese of Elphin, in the county of Roscommon, and numerous other places.

The *Irish Repealer* of 2d September, 1843, says,—“*The generality of Orangemen* were individually adverse to the Union: they foresaw in the absorption of their country's power the final extinction of that very monopoly by which they subsisted.” Mr. Grattan's objections to the Union arose from the very opposite feeling. He said, “*It is no union—it is not an identification of the people; for it excludes the Catholics.* It incurs every objection to an union, without obtaining the object which a union professes, and destroys their best chance of admission—their relative consequence.” By means of the Union the Roman Catholics have been emancipated; but it is worthy of note, that Mr. Foster, one of the ablest and most conscientious opponents of the Union in the Irish Parliament, when he subsequently became a Member of the Imperial Parliament, made the following remarkable observations in 1805, in opposition to a motion on Roman Catholic Emancipation. The speech was prophetic; it is not, however, in that view it is recorded, but to mark the totally different reasons which actuated two men like Mr. Grattan and Mr. Foster in opposing the Union in 1800, and to show that, whatever may have been their language and votes then, it does not necessarily follow that if they were now living and representing Irish constituencies they would be the same as they were in 1800. Mr. Foster said, “Should some score Catholics, by the vote of that night, find their way into the Imperial Parliament, and afterwards feel their inferiority in an assembly of 658 Members, they would rapidly augment their

strength by new political recruits, and endeavour, by a repeal of the Union, to re-establish the Irish Parliament. He felt the full force of the consequences to be apprehended from such a measure ; and he trembled for the separation of his native country from that connexion with England, deprived of which he was convinced she could be neither prosperous nor happy."

Such, indeed, was the feeling, in the Irish Parliament, on the subject of the Union, even with extreme opinions like Mr. Grattan's and Mr. Foster's, that when the question was debated, January 1799, *barely one-half* of the Irish Commoners were averse to it, after twenty-two hours' debate ; and a large majority of the property and rank of the country, as represented in the Irish House of Lords, were in its favour. The Union was supported by the representatives of the cities and counties of Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Donegal, Galway, Kerry, Clare, Mayo, Longford, Leitrim, Carlow, Roscommon, Wexford, Queen's County, Down, Antrim, Londonderry, Armagh, Belfast, Newry, Kilkenny, Monaghan, Clonmel, Dungannon, Dundalk, Cashel, Trinity College, and other places. So far from the Union being hurried to a conclusion before reason had time to operate, the very reverse was the case, for we find Mr. Pitt making use of the following language, in his speech of the 31st January, 1799 (nearly two years before the Union), in the British House of Commons :—

" I wish that the question of the Union should be stated *distinctly, temperately, and fully* ; that it should be left to the *unprejudiced, the dispassionate, the sober judgment* of the Irish Parliament. I wish that those whose *interests* are *involved* in the measure should have *time* for its *consideration* ; I wish that time should be given to the *landed*, to the *monied* interest, that they should look at it in *all its bearings*—that they should coolly examine and sift the popular arguments by which it has been opposed—and that *then* they should give their final judgment."

Mr. Pitt's advice was taken ; the question was well sifted and examined in the British as well as in the Irish Parliament, and by a powerful and able opposition in both legislatures ; the one enlisting on their side national interests,* pride, jealousy, and

* Among the evil effects which the Irish orators of the day declared would result from the Union, it was stated, that when the Parliament was removed from Dublin, *grass would be annually mown in Sackville-street, and snipes shot in College-green !*

prejudices; the other advocating the illusory doctrines of the French Revolutionists, or fearful lest the accession of Irish members in the British Parliament would give too much power to the ministry. Reason, and a sound sense of mutual interests, prevailed on both sides of the channel, and the Legislature of Great Britain as well as of Ireland incorporated their separate powers, which (as Sir William Petty had long before truly observed), *"instead of uniting together, often crossed upon each other, not only as if they were foreigners to each other, but sometimes as enemies."* Mr. Grattan's resolution for an address to the King as a protest against the Union was negatived by a majority of 135 to 77, on the 5th June, 1800. The long-desired object of Parliamentary Reform was, to a certain extent, gained by the disfranchising of a number of nomination boroughs, the possessors of which received each 15,000*l.*;* the revenue to be levied was fixed in the proportion of two to fifteen, in which ratio it was to remain twenty years, and

Absenteeism is a very old grievance in Ireland, even under a "resident legislature."

Legal enactments against absentees, from 1377 to 1753, all proved ineffectual.

In 1773, Mr. Hood attempted to revive the old laws against absentees; and in 1783, proposition for ditto by Mr. Grattan; both failed.

In 1797, Sir John Vandeleur proposed, in the Irish House of Commons, to raise an annual revenue of 240,000*l.* by a tax on the property of absentees. The motion was not supported.

1779, Mr. Vandeleur's similar motion met with the same result.

The whole absentee rental of Ireland does not probably exceed 2,000,000*l.*

* The same plan of paying the proprietors of nomination boroughs was proposed in the discussion of the late Reform Bill, and, had it been effected, no one would have said that the Reform Bill had been carried by bribery and corruption; yet it is asserted that the Union was carried by bribery and corruption, because the disfranchised proprietors of the Irish boroughs received 15,000*l.* each. This is not, therefore, a fair charge to make against Mr. Pitt's government, of having used corrupt means to carry the Union. It is asserted that Lord Castlereagh spent 2,000,000*l.* in notorious and profligate bribery to carry the Union. Now the sum actually paid away to the proprietors of nomination boroughs disfranchised at the Union was 1,260,000*l.*, at the rate of 15,000*l.* for each borough; and on the same principle, and at even a higher rate of payment, Mr. Pitt projected parliamentary reform in England. What he had, therefore, proposed for England, it would have been unjust to deny to Ireland, when nomination boroughs were destroyed there. For the amount paid for each borough, and to whom, see *Appendix*. It has also been deemed advisable to give in the Appendix the names and amount of compensation granted to persons in Ireland at or previous to the Union: which will disprove the charge of corruption.

after that period to be modified by the Imperial Parliament according to justice: Ireland was to send one hundred commoners to the Imperial Legislature, twenty peers to be elected for life, and four bishops, in rotation, to take their seats in the Upper House. After lengthened discussions in both Houses of the British Parliament, the union of both Legislatures was finally agreed on; and an act, founded on the adopted resolutions, received the Royal Assent on Friday, 1st August, 1800. The 1st article recited, that, in pursuance of His Majesty's most gracious recommendation to the two Houses of Parliament, in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, to consider of such measures as might best tend to strengthen and consolidate the connexion between the two kingdoms, the said Parliaments have agreed upon the following articles:—

“ART. I.—GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND SHALL BE UNITED FOR EVER, FROM 1ST JANUARY, 1801.

“ART. II.—The Succession to the Crown shall continue as at present limited.

“ART. III.—There shall be but one Parliament only for the two kingdoms.

“ART. IV.—Four spiritual and twenty-eight temporal Lords, and one hundred Commoners, are to represent Ireland in the United Parliament.” The remainder of this article refers to the election of peers and commoners, &c.

ART. V. unites the Churches of England and Ireland.

ART. VI. declares that all subjects of Great Britain and Ireland are to be on the same footing in trade and navigation.

ART. VII. refers to the future financial arrangements of the two countries.

ART. VIII. provides for the civil and ecclesiastical laws and courts, and for “deciding writs of error and appeal by the Lords of the United Kingdom.”

After reciting that these articles were approved of by His Majesty, the said articles are “declared to be the articles of the Union, and to be in force *for ever* from 1st January, 1801: provided that before that period an Act shall have been passed by

the Parliament of Great Britain for carrying into effect the said foregoing recited Articles in the like manner.”*

In the same year, an act was passed in the Irish Parliament, Chapter L., granting annuities to those officers whose emoluments would cease after the Union, as an equitable and just compensation (for List of Names and Sums, *see* Appendix): this will be seen by the 22d section of Chapter LX., by which the Irish Parliament voted “1,410,000*l.* in compensation for the losses sustained from the Union by the cities, towns, and boroughs in Ireland, and to make compensation to persons for loss or reduction of emoluments of office by the Union.” (*See* Appendix for list of boroughs, price, and names of proprietors.)

Thus ended what has been termed the Irish Parliament, and which, the moment it arrogated to itself the powers of an independent legislature, imbibed the elements of dissolution, or separation from England; for, there being no connecting link between the legislatures of the two islands but the precarious prerogative of the Crown, there was unavoidably a constant endeavour of the executive to maintain an authority over the legislature, *prevention* in Ireland being of necessity more desirable than opposition by the *veto*. The Government had long been dependent on an oligarchy, who maintained an ascendancy at their own price in Irish affairs. “The Union,” as a national historian justly observes, “broke the strength of the aristocracy; it effected that which it proposed by untying the hands of Government; it loosened its dependence upon a party, and restored to the State the privilege of good government.” Ireland, in fact, for centuries possessed but two classes of society, the rich and the poor; there was no solid bond between the Crown and the people, and the feudalism which the religion of Luther in England and of Calvin in Scotland had tended so much to annihilate flourished in most parts of Erin (as it still does in some places) in all its desolating vigour.

The subjection in which the poor were held in some of the *feudal* districts of Ireland by the class of Irishmen above them is

* *See Liber Hiberniæ*, Part VI. pages 134 to 136.

shown in a work written by Mr. Arthur Young in 1782. That gentleman, speaking of the condition of the Irish peasantry from 1776 to 1779, says—

“To discover what the liberty of a people is, we must live among them, and not look for it in the statutes of the realm; the language of written law may be that of liberty, but the situation of the poor may speak no language but that of slavery. Disrespect, or anything tending towards sauciness, a landlord may punish with his cane or his horsewhip with the most perfect security; a poor man would have his bones broken if he offered to lift his hand in his own defence. Knocking down is spoken of in the country in a manner that makes Englishmen stare. It must strike the most careless traveller to see whole strings of cars whipt into a ditch by a gentleman’s footman to make way for his carriage: if they are overturned or broken in pieces, no matter, it is taken in patience; were they to complain they would perhaps be horsewhipped.”

Commerce also, which so materially assists to break down the vassalage of a nation, was kept by bounties and protective duties in an unnatural state of depression and alternate excitement; and, so far from considering that Ireland ceased to be a kingdom and became a “degraded, pitiful province” by her legislative incorporation with Britain, the reverse was actually the case; and the substantial liberties and prosperity of Irishmen may be truly dated from the Union.

Scotland was, in reality, more an independent kingdom than Ireland, but no Scotchman is so foolish as to think that his country became a province by its incorporation with England; in fact, neither Ireland nor Scotland became provinces of England by their legislative unions, in any degree more than England became a province of the incorporated countries. Before the French Revolution different provinces in France had provincial Parliaments; and, as there is no evil without good, the destruction of these separate legislatures was a permanent blessing to France, by consolidating its energy and simplifying its laws.

Since the Union, Catholic Emancipation (which the Irish

Parliament would never have conceded) has been granted; the commerce between both countries has been put upon the footing of a coasting trade; the Irish and British currency has been assimilated; the municipal corporations have been reformed; tithes have been converted into a rent-charge, thereby relieving the poor cultivators; taxation has been materially diminished; ten millions sterling of the Imperial revenues have been spent in public works; a national system of education has been established; Orange Associations have been abolished; a legislative provision has been provided for the poor, sick, and destitute, instead of their being left to the casual support of charity; public banks and companies have been formed, with British capital, for the benefit of Ireland; church-rates have been abolished; the prison law amended and consolidated; a survey and valuation of Ireland, of a most complete and extensive nature, has for some years been in progress, as a remedy for the inequalities of local taxation; improved Grand and Petty Jury Bills have been passed; the criminal code has been reformed; the numerous abuses in every court of law have been rectified; a valuable and economical system of county courts, whereby justice is cheaply and effectually brought to the door of every poor man, has been established in every part of Ireland; dispensaries have been formed in every village in the island, for the relief of the poor, under an Act of the Imperial Parliament, and superintended by first-class medical officers; by Acts also of the Imperial Parliament fever hospitals and lunatic asylums, which for efficacy, comfort, and excellent management, are not surpassed in any part of the world, have been established in every district; excellent and numerous roads now intersect the whole island; and various other useful measures have been adopted, or are in course of adoption, conducive to the welfare of the sister island. From 1801 to 1831 there were 61 Reports of Committees, and 114 Reports of Commissioners, relating to Ireland. The number of *separate* public bills passed for Ireland has been 869, of local and personal acts 197, from 1800 to 1833. From 1833 to the present

period, the affairs of Ireland have occupied nearly two-thirds of every session.

It should also be remembered that, previous to the Union, of three hundred members of the Irish House of Commons, two hundred members were stated to be the nominees of private individuals (*see Appendix* for the names of the borough proprietors and number of boroughs); that from forty to fifty members were returned by constituencies of not more than ten persons each; that several boroughs had not more than one resident elector; and that out of three hundred members thus returned, one hundred and four were placemen and pensioners. Such was the description by Mr. Grattan in 1793 of the Irish Parliament, after the establishment of the "*glorious independence*" of Ireland in 1782. Contrast such a state with the present, when about 96,000 electors are free to return 105 members to the Imperial Legislature, whether of the Romanist or Protestant faith. It is worthy of note also that the portion of the Irish population who declare themselves the sufferers by English domination have two-thirds of the Parliamentary representation, and the whole of the corporations of Ireland, entirely within their own control. Do not these facts demonstrate that Ireland never was so truly and integrally a *kingdom* as she is at this moment?

Would those who now contend for a repeal of the legislative Union between the two islands agree to a restoration of the state in which Ireland was previous to the Union?

The Act of Union was a solemn legislative compact, which the Sovereign, Peers, and Commons of the United Kingdom can alone dissolve. Yet the people of Ireland have been artfully told that they themselves may "repeal the Union;" and this language is now (April 1848) strengthened by Mr. Smith O'Brien, Mr. Mitchell, and other "United Irishmen," encouraging their countrymen to arm for the severance of Ireland from Great Britain, and for the establishment of an "Irish Republic!"

PART II.

COMMERCE, SHIPPING, AND MANUFACTURES OF IRELAND—
CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE BEFORE AND AFTER THE UNION
—EFFECT OF POOR LAWS FOR THEIR IMPROVEMENT—RE-
CLAMATION OF WASTE LANDS, ETC.

CHAPTER II.

Commercial State of Ireland before the Union ; showing a Decreasing Trade,
Shipping, and Manufactures from 1782 to 1800.

I now proceed to consider the second part of the question.

It is contended that Ireland made the most extraordinary strides in commerce and manufactures, during the period of what is termed her “glorious independence,” *viz.* from 1782 to 1800 ; that since her legislative union with England she has as rapidly degenerated ; a corollary is thence derived, that she would flourish as before, were a Parliament re-established in Ireland. Three assertions are thus assumed to be proved : the first, being considered as indisputable, is merely referred to with extravagant panegyric ; the second is dwelt on as if the admitted misery of some districts of Ireland was attributable solely to political mismanagement, the sufferers themselves being blameless for having made no effort to regenerate their country, no effort to avert each from himself the inevitable consequence of indolence and improvidence ; and the third is a sort of *quod erat demonstrandum* problem, a politico-mathematical demonstration, that no man dare deny. Such is the reasoning now generally adopted ; but, if the basis on which it is founded be destroyed by facts, the superstructure must fall.

The assertion that *all* Ireland prospered so wonderfully from 1782 to 1800 rests on a very shallow foundation; for it depends chiefly on the belief that Dublin improved during the period: in proof of which its magnificent public buildings are pointed out as a convincing *fact*: thus assuming that the gaudy decoration of a capital is a true indication of the general weal of a country; and as if it were undeniably correct, that those very edifices and works were constructed during what is termed the Athenian age of "Irish independence," or, as it might more properly be styled, "Irish anarchy." But how stands the fact? Why, that those very buildings, referred to with so much exultation, and affording innumerable tropes for agitative eloquence, were erected *previous* to 1782, and subsequent to the legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland.

The following extract from the "Dublin Guide" will prove whether the first position be deserving of reliance.

PUBLIC EDIFICES erected *previous* to 1782. Dublin.

Dublin Castle, 1220—Stephen's Green laid out, 1670—Royal Hospital, Kilmalham, 1680—William III. Statue, 1701—Foundling Hospital, 1704—Dublin Castle, 1720—George I. Statue, 1720—Stephen's Hospital, 1720—Linen Hall, 1728—Bank of Ireland, 1729—Mercers' Hospital, 1734—Dublin Society, 1749—Lying-in Hospital and Rotunda, 1751—Essex Bridge, 1755—Swift's Lunatic Asylum, 1757—Crow Street Theatre, 1758—Trinity College, 1759—Grand Canal, 1765—Magdalen Asylum, 1766—Queen's Bridge, 1768—Royal Exchange, 1769—Stamp Office, 1771—Blue Coat Hospital, 1773—House of Industry, 1773—Newgate, 1773—Meath Hospital, 1774—Record Tower, 1775—Hibernian Marine School, 1777—Simpson's Blindman's Hospital, 1778—Custom House, 1780—Werburgh's, Thomas's, Bride's, John's, Nicholas's, Andrew's, Catherine's, and Mark's Churches, from 1670 to 1758.

The Four Courts were commenced subsequent to 1782, but the buildings were projected, &c. *previous* to that period.

PUBLIC EDIFICES erected *subsequent* to the Union.

House of Refuge, 1802—Fever Hospital, 1804—King's Inns, 1804—Castle Chapel, 1807—Nelson's Monument, 1808—York Street Chapel, 1808—Dublin Institution, 1811—Dublin Penitentiary, 1815—Post Office, 1815—Corn Exchange, 1816—Iron Bridge, 1816—Richmond Bridge, 1816—Wellington Testimonial, 1817—Female Orphan House, 1818—Whitworth Bridge, 1818—Female Penitentiary, 1820—Royal Arcade, 1820—Kingstown Harbour, which cost half a million sterling, 1821—Metropolitan Chapel, 1823—Hibernian Academy, 1824—Dublin Library, 1825—King's Bridge, 1827—Wellesley Market, 1827.

The dates of all the principal edifices in Dublin are here enumerated, and show how untenable the first postulate is, when tested by chronology. A minute examination of official documents and the writings of credible authorities enable me to assert with confidence, that neither Dublin, nor Ireland in general, was indebted either for embellishment or improvement in any way to the turbulent assembly which sat from 1782 to 1800; nor indeed to the Irish Parliament at any period.

In 1729, Dr. Bindon, in an address on the better means of providing for the poor of Ireland, states that "one person in every twenty was a pauper; and that the unusual poverty reigning among the common people of Ireland, and the number who daily quit the country, are strong presages of yet greater calamities."

In 1732, the weavers of the Liberty of Dublin represented their trade as ruined.

1793. Mr. Trevelyan, in his narrative of the "Irish Crisis," (1847) says, that "in 1739 an early and severe frost destroyed the potatoes in the ground, and, the helplessness and despair of the people having led to a great falling off of tillage in 1740, the calamity was prolonged to the ensuing year, 1741, which was long known as the *bliadhain an air*, or year of slaughter. The ordinary burial-grounds were not large enough to contain those who died by the road-side, or who were taken from the deserted cabins. The 'bloody flux' and 'malignant fever,' having begun among the poor, spread to the rich, and numerous individuals fell victims."

* * * * "No measures were adopted either by the Executive or the Legislature for the purpose of relieving the distress caused by this famine. There is no mention of grants or loans, but an Act was passed by the Irish Parliament in 1741 (15 Geo. II. cap. 8) *for the effectual securing the payment of rents and preventing frauds by tenants.*" What a contrast this legislation and conduct presents to that of the Imperial Parliament in 1846-7, when 10,000,000*l.* was voted by the Legislature for the relief of Ireland, and the British nation poured its thousands by private and unostentatious charity into Ireland for the relief of those who were suffering from the loss of the potato crop.

In 1757, a public authority declared that, "from the vast numbers to be found in every corner of the metropolis, one might take the city of Dublin to be the general rendezvous of all the beggars in the whole kingdom." There was great misery this year throughout Ireland.

An address from the Roman Catholic clergy to their flocks in 1757 has the following passage:—"It is now time, Christians, that you offer your most grateful thanks to the Almighty God, who, after visiting you with a scarcity which approached near unto a famine, has been graciously pleased, like a merciful father, to hear your prayers, and feed you with a plentiful harvest; nor ought you to forget those kind benefactors who in the severest times generously bestowed without any distinction of persons those large charities by which thousands of you were preserved who otherwise must have perished of hunger. The chief governor and magistrates proved the fathers and saviours of the nation."—*Taaff's Ireland, page 55, vol. IV.*

In 1776 it was announced that "the manufacturers of Dublin were reduced to such extreme distress that they would have perished by thousands had they not been relieved by charity. The Government expenditure exceeded the income by 8,000*l.* so that 166,000*l.* were borrowed from England at four per cent."

In 1777 a petition to the English Parliament stated "that misery and distress prevailed over Ireland. The Dublin manufacturers stated in their petition that 300,000*l.* worth of goods remained on their hands, and that they had to dismiss their workmen, who were now subsisting on half a pound of oatmeal per day, provided from a fund raised by the nobility and gentry. The English House of Commons granted permission for the free export and import of all the manufactures of Ireland except woollen goods to the British plantations, and the import of all the produce of the British settlements except tobacco."

In 1779 Mr. Grattan, in reply to Sir R. Dean on the Address, said, "The distresses of this kingdom are two fold, the beggary of the people, and the bankruptcy of the state." He asked "whether there were not too many inhabitants in this kingdom" [though

containing not half its present population], and "was there one rich merchant in the kingdom?"

In 1787, in the fifth year of "glorious prosperity and peace," the Irish Government found it necessary to introduce a new police bill to suppress the disturbers of the peace in the South and West of Ireland. The Parliament voted an address to his Majesty deploring the state of the country. The Attorney-general, after detailing the enormities of an illegal society called the 'Right-Boys,' said, "I am well acquainted with the province of Munster, and I know that it is impossible for human wretchedness to exceed that of the miserable peasantry. I know that the unhappy tenantry are ground to powder by relentless landlords. I may add, that some landlords have been so base as to instigate the insurgents to rob the clergy of their tithes in order to add the clergy's share to the cruel rack-rents already paid. Nothing can be done for their benefit while the country continues in a state of anarchy."

The Reverend Mr. Whitelaw, minister of St. Catherine's parish, Dublin, who, a few years *previous to the Union*, prepared a valuable work on the state of Dublin, while engaged in making his census of the population, affords the following melancholy illustration of the state of Dublin at that period. Mr. Whitelaw's evidence is to the following effect:—

"When he attempted to take the population of a ruinous house in Joseph's-lane, near Castle-market, he was interrupted in his progress by an inundation of putrid blood, alive with maggots, which had, from an adjacent yard, burst the back door, and filled the hall to a depth of several inches. By the help of a plank and some stepping-stones which he procured for the purpose (for the inhabitants, without any concern, waded through it), he reached the staircase. It had rained violently, and from the shattered state of the roof a torrent of water made its way through every floor from the garret to the ground. The sallow looks and filth of the wretches who crowded round him indicated their situation, though they seemed insensible to the stench, which he could scarcely sustain for a few minutes. In the garret he found the entire family of a poor working shoemaker, seven in number, lying in a fever, without a human being to administer to their wants. On Mr. Whitelaw's observing that his apartment had not a door, he informed him that his landlord, finding him unable to pay the week's rent in consequence of his illness, had the preceding Saturday taken it away, in order to force him to abandon the apartment. Mr. Whitelaw counted in this sty thirty-seven persons, and computed that its humane proprietor received out of an absolute ruin, which should be taken down by the magistrates as a public nuisance, a profit rent of about 30*l.* per annum, which he exacted every Saturday night with unfeeling severity."

It would not be possible to find such a parallel in Dublin at the present moment, although it might not be difficult to do so in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, and perhaps in London.

Independent of the increase of several of the suburbs of Dublin of late years, particularly in the neighbourhood of Kingstown, and along the south side of the metropolis generally, we find that there has been an augmentation of population and houses since the Union, notwithstanding the large increase in all the provincial towns.

The number of houses built in Dublin from 1800 to 1834 was—

Parish of St. Peter, 582; St. Mark, 298; St. George, 438; St. Thomas, 481; St. Paul, 78; Grange Gorman, 86; St. Andrew, 16; Werburgh, 20; St. Mary, 214—Total, 2213.

STATE OF DUBLIN.

Number of houses (in 1833) by Parliamentary valuation	17,324
Rental, as estimated	704,757 <i>l</i> .
Or an average of	40 <i>l</i> . per house.
Increase of houses since the Union, within the Circular Road	2,213
If the houses beyond those limits be added, they may be taken at 1,000 more, making the following total number of houses	3,213
Rental	128,520 <i>l</i> .

In these papers we trace the following results:—The number of houses built since the Union, within the Circular Road, amounts to 2,213; the number of houses built within the city, but without those limits, not embracing, however, the immediate outskirts and villages, amounts to about 1,000 more; thus 3,213 new houses have been built since the Union. Fitzwilliam Square has been entirely built since the Union; Merrion-square has been completed; Harcourt-street, Leeson-street, and many others, have been greatly extended. The average value of the rental on the number of houses in 1833, was 40*l*. per house. The annual house rental which has been added to Dublin by reason of new buildings erected since the Union amounts at the least to 128,520*l*. Since the Union there has been advanced by the Imperial Parliament to the Wide-street Commissioners the sum of 261,264*l*. for the improvement of the city of Dublin.

At the period of the Union there was but one respectable

Roman Catholic chapel in Dublin—namely, in Clarendon Street ; now there are twelve handsome chapels, one of which has cost 40,000*l.* for its erection. Throughout Ireland we everywhere find noble structures raised by our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, equally indicative of their piety and their augmenting wealth.

HOUSES—Increase in Provincial Towns since the Union.

	1800.	1831.	1841.	Increase from 1800.
Limerick	2,979	7,280	5,866	2,887
Belfast	3,053	7,750	12,875	9,822
Galway	1,212	4,606	2,504	1,292
Kilkenny	1,548	3,759	3,357	1,809
Carrickfergus . . .	475	1,497	6,681	6,206
Dundalk	1,083	1,618	2,435	1,352
Newry	1,503	1,992	5,260	3,757
Clonmel	1,349	1,615	2,330	921
Totals	13,202	30,117	41,308	28,109

About the middle of the last century, all Europe made rapid progress in knowledge and freedom ; and where the latter (as in the case of France) did not degenerate into anarchy and despotism, an improvement in commerce necessarily ensued. Ireland participated in the general advantages of the times. Mr. Arthur Young,* whose remarks are cited by all men as profoundly accurate, says that “Ireland had improved more during the last twenty years, *i. e.* from 1755 to 1775, than in a century before :” —that “the great spirit of improvement began in 1749 and 1750 ;” that “thirty years previous to the time of writing (1776) the export of linen and yarn was only in value about 500,000*l.*, but that it had risen in 1776 to the value of 1,500,000*l.*”

These, and other equally striking facts, were adduced without contradiction, by the Right Honourable Silvester Douglas, in his speech, 23d April, 1799.

Of Dublin, even, it may be stated, that by a Government survey in 1753, the increase of citizens from 1711 to 1753 was stated at 32,000. Immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle,

* *Tour through Ireland, 1776.*

in 1748, the great increase began; in that year the building of no less than 1,200 houses was commenced. After the peace of Paris, in 1763, the augmentation was still greater: but during the whole of those periods, and until 1782, the Irish Parliament assembled only once in two years, and then but for a very short session. The improvement of Ireland originated in England relaxing her navigation laws in favour of the sister country; in throwing open to Ireland the ports of those colonies which she had acquired by an incalculable expenditure of her blood and treasure; by giving to Irish linens a monopoly in the British market, to the exclusion of the Germans and others; and by the enormous bounties paid to the Irish cultivators on the exportation of corn, &c. And let it be remembered, that these were not concessions to fear:—they would have been made long before, had Ireland possessed no separate legislature,—had the wise policy of Cromwell been pursued, in identifying the interests of England, Scotland, and Ireland, under one legislature and one system of laws.

The effect of bounties was doubtless to augment production; and, previous to the period held up as the commencement of Irish prosperity (1782), the amount expended for this purpose was very great. Newenham says that the bounty paid on corn exported from 1741 to 1750 amounted to 1,514,962*l.*,* an immense sum in those times. The bounties were for a time discontinued, and the average export of unmanufactured corn of all sorts, during the years 1771, 1772, and 1773, amounted to only 31,423 barrels. Mr. Foster, the Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, revived the system of bounties, and the export again rose in 1787, 1788, and 1789, to 517,383 barrels; and during the year ending March 1791, to 863,047 barrels.†

By means of Mr. Foster's measure a momentary stimulus was given to the export of corn. In 1789 the bounty paid thereon was 59,206*l.* There was a bounty on the *inland* carriage of corn to Dublin, amounting in 1780 to 77,800*l.*; there was another bounty on corn brought coastwise to Dublin, which in 1789 amounted to 20,000*l.* In 1783, bounties were enacted for

* Newenham, page 54.

† Ibid, page 50.

canvas and coarse linen. There were bounties on Irish coals brought to Dublin, on sugar refined, on indigo imported, on silk, on fish, on flax, on Irish ships, &c. In fact, the whole nation was taxed for the benefit of the city of Dublin; add to which, several enormous frauds were proved to have been practised in obtaining "corn premiums;" and the standing Committee of the House of Commons for the distribution of bounties were, from their immaculate patriotism, complimented with the epithet of the "*Scrambling Committee!*"

The Irish expenditure was annually augmented, and public and private corruption became the order of the day. The expenditure increased from 1,490,624*l.* in 1791, to 7,086,635*l.* in 1799. From 1791 to 1795 the expenditure was 9,195,482*l.*, and from 1796 to 1800, 26,731,593*l.*, being an increase of more than 17,000,000*l.*

In 1795 Mr. Duquerry, a member of the Irish Parliament, on the discussion of the Budget for 1795, thus portrays the state of affairs:—"It is a striking mark of thriving, that the country is getting into debt, at the rate of one million and a half annually; for under this glowing sun of prosperity the Chancellor tells the house it is necessary to borrow. Of this sum England is to lend us 1,100,000*l.* while rich and prosperous Ireland is able only to lend herself 400,000*l.* Going on at this rate we must become amazingly prosperous indeed; like a salamander, we must live in the midst of fire.' He could assure the house that the revenues for 1794 were less than those for 1793. Every one knew that the *custom-house quay was a parade*; that the custom-house itself was but for show; a monument of Irish folly and corruption. Ireland, as a proof of her prosperity, is obliged to send her Chancellor of the Exchequer with his knapsack upon his back to bring home wherewith to support herself."—*Taaffe*, p. 549.

On making a survey to assess hearth money during the year 1793, it appeared that those who were to be exempted from the tax for *want of property* were more than half of the male inhabitants.—*Taaffe*, p. 513.

It was scarcely to be expected that a system built up artificially,

and supported by injustice, should have been productive of general or permanent advantage; and, accordingly, we find that, even during the period so much lauded, and notwithstanding the factitious aid of bounties, the trade of Ireland, so far from progressing, actually declined. In illustration of this, let us examine the tonnage belonging to Irish ports, at two periods of five years each, previous to the Union.

Years.	Tons.	Years.	Tons.	Decrease.
1788 . . .	60,776	1793 . . .	67,790	—
1789 . . .	64,361	1794 . . .	63,162	1,199
1790 . . .	68,236	1795 . . .	58,778	9,458
1791 . . .	69,233	1796 . . .	56,575	12,658
1792 . . .	69,567	1797 . . .	53,181	16,386
Total . .	332,173	Total . .	299,486	39,701

This decrease amounted in three years to upwards of *thirty-eight thousand tons*! The table exhibits the tonnage belonging to Irish merchants, and it evinces a strong proof of declining mercantile prosperity. Another table, of ten years previous to the Union, is fuller and more convincing than the foregoing. The registered tonnage belonging to Ireland, at two periods of five years each, was—

From 1790 to 1794, ships	5,860	tonnage	339,988
From 1795 to 1799, „	5,249	„	267,748
Decrease	611		72,240

These statements are yet further corroborated by the number and tonnage of vessels built in Ireland during this period.

Number of VESSELS, and TONNAGE thereof, built in Ireland for ten years preceding the Union, at two periods of five years each.

1st Period.	No. of Ships.	Tonnage.	2nd Period.	No. of Ships.	Tonnage.	Decrease on Corresponding Years.	
						No. of Ships.	Tonnage.
1790	50	2,334	1795	33	1,654	17	680
1791	51	2,464	1796	32	1,802	19	662
1792	42	1,629	1797	19	797	23	832
1793	35	1,659	1798	20	1,072	15	587
1794	32	1,441	1799	18	1,105	14	346

The total decrease on the period is, 88 ships; tons, 3,097.

This diminution is the more striking from the fact (as will be shown in the subsequent chapter) that the number of vessels built in Ireland since the Union, and the tonnage thereof, has largely *increased*, and is still increasing.

We now proceed to examine the amount of the exports from Ireland during the period under consideration. The total official value of the exports of the growth, produce, and manufactures of Ireland, at two periods of five years each, previous to the Union, was,

From 1790 to 1794	. . . . .	£24,645,783
„ 1795 to 1799	. . . . .	23,013,638
Decrease	. . . . .	£1,632,145

A decrease in exports of considerably more than a million and a half sterling, in a period of only five years, is a strange indication of growing prosperity!

It may be objected that the foregoing statement is one of “official value.” Those who thus object should first recollect that, while *official* values are now decreasing as compared with *real* or *declared* value, they were then increasing; so that the diminution on the latter period was actually greater than is shown by the figures. To remove cavil, however, on the point, let attention be directed to the following table, in which *quantities*, instead of *values*, are expressed, and then let any honest man say whether the assertion be correct, that Ireland rapidly increased in prosperity during the few years that elapsed from 1782 to 1800, when “*England produced the Union because she was becoming jealous of the increasing prosperity of Ireland, because she could not tolerate the rapidly-advancing prosperity of Ireland.*” The assertion is thus repeated:—“Our country produces sufficient for the support of sixteen millions, and shall we then submit to be a province, when we ought to be a nation (loud and vehement cheering)? Let any man look back to the few years that succeeded ’82, and see how rapidly Ireland increased in prosperity. At the rate at which she advanced, America would not be better able to produce abundance of everything that would make life comfortable.”—*Freeman’s Journal*, Dublin.—Repeal Debate.

**EXPORTS (in Quantity) from IRELAND, at Two Periods of Seven Years each,
showing a Decrease on every Item of Export.**

Years.	Grain, &c.			Tongues.	Wool.	Rape.	Kelp.	Tallow.
	Wheat.	Barley.	Meal.					
	barrels.	barrels.	cwts.	doz.	stones.	qrs.	tons.	cwts.
From 1785 to 1791 .	756,485	444,067	811,352	26,474	11,063	47,835	14,111	124,352
From 1792 to 1798 .	348,042	123,681	518,872	25,269	5,717	22,395	11,754	84,269
Decrease .	408,443	320,386	292,480	1,205	5,346	25,440	2,357	40,083

Years.	Calf Skins.	Linen Yarn.	Worsted Yarn.	Cows and Oxen.	Herrings.	Drapery.	Value of Foreign and Colonial Merchandise re-exported.
	doz.	cwts.	stones.	No.	barrels.	yards.	£
From 1785 to 1791 .	152,779	203,541	335,984	145,733	101,371	2,675,308	354,112
From 1792 to 1798 .	132,080	129,415	210,896	134,523	18,605	1,254,736	331,380
Decrease .	20,699	74,126	125,088	11,210	82,766	1,420,572	22,732

Some of those persons who are determined to make every evidence subservient to their own views, may exclaim, "Oh! the Irish, instead of exporting their provisions, kept them at home;" but a little investigation will show them a decrease on wool, drapery (to the extent of 1,321,572 yards), worsted yarn, linen yarn, skins, tallow, kelp, rape-seed, foreign and colonial merchandise, &c., as well as on articles of food.

Neither do we find the consumption of articles of luxury or comfort increased during the period in question. Sugar, which was becoming cheaper, and directly imported from the West Indies in exchange for provisions, was thus entered for home consumption at two periods of three years each:

1789-1790-1791	.	.	.	.	.	cwts.	617,893
1792-1793-1794	.	.	.	.	.	.	567,215
Decrease	.	.	.	.	.	cwts.	50,678

The *wine* retained for home consumption was:

1789-1790-1791	. . . . .	gallons	4,195,454
1796-1797-1798	. . . . .		3,069,606
Decrease	. . . . .	gallons	1,125,848

The *tobacco* entered for home consumption in Ireland was, in

1794	. . .	lbs.	9,426,211	1798	. . .	lbs.	4,894,121
1795	. . .		7,874,409	1799	. . .		5,376,172
Total	. . .	lbs.	17,300,620	Total	. . .	lbs.	10,770,293

A decrease of seven million pounds!

The number of barrels of *malt* consumed in Ireland at two periods of five years each was, from 1791 to 1795, 6,109,600; from 1796 to 1800, 5,619,782,—a decrease of half a million barrels in five years.

The corn-spirit distilled in Ireland was, in 1798, 4,783,954 gallons; in 1799, 4,253,187 gallons; in 1800, 3,621,498.

It would be tedious to proceed with statements so incontrovertible. A sufficient number have been adduced to refute the assertion that Ireland progressed in commerce and improvement towards the close of the last century. Notwithstanding the factitious aid of bounties was most lavishly supplied, and although a large number of English troops were sent to Ireland in 1798-99, and 1800, whose expenditure has always been considered advantageous to the trade of the country,—yet the commerce of Ireland declined from 1782 to 1800.

The petitions to the Irish Parliament from 1781 to 1800 show that even under a resident legislature the domestic manufactures of Ireland languished. Thus:

1781, 30th October,—*Manufacturers and Artificers* petition from Cork, in the utmost distress, “for small sums and materials;” similar petition from Wexford, 6th December, 1781.

1783, 31st October. Dublin petitioned for duties on imported goods, “to re-establish the almost ruined manufactures;” petitions from Dublin, Cork, Queen’s County, Carrick-on-Suir, Roscrea, and other places, represented that Ireland was “pregnant with the most alarming circumstances of distress.”

1793. The Parishioners of St. Luke's, in the liberty of Dublin, petitioned that the produce of their labour as manufacturers "afforded them a very scanty subsistence;" and that, "*within the preceding twenty years, the parish had declined considerably in value.*"

1794. The Corporation for the Relief of the Poor of Dublin petitioned for aid.

1797. Petitions from the Corporations of Carpenters and Bricklayers, and also from the Journeymen Carpenters, declared that "*they were reduced to the utmost distress by want of employment.*"

THE WOOLLEN TRADE.—1783. The Broadcloth Manufacturers of Dublin represent themselves in a state of "*unparalleled distress.*" A similar petition from the working Worsted Weavers.

1787. The Woollen and Worsted Manufacturers of Dublin represent their great distress, and pray for aid to avert the necessity of turning their workmen adrift.—Ditto from Cork.

1788. The Woollen Manufacturers of Dublin and Cork again represent the decline of their trade.

1793. A petition was received from the Irish Woollen Manufacturers generally, stating inability to continue employing the working people, of whom there were "*nearly fifteen thousand in wretchedness, who would perish unless relieved.*"

1793. Petition from the working Worsted Weavers, &c. of Dublin, representing that they were then reduced "*to penury and famine.*"

1800. Report showing that the Woollen Trade had decayed throughout Ireland; that the manufacture of ratteens and coarse woollen goods had rapidly declined, and *was nearly destroyed.*

THE SILK TRADE.—1788. A petition from the Manufacturers of Sattinets, &c. in Dublin, represented that they had laboured under insupportable distress during the preceding year, and that more than one-half of the working manufacturers were then, "by want of employment, reduced to a degree of wretchedness beyond description."

1793. A petition from the working Silk Manufacturers of

Dublin, represented that silk weaving was “nearly annihilated;” that “in 1791, twelve hundred looms were engaged in silk fabrics in Dublin,” and that nine-tenths of the persons then employed were subsequently reduced to penury, and were a burden on their fellow-citizens.

COTTON AND HOSIERY TRADES.—1793. The *Hosiers of Dublin* represented their trade as rapidly declining.

1793. The *Irish Cotton Manufacturers* represented that they were no longer able to give employment

1788. The *Mayor and Inhabitants of Belfast* petitioned for the enactment of an additional tax on the exportation of cattle, stating that the curing trade was much diminished by such exportations.

1792, March 9th. Petition from the *Shoemakers of Dublin*, representing that the remuneration for their labour was insufficient, and their branch of trade going to decay.

1796, Feb. 5. Petition from *Book Printers in Dublin*, stating that the publishing trade had been nearly “extinguished” by the duties charged on paper.

1797, Feb. 21. Petition from the *Tanners of Dublin*, representing the great stagnation of their trade, and their inability to purchase, in 1795, within 10,000 of the number of hides bought in 1794.

1783, Nov. 18. The *Hatters* represent their distress.

1787, Feb. 15. The *Merchants and Shopkeepers of Dublin* represent the bad state of trade, and the ruin of Irish manufactures.

1787, March 2. Petition representing the frequent failure of *Dublin Shopkeepers*.

1797. The *Builders of Dublin* represented distress, and petitioned against a Building Act for the protection of houses from fire.

Can stronger evidence be required to prove that the “extraordinary strides” made by Ireland in commerce and manufactures

during the period of her so called "glorious independence," viz. from 1782 to 1800, were *retrograde* and not progressive; that this perversion of the truth can originate only in gross ignorance or wilful misrepresentation, and that consequently one of the main arguments in favour of repealing the Union is entirely without foundation?

CHAPTER III.

Commercial, Shipping, and Manufacturing Prosperity of Ireland since the Union demonstrated—Measures for the Improvement of the Poor suggested—Drainage of Waste Lands—Issue of Exchequer Bills, &c.

THE Union has so loudly been termed the “desolating, withering Union,” that the people of England may think, that where there is much noise there must necessarily be some truth. Never, however, was there a more untrue statement palmed on the public than that Ireland has been injured by her union with England. The buildings and public works undertaken since the Union, even in Dublin (as detailed in the preceding chapter), show that Government has not been neglectful of the Irish capital; but the principal points for consideration are, the quantity of imports and exports and their amount in value; the consumption of excisable articles by the people, and the indications of social progress. Previous to the Union, every effort was made by the Irish Parliament to aggrandise Dublin, at the expense of Belfast, Cork, Waterford, &c. This was so apparent, that the merchants at the outports were among the first to petition the Irish Parliament and the Sovereign for a legislative junction with Great Britain. Dublin had a monopoly of Ireland, as much as Paris had at one time of France, or London of England previous to the rise of Liverpool, &c. The Union altered this unnatural state of things, which might be aptly compared to an enlarged viscus, the liver for instance, while the whole frame was weak, and dependent for existence on the repeated administration of stimulants.

I commence an examination of the two periods (prior and subsequent to the Union) with the amount of tonnage *belonging* to the several ports of Ireland, at the end of the last century and up to the latest period in the Parliamentary Returns. Let it be remembered, that by the invention and increase of steam navigation (the greater part of which is owned by English and

Scotch ports) *one* steam vessel performs the duty of nearly *ten* sailing ones, and consequently the amount of tonnage belonging to Irish ports would be materially diminished, were it not for a vast increase of commerce.

TONNAGE belonging to, and registered at, the several Irish Ports, at periods of Three Years each, prior and subsequent to the Union.

Name of Port.	Years 1797-98-99.	Years 1824-25-26.	Increase.	Years 1833-34-35.	Years 1840-41 and 42.*	Increase be- tween the first and last Periods.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
Belfast . . .	13,062	48,511	35,449	81,322	149,809	136,747
Londonderry .	2,856	8,628	5,772	17,689	26,155	23,299
Cork . . .	13,424	17,101	3,677	56,751	101,349	87,925
Dublin . . .	33,485	54,824	20,339	70,405	94,742	61,257
Drogheda . .	2,996	7,354	4,358	9,704	14,507	11,511
Donaghadee .	2,234	5,152	2,914	In	other	ports.
Baltimore . .	3,965	7,250	3,375	7,274	8,291	4,326
Kinsale . . .	4,853	9,442	4,589	In	other	ports.
Wexford . . .	6,884	15,280	8,396	19,425	26,098	19,214
Limerick . . .	3,390	4,316	926	10,000	42,247	38,857
Larne . . .	2,877	4,467	1,590		Included	
Kilrush . . .	none.	974	974	in	other	ports.
Newry . . .	12,492	27,402	14,910	22,492	32,720	20,228
Sligo . . .	346	1,451	1,105	4,042	13,030	12,684
Tralee . . .	540	1,346	806	In	other	ports.
Waterford . .	8,929	12,362	3,433	34,345	60,346	51,417
Other Ports .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4,323	—	—
Total Irish Ton- nage registered during those periods . . .	112,333	225,866	112,613	337,772	569,294	467,465
Total Tonnage from Great Bri- tain to Ireland	1,514,261	2,013,178	499,917	4,254,020	3,499,944	5,014,205

The Tonnage for three years before the Union was . . . 112,333

Ditto „ „ „ ending 1845 . . . 631,981

Increase on three years' tons . . . 519,548

The foregoing table is a most important one, in refutation of the assertion, that the Union has been a curse to Ireland. Here we find that even the tonnage *belonging* to the port of Dublin

* The Parliamentary returns from which the figures are taken are numbered 207 and 216 of 1843, and 204 of 1842. The last-named return has not the vessels *under fifty tons*, but an estimate is given by the other returns.

increased by more than *sixty-one thousand tons* on a period of three years; that Belfast augmented its shipping property by 128,000 tons; and that almost every other outport has more than *doubled* or *trebled* its tonnage *since* the Union, *viz.* Limerick, Newry, Wexford, Londonderry, Drogheda, and Sligo; in fact, on every point of the Irish coast! Let me be permitted to corroborate this statement, as I did the corresponding one in the preceding chapter, by referring to the number and tonnage of vessels built in Ireland prior and subsequent to the Union, although the latter is subject to the effect, of steam navigation, which diminishes the actual number of vessels required for commerce.

Number of SHIPS and Amount of TONNAGE, of Vessels *built in Ireland*, at two Periods of Ten Years each, prior and subsequent to the Union.

	No. of Ships.	Tons.
From 1790 to 1799 . . .	332 . . .	15,957
From 1821 to 1830 . . .	415 . . .	20,733
<i>Increase</i> on latter period . . .	83 . . .	4,776
From 1831 to 1841 . . .	No Returns.	

The ten years ending 1830 are derived from the *Westminster Review* for July, 1831, and a reference to it will show that the number of ships built in Ireland increased more in proportion than in England or Scotland; while in 1817 and 1818, before steam cut up the sailing vessels, 151 ships were built in Ireland, the tonnage of which was 5,612; and in 1796-97 there were but 41 ships, the tonnage of which was only 2,579 tons, being an increase of 110 ships and 3,033 tons on a comparative period of two years before and since the Union.

The annual finance accounts show that during *five* years, ending January 1843, the tonnage of vessels built in Ireland was 19,297; thus far exceeding the ten years *preceding* the Union.

The genius of the Irish people is decidedly more warlike than commercial while they remain in their own country; and, from the long state of feudalism in which they have existed, commerce has not yet been considered with the attention it deserves. The same was the case with France, until the revolution of 1830, since which period she has made great strides in mercantile

prosperity. The disposition of the French is becoming more self interested, as that of commercial people always is; and the accumulation of wealth by trade is now generally sought. The same process is taking place in Ireland; but in Dublin, and particularly in the large towns, a tradesman, if he be at all connected with a shop, is looked on with contempt by the gentry, who, like the Suwars of India, pique themselves on their purity of blood, and would rather see their children perish than that they should attempt to earn a livelihood by trade. This dishonourable pride is gradually subsiding; and, if a period of ten or fifteen years' internal tranquillity were secured, Ireland would make rapid strides in maritime commerce and national prosperity.

The improvement in the trade of Ireland, and even of Dublin, will be fully seen by the following table:—

TONNAGE entered Inward into Ireland at three periods (Dublin and the Outports).

Years.	Dublin.	Outports.	Total.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
From 1794 to 1798 . .	1,262,608	1,929,536	3,192,144
From 1817 to 1821 . .	1,609,752	3,364,098	4,973,850
From 1831 to 1835 . .	2,467,808	5,699,694	8,167,502
From 1839 to 1843 . .	No separate	Returns.	9,416,781
Increase between first and last five years, 6,224,617 tons.			

The tonnage entered inwards into Ireland was—

1790	Average of three years each				tons	622,013
1830	Do.	Do.	.	.	.	1,325,679
1840	{	1,948,186	Average	.	.	1,922,660
1841		1,944,285				
1842		1,875,511				
Increase between 1790 and 1840				.	tons	1,300,647

The extraordinary increase of steam navigation is thus shown:—Steam Vessels in the Coasting Trade of Ireland, entered inwards, with cargoes only, and exclusive of passenger vessels, or *those in ballast*:

Years.	Number.	Tons.	Years.	Number.	Tons.
1823 . .	None . .		1830 . .	1825 . .	341,091
1824 . .	78 . .	15,057	1831 . .	1835 . .	344,047
1825 . .	385 . .	70,810	1832 . .	2024 . .	379,829
1826 . .	863 . .	155,267	1833 . .	2195 . .	416,392
1827 . .	1417 . .	271,671	1834 . .	2827 . .	451,681
1828 . .	1768 . .	326,537	1835 . .	2516 . .	479,508
1829 . .	1774 . .	329,206	1836 . .	2766 . .	579,395

The tonnage for 1846 is stated to be *one million*.

The steam vessels *belonging* to Ireland in 1842 were in number 79, tonnage 18,303.

The tonnage inwards to Ireland from Great Britain was, in 1801, 582,003 tons; in 1841, it had increased to 1,677,264 tons.

The Railway Committee observe in their Report that—

“No general account of the trade between Ireland and Great Britain can be rendered, subsequent to 1825; the commercial intercourse having, from the termination of that year, been assimilated to a coasting trade. But there can be no doubt that there has been a *very great progressive increase during the last five years*. The *foreign trade of Ireland having continued progressive*, and the general tonnage being greatly increased, it is not to be doubted but that the *British imports have augmented at the least in the same ratio*.”

Lest it should be said, that the amount of tonnage built, belonging to, or entering a port is a fallacious criterion of progressive advance in commerce, I turn to the state of trade, which in value stands thus before and after the Union:—

TRADE OF IRELAND.

Periods of Ten Years each.	Value of Imports.	Value of Exports.
	£	£
1790 to 1801 . . .	49,396,254	51,322,620
1802 to 1813 . . .	74,511,058	63,483,718
<i>Increase on latter period</i> .	25,114,804	12,161,098
1830 to 1840 . . .	No Returns	No Returns

Thus we find an increase of trade on ten years immediately subsequent to the Union, to the value of upwards of *thirty-seven millions sterling*.

That Ireland has not suffered in her commerce by an Union with England is sufficiently manifested by the following highly important tables of *quantities*, which are carefully compiled from the Statistics of Cæsar Moreau, who had no political object in view in their preparation.

TABLE I.

QUANTITY OF ARTICLES *Imported* into Ireland, at two Periods of Twenty Years each, prior and subsequent to the Union, from all Parts of the World.

Articles.	From 1781 to 1800.	From 1802 to 1821.	Increase.
Drapery . . . yds.	23,833,381	49,692,058	25,858,677
Sugar, raw . . . cwts.	3,796,285	6,089,175	2,292,890
Do. refined . . . do.	149,513	490,315	340,802
Tea lbs.	22,711,224	66,847,251	44,136,027
Coals tons.	6,413,557	10,897,970	4,484,413
Iron cwts.	3,917,882	5,530,682	1,612,800
Flax Seed . . . hhds.	837,746	934,049	96,303
Cotton Wool . . cwts.	199,751	538,542	338,791
Tobacco lbs.	99,402,762	116,112,836	16,710,074
Cotton Yarn . . lbs.	4,551,336	19,995,350	15,444,014
Timber tons.	298,981	490,245	191,264
Hats No.	152,366	1,387,209	1,234,843
Hides undressed . No.	84,287	450,031	365,744
Hops cwts.	295,234	400,701	105,467
Hosiery Pcs.	3,606,074	7,995,640	4,389,566
Oak-bark bls.	2,224,655	2,550,853	326,198
Barilla cwts.	2,122,932	2,182,060	59,128

TABLE II.

QUANTITY OF ARTICLES *Exported* from Ireland, at two Periods of Twenty Years each, prior and subsequent to the Union, to all Parts of the World.

Articles.	From 1781 to 1800.	From 1802 to 1821.	Increase.
Linens yds.	678,798,721	832,403,860	153,605,139
Butter lbs.	5,777,566	7,915,949	2,138,383
Pork bls.	2,164,608	2,565,403	400,795
Wheat do.	1,334,567	4,223,782	2,889,215
Meal & Flour . . cwts.	747,674	1,686,948	939,274
Barley bls.	1,027,323	1,842,993	815,670
Candles cwts.	117,276	205,958	88,682
Hogs No.	70,272	687,569	617,297
Oats bls.	7,650,359	16,112,142	8,461,783
Bacon Flitches . No.	1,013,552	6,248,527	5,234,975
Horned Cattle . . No.	302,287	747,815	445,528
Spirits galls.	79,892	10,349,752	10,269,860
Lard cwts.	80,974	313,867	232,893
Soap cwts.	92,616	219,506	126,890
Copper Ore . . . tons.	9,923	30,243	20,320
Feathers cwts.	28,167	106,307	78,140
Kelp tons.	31,224	64,731	33,507

The foregoing irrefutable document denotes two important things, namely, the rapidly increasing commerce of the country *subsequent* to the Union; and the improving comforts of the people, as shown in the increased use of tea, sugar, hops, tobacco, coals, drapery, &c. while the increased exportation of linens (notwithstanding the extended consumption of cottons), to the amount of upwards of *one hundred and fifty-three million* yards, gives a direct contradiction to those who assert that the linen trade was destroyed by the Union.

It may be said that Ireland has deteriorated since the period given in the preceding statements, *viz.* from 1800 to 1820. This, were it actually the case, would be no proof of the evil effects of the Union; but it will be seen that, notwithstanding the strife and party feeling to which the land of *Ire* has been subjected by her misnamed patriots, and although prices have been falling in every part of the civilised globe, yet the sister country has not diminished her imports, exports, or exciseable articles.

The <i>annual</i> average amount of <i>Exports</i> from Ireland, on the triennial period ending March, 1790, was				£4,125,383
Ditto	ditto ending Jan. 1826	. . . . .		8,454,918
Ditto	ditto in 1836	. . . . .		17,394,813
Increase between first and last period				£13,269,430

Thus we find an augmentation of Irish commerce in one year, as compared with one year of the far-famed period of prosperity, to the extent of upwards of *thirteen millions* sterling!

The <i>annual</i> average amount of <i>Imports</i> into Ireland, for the triennial period ending March, 1790, was				£3,535,588
Ditto	ditto ending Jan. 1826	. . . . .		7,491,890
Ditto	ditto in 1836	. . . . .		15,337,097
Increase between first and last period				£11,802,509

Unfortunately I am unable to show the value of the Irish commerce up to the existing period. Since 1826, the trade of Ireland has been placed on the footing of a coasting trade; but it is an indubitable fact, that the increase has been unremittingly advancing up to the present day, notwithstanding the recent famine.

The consumption of woollen and worsted yarn was:—In 1790, 2,294 lbs. ; in 1826, 632,750 lbs. ; *increase*, 630,456 lbs.

That of cotton yarn was, in the same period:—In 1790, 68,717 lbs. ; in 1826, 2,510,303 lbs. ; *increase*, 2,441,586 lbs.

Iron unwrought, was:—In 1790, 9,971 tons ; in 1826, 18,838 tons ; *increase*, 8,867 tons.

The total quantity of raw and refined sugar consumed was:—In 1790, 216,106 cwts. ; in 1826, 406,789 cwts. ; *increase*, 190,683 cwts.

It is but natural to expect that, as the importation of exciseable articles into Ireland has increased, the exportation of Irish produce to pay for them must also have been augmented. This I have before shown, down to 1820. A return prepared at the Custom-house, 15th January, 1831, and other documents, enables me to give them for a later period than the former Tables contain.

QUANTITIES OF ARTICLES OF IRISH PRODUCE EXPORTED from Ireland Annually,
for 1790 and 1826.

Articles.	One Year ending March, 1790, Average of Three Years.	One Year ending January, 1826, Average of Three Years.	One Year, 1835.	Increase.
Linen Manufactures . yds.	34,191,754	51,947,413	70,209,572	36,017,758
Cotton ditto . yds.	none.	7,793,873		
Do. otherwise entered lbs.	8,261	23,412		
Spirits (Whisky) Imp. gal.	164	705,109	459,473	459,309
Oxen . . . No.	19,457	57,427	98,150	78,693
Sheep . . . No.	none.	62,929	125,452	125,452
Swine . . . No.	5,685	73,913	376,191	370,506
Bacon and Hams . . cwt.	20,986	339,914	379,111	358,125
Butter . . . do.	319,049	492,863	827,009	507,960
Wheat and Wheat Flour, qrs.	112,256	525,640	4,189,569	3,764,320
Oats and Oatmeal . do.	312,993	1,701,134		

QUANTITIES OF CORN, GRAIN, and MEAL EXPORTED to Great Britain from Ireland at intervals of two years each. In *quarters*.

1801 & 1802	1811 & 1812	1821 & 1822	1831 & 1832	1844 & 1845
Qrs. 461,781	995,400	2,885,899	5,401,040	6,052,107

LIVE STOCK Exported from Ireland to Great Britain.

	1790	1826	1832*	1835	1846
Swine .	5,685†	73,913	145,917	376,191	480,827
Sheep .	None	62,929	90,622	125,452	259,257
Oxen .	19,457	57,427	92,000	98,150	186,483

At the period of the Union the exports and imports, Ireland, were valued at 10,000,000*l.*; in 1835 they are given at more than 32,000,000*l.*; and in 1848 they may be stated at 40,000,000*l.*

In the Railway Commissioners' Report for Ireland, laid before Parliament in 1838, the imports for the years 1825 and 1835 are given; the principal items for comparison are:—Coals, 1825, 738,453 tons, and 1835, 1,101,378 tons; cotton manufactures, 4,996,885, and 14,172,000 yards; woollen ditto, 3,384,918 and 7,884,000 yards; tea, 3,889,658 and 4,794,316 lbs.; coffee, 335,921 and 1,205,762 lbs.; tobacco, 3,904,036 and 4,467,746 lbs. The tonnage had increased by nearly 300,000 tons.

These are strange proofs of decaying commerce and crippled industry!

In order to substantiate the truth of the foregoing documents, the following abstract of a portion of the extensive and elaborate Report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1830, on the "State of the Irish Poor," is given. If these data had been carried down to 1848, they would present yet more striking proofs of commercial progress.

"STATE OF TRADE.—The view which your Committee have thus taken of the increasing wealth of Ireland is fully confirmed by considering the state of her commerce. In Sir Charles Whitworth's Tables, the exports of all Ireland to Great Britain, during the seven years from 1723 to 1729, amounted in value to 2,307,722*l.* In 1829 the exports from the single port of Waterford reached 2,136,934*l.*; a sum less by 170,000*l.* only than the

* This year is for Liverpool only, independently of course of Bristol, Glasgow, and all other ports.

† The number exported from Ireland to *Liverpool alone* in 1833 was 225,891; in 1839, number 390,561.

whole trade of Ireland for seven years a century previously. The following table exhibits the progress of the cross-channel trade since the Union, the amount being given in official values.

Years.	Exports to Great Britain.	Imports from all parts.
1801	3,270,350	4,621,344
1805	4,067,717	5,294,967
1809	5,316,557	6,896,821
1813	6,746,353	5,797,286
1817	4,722,766	5,646,563
1821	5,338,838	6,407,427
1825	7,048,936	8,596,785
....
1835*	17,394,813	15,337,077
1847	No Returns.	

“Great as has been the progress of the exports of Ireland, the increased consumption of British manufactures has been still more rapid. The quantity of British manufactures consumed in Ireland has *quadrupled* since the year 1793, whilst the quantity of Irish produce has little more than tripled in the same period. But, as the exports of Ireland consist almost exclusively of raw produce, in order to estimate the exact condition of the country, as marked by increasing consumption, your Committee direct the particular attention of the House to the following table, which gives the increasing amount of cotton manufactures, cotton-wool, tallow, and coals imported from Great Britain into Ireland.

Years.	Cotton Manufacture entered by the yard.	Cotton Wool. lbs.	Tallow. cwts.	Coals. tons.
1801	44,314	147,028	16,679	315,345
1805	59,874	569,268	7,171	412,515
1809	205,110	1,242,864	408	402,040
1813	214,783	1,319,920	8,726	517,047
1817	541,900	971,922	3,590	712,988
1821	968,369	1,627,994	35,550	651,902
1825	4,996,885	4,065,930	131,912	738,453
1835†	14,172,000	‡	‡	1,101,378
1842	No returns.		No returns.	

* I give the year 1835 from the Railway Commissioners' Report in 1838.

R. M. M.

† From Railway Commissioners' Report.

‡ No returns obtainable; but the increase may be presumed to be in the same proportion as the other two items.

Notwithstanding the repeal of various Custom duties, and the recent practice of introducing articles into Ireland that have already paid duty in Great Britain, there has been no diminution in the Customs duties. [See preface to this 3rd edition.]

Even the Customs duties of Dublin have increased from 669,499*l.* in 1829, to 977,718*l.* in 1841—being an increase of 308,219*l.* The total Customs duty of Ireland was—in 1829, 1,585,476*l.*; in 1841, 2,254,771*l.*; in 1847, 2,497,221*l.*

We may now proceed to examine the allegation that England destroyed the manufactures of Ireland by the Union. The authorities to be examined are various, and their testimony, it is hoped, will be deemed conclusive.

Mr. Spring Rice, now Lord Monteagle, in his valuable speech in the House of Commons, 23rd April, 1834, on the Repeal question, quoted several letters, showing the existing state of manufactures in Ireland. The following is from a gentleman of the highest authority in the city of Dublin, giving an account of the state of manufactures there:—

“The state of our manufacturing interest cannot well be described in any general terms. With reference to the calico-printers, for example, the factory at Stratford, so many years carried on by the Orrs, and that at Ball’s-bridge, by the Duffeys, are both bankrupt, while Mr. Henry’s establishment, in the same line, at Island-bridge, is in a highly prosperous state. It is conducted with such enterprise and skill, that its fabrics are in great demand in the Scotch and English markets, whither they are sent in considerable quantities. I have authority for saying that the value of the goods consigned by this house to these markets during the last year amounted to about 90,000*l.* exclusive of the home demand. (Thus it will be seen that our goods are already in the British market.) The silk trade has already exhibited a decided improvement. The tabinet-weavers are now fully employed, and the other branches are in a better condition than for these several years past; a good deal of raw silk has been lately sent from England to be thrown here and returned. Of several branches of manufacture that were formerly sustained by the *artificial*, and sometimes the *fraudulent*, *advantages* derived from *bounties*, *drawbacks*, and *protecting duties* [the protecting duties varied from 25 to 50 per cent. on different branches of manufactures.—R. M. M.], some have been destroyed, and others deeply injured by the discontinuance of such support. There is reason, however, to hope, that some of them at least will ultimately recover. But if some of our manufactures have been prostrated, others have risen in their place; and as the latter owe nothing to adventitious aids, but chiefly consist in the preparation of the staple products of the country, they have the best chance of stability and permanence. Of these, the export trade in porter is perhaps the most remarkable—a trade which a short time ago was unheard of. A vast exportation of Dublin porter

is now going on to almost all parts of England, and it is with some difficulty that the demand can be supplied. Guinness led the way, and has been followed by almost all the other brewers. It appears from official Returns, that in the year 1797 the quantity of English ale and porter imported into Ireland was 67,188 barrels. The annual export of porter from Dublin alone now nearly equals that quantity, and at the present rate of increase will soon greatly exceed it. A considerable and increasing portion of the Irish wheat exported to England is now in the shape of flour. Since the repeal of the duties on leather, a favourable change has taken place in the nature of that trade. Raw leather is now brought from England, and the manufactured article exported thither, with every prospect of a considerable extension in this traffic. Formerly all the sheet-lead, lead-pipes, and shot used in Ireland, came from England; now they are manufactured at home. Within these few years past, two extensive manufactories of oil of vitriol, bleaching-powders, Glauber's salts, &c. have been established near Dublin. They are in a thriving state, and export considerable quantities of those articles to England. A factory for sail-cloth, flax-spinning, &c. has been established since the Union, and exports largely to England. Nor ought the iron-works upon the Liffey, belonging to Mr. Robinson, to be overlooked, where steam-engines, metal machinery of all sorts, iron hoops, &c. are fabricated of the best description, and on an extensive scale."

The manufacture of machinery, which recently commenced, affords a good proof that trade is thriving. The construction of steam-engines and other machinery is now successfully carried on in Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Limerick, and other places.

With reference to the linen trade, a letter from a gentleman in Ulster, well acquainted with the subject, is to this effect:—

"It is frequently stated that the trade has fallen off greatly within the last forty years,—say since the year 1792. This, I am sure, is a very great error; the trade has greatly changed, but certainly, in the aggregate, not fallen off. Forty years ago there was more than double the present number of bleach-greens; but those at present employed do a much greater business than formerly. In fact, I can name in this county (Antrim) ten bleaching concerns that at present finish more goods than the forty most extensive greens in the year 1790; and I know ten establishments that have, within the last year, exported more than 50,000*l.* value each of linen to foreign markets. I also know four manufacturers that have, within the last year, manufactured upwards of 30,000*l.* in value each. This could not have been accomplished but for the facilities of procuring mill-spun yarn. Previous to the period formerly stated (1790), there was no such thing as brown linen exported from Ireland. In fact, I am certain there is a great increase in quantity, in place of falling off. You are aware that the Irish Parliament prohibited the importation of foreign yarns and flax. Great Britain, more wise, did no such thing, but imported both from wherever they could be had cheapest and best. So much for the wisdom and advantage of an Irish Parliament!"

The following account of the linen trade comes from an equally good authority:—

"I feel considerable confidence in stating my opinion, that the present condition of the trade is more wholesome and satisfactory than at any former period within the bounds of my experience.

"Great and important changes have resulted from the abandonment of the system of bounties on exports, from the improvement in machinery, and from the application of more extended capital; all of which have, however, tended to expel the smaller manufacturers, dealers, and bleachers, and to diminish profits; but they have secured to the consumer a more perfect and regularly manufactured fabric, and at a vastly cheaper rate; and they have enabled us to see more clearly our capabilities of carrying on the manufacture in competition with the linen manufactures of the Continent.

"The result of the whole is satisfactory. We are now certain that we can manufacture almost every description of linen, except lace and fine cambric, as cheap and as well, perhaps cheaper and better, than any other country. The improvements in bleaching also, having been placed on a more secure basis by science and experience, have contributed to raise the character of our goods; and I feel confident those causes will continue further to operate in advancing the character of Irish linens.

"The bounties on export, though so long regarded as the only support of our manufacture of coarse fabrics, encouraged the production of extremely low and worthless articles, on the value of which the bounty became a handsome profit; and such goods were, of course, despised when brought into comparison with those of the Continent in foreign markets. A better description is now made for export, and the character of the Irish manufacture is advancing.

"The machinery for spinning yarn has been improved to a degree that has outrun the most sanguine expectations.

"The extension of spinning-mills is now most rapid. We have had several small mills for many years, and for the last three or four, one very large one, all of which have prospered; and so many are now starting up in every quarter, that there is much danger of the demand being overrun by the supply which may soon be expected. The spinning by machinery has also tended to encourage the application of large capital to the manufacture."

In the Report of Mr. R. M. Muggeridge on the recent Hand Loom Weavers' Commission, the following testimony is adduced to show the present state of the linen trade; there being no returns kept of the quantity manufactured:—

"Mr. William Kirk, of Annevale, a member of the linen committee of the county Armagh, says, 'I think the linen trade in Ireland is *increasing*, and *will greatly increase*, if, by prudent commercial treaties, our present opening to the continent of Europe is extended.'

"Mr. William Miller, of Ross Lodge, Antrim, a member of the linen committee of the county Antrim, states, 'There has been an *increase* in the linen trade of Ballymena within the last seven years.'

"Mr. Thomas Eyre, of Blackwatertown, a member of the counties Tyrone and Armagh committees, writes: 'I should say there is no great change in the quantity of linens manufactured; but, taking the province of Ulster altogether, it is *increasing*.'

"Mr. Alexander Hunter, an extensive manufacturer at Dunmurry, near Coleraine, says, 'I think it *much increasing*, and caused by mill-spun yarn.'

"Mr. Joseph M'Kee, a large manufacturer at Keady, county Armagh, and member of the linen committee for that county, says 'I am of opinion that the linen trade is *much on the increase*.'

"Mr. James Murland, a very extensive manufacturer, and member of the county Down committee, says, 'There is not a doubt that the linen trade is *increasing*.'

"Thomas M. Birnie, Esq. a magistrate, and member of the county Antrim committee, says—'*Increasing*.'

"Mr. John Walker of Magherafelt, writes, 'I am of opinion the linen trade of Ireland is *increasing in quantity*.'

"Mr. Carey M'Clellan, of Larchmount, a member of the county Derry committee, states, 'I consider the trade *increasing* at present.' "

The state of the manufactures in Belfast and its vicinity is still more important. One of the principal manufacturers in that district says:—

"I could not furnish you with a correct comparative statement of the relative state of manufactures previous to 1800, as most of the mills at that time were on a small scale, and so imperfect in machinery that they had almost ceased to work; but this I can safely say, and in this opinion I am supported by Mr. Stevenson and other intelligent gentlemen, that *one single concern would now produce more cotton yarn than all the mills in the north of Ireland produced previous to 1800*. At present, four of our most extensive printing concerns are employed printing for the Manchester market, thus coping with the English printer at his own door. I am clearly of opinion that it was the protecting duties that retarded our advancement in the improvement of our manufactures, by preventing that free and fair competition without which there can be no improvement. For example, if we are protected by a duty of ten per cent. our prices must rise to that extent, or the manufacturers are not benefited by it; thus, by increasing the price of our goods, we effectually shut ourselves out of all markets but our own; and in order to secure a home trade we shut ourselves out from all the world beside; yet a return to this very system is one of the advantages promised us by an Irish legislature. It was difficult to procure a sufficient number of weavers, or even common labourers; indeed it is a great satisfaction to be enabled to state, that at no period have the people here been so generally employed and so comfortably off, as, in addition to constant employment, they have provisions at a reasonable rate. A great increase and improvement has taken place in the foundry and mill-wright business, and I can say with safety that no part of England can produce better steam-engines than have lately been manufactured by Messrs Coates and Young, of this place. But the man must be blind, indeed, who can shut his eyes to the fact, that in all those outward appearances which would strike a stranger in a foreign country as indicative of prosperity, wealth, improvement in education, arts, and sciences, we have been gradually and certainly improving; for, whether we look at the increase and improvement of gentlemen's residences, the luxurious mode of living of our merchants and manufacturers, with the increase of carriages and other vehicles, the improvement in the dress and living of our mechanics, or in the improved costume of the lower class of labourers, everything denotes a country rising in civilisation."

In the Hand-loom Weavers' Commission Report in 1840, Mr. C. G. Otway completely substantiates the preceding remarks, and describes Banbridge, the principal seat of the linen manufacture of the North of Ireland.

"The linen manufacturers in the neighbourhood of Banbridge not only give out linen webs to weavers on an extensive scale, but have also established numerous mills for the spinning of yarn, and extensive bleach-greens. Many of the manufacturers spin their own yarn, and bleach their own cloth; and all of them either dispose of their goods at their own offices, to the agent of their customers, export them directly from Belfast, or consign them there to the great linen-factors, who dispose of them on commission.

"The appearance of the country around Banbridge indicates a degree of comfort in all classes of the population, not to be met with in other parts of Ireland; and the hand-loom weavers, who form the great majority of the population, appear fully to participate in this more than average appearance of comfort. The unhappy feelings of distrust between the employers and the operatives, which act so injuriously in many of the other weaving districts, do not exist here to the same extent.

"Mr. Dunbar, who employs 1,700 looms, and is acquainted with the trade since 1805, states,—‘I have seen the linen trade brisker, but *never in a more healthy and promising condition, considering it is only recovering from the effects of the American panic. The demand for linens is progressively on the increase*, and so are the wages of the hand-loom weavers.’ Also, ‘Twenty years ago it was thought necessary to support our trade by prohibiting foreign linens, and giving a bounty on our exports. Now, without all this, *we are sending large quantities of goods to France*, though they lay a heavy duty, from 12 to 15 per cent. on our goods. We produce double the quantity of linens within these 15 years. Some years ago there was a competition between the Irish and French linens in the American market, and now we have not only driven the French out of that market, but send linens to France.’ Mr. Carson, who employs 2,000 looms, states,—‘We have lately received orders for brown goods from France. (The duty is double on white.) The demand for French goods was lately introduced. There never was a Frenchman to buy goods here directly until six or eight months ago, and the *trade is now very much on the increase.*’ ”

The number of yards of linen exported from Ireland was—

	To Great Britain.	To Foreign parts.	Total.
1800 . . .	No separate returns.	. . .	35,676,908
1801 . . .	34,622,298	3,288,704	37,911,602
1809 . . .	33,018,884	4,147,515	37,166,399
1813 . . .	35,018,884	3,926,731	38,945,615
1817 . . .	50,290,321	5,940,254	56,230,575
1821 . . .	45,519,509	4,011,630	49,531,139
1825 . . .	52,560,926	2,553,529	55,114,515
1845 . . .	(Estimated at 70,000,000 yards.)		

Subsequent to 1825, the commercial intercourse between Ireland and Great Britain was placed on the footing of a coasting

trade, and we have no means of continuing the account of the export of linens from Ireland; but there can be no doubt of its great extension since 1825, and that the "Union" has not ruined but improved the linen trade.

This is fully demonstrated, not only in the quantity exported, but in the *quality*. Mr. C. G. Otway remarks, that "the exports of linen from Ireland since 1800 were chiefly if not altogether confined to the *finer* descriptions of linens, from 14 to 24-hundreds, and therefore indicate a greater increase in the prosperity of the linen trade than would at first appear." (Report, 1840, p. 620.) The coarse linen trade was lost to Ireland, owing to the prohibition placed on the export of yarn in 1784, which compelled the English manufacturers to provide yarn at home—which they soon did, not only for their own use, but they also drove the Irish fabrics out of other markets. Mr. Otway, in his valuable Report on the Linen Trade, printed by order of the House of Commons, 4th February, 1840, states—

"There are no means of ascertaining the quantity of linen used for home consumption; but it has been stated, by the most intelligent of my witnesses, that, even taking into consideration the more general use of cotton as a substitution for linen, the *production and consumption of linens have been on the increase during the present century*. It will also be perceived that, as the prohibiting duties decreased, every seven years, the imports increased, and arrived, at the highest when they were withdrawn and the trade left free. No returns of the exports, or the number of pieces sold publicly in the brown markets, have been kept since 1825, and I am unable to furnish any table as to the increase; however, all the witnesses I have examined, whose testimony is worth attention, state (as will be seen in this Report) that at no period has the linen trade been in such a condition, whether we regard the extent of the manufacture, the quality of the fabrics, or the mode in which the manufacture is conducted."

Since 1800 there have been erected near Belfast 17 cotton mills and 10 flax mills of 1,051 horse power; and in 1840 there were 11 new flax mills and several cotton mills in progress.

There are fifteen extensive flax-mills for *spinning* linen yarn in the town of Belfast, besides four others in the neighbourhood; and "the yarn they produce is *equal in quality* to any made in the United Kingdom. One fourth of the flax for their consumption has been stated to be imported. The amount of linens sold in Belfast is *progressively on the increase*, and the first Commissioner's

agent in the town stated, that at no former period was either the *home consumption or the foreign trade so extensive.*" "Hand-loom linen-weaving factories have lately been established in Belfast, and its *linen-weaving is rapidly extending.*"

The duty on the exportation of cotton goods from Ireland to England in 1801 was 68 per cent. *ad val.* In 1816 this duty was reduced; and in 1825 the whole commerce between the two countries was put on the footing of the coasting trade. The result of this imperial legislation is thus shown in 1840:—

"Some large cotton mills have been lately established in Ireland, and intelligent manufacturers have embarked in the trade; and some of the *finest specimens of calico prints in the London markets are of Irish manufacture.*"

The total number of *cotton* weavers residing at Belfast, and within a circuit of ten miles round it, is estimated at 12 to 15,000.

WOOLLEN TRADE.—This branch of Irish manufacture is thus reported on in the Hand-Loom Weavers Commissioners' Report of 1840, by Mr. Otway:—

"I have now only to repeat my opinion that the *woollen trade of Ireland is in a more sound and healthy condition than it has ever been, and that its yearly advance may be confidently expected.*"

It has been rightly stated, that the woollen trade of Dublin, and other manufactures, have felt the benefit of the repeal of the duties on coals prayed for by Ireland. A respectable correspondent, in reference to former times, says that—

"The principal seat of the manufacture of woollen cloth in Ireland was in Dublin, and its boasted extent and prosperity for many years immediately preceding the Union consisted in the employment of about 300 looms and 2,000 individuals, including spinners, weavers, dressers, and all others engaged in the manufacture. However small this number may appear, it can be shown to be tolerably correct by a knowledge of the quantity of raw materials which was then to be procured. English wool was not allowed to us until the Union; Spanish had ceased to be imported for cloth-making. We had, therefore, none to work but Irish wool, fit only for the coarser descriptions of cloth, and the quantity grown in the whole country not exceeding, at the very utmost, 8,000 bags of fifty stone each, or 400,000 stones for all the woollen, worsted, frieze, blanket, and flannel manufactures of Ireland. Of this about one-fourth was consumed by the Dublin clothiers, the value of which, at 15s. per stone, which is a high average for the time, was only 75,000*l.* an amount not sufficient for the supply of two moderately-sized Yorkshire factories." Previous

to the introduction of carding machinery (which took place about 1793, and was adopted on a very limited scale for some years), the manufacture was at the very lowest ebb, both as to quantity and quality; but about the year 1801 machinery worked by water-power became general, and the trade immediately increased; but all attempts at improvement were impeded and counteracted by the combinations of the workmen. I must acknowledge that this was assisted by the operation of the protecting duties, which now appear to me to have been a principal cause of the continued low state of the woollen trade, and which the workmen are promised to have renewed when the Union is repealed. Those duties were truly stated by Sir H. Parnell, in an interview with some of the manufacturers, to be a protection only to the combination, drunkenness, and indolence of the workmen, without any benefit to the employers. They enabled the men to establish such a scale of prices for their labour that even in very low-priced cloths, on which the duty would have been nearly a prohibition, we could scarcely compete with the English. One branch of workmen (the slubbers) were paid at a rate by which they could earn 9s. or 10s. per day, while the same kind of work was done in Leeds for 17. to 17. 5s. per week. The weavers, spinners, &c. were paid nearly in the same proportion, and no remonstrance or attempt to reduce those exorbitant wages had any effect on the workmen. These were the real causes of the woollen manufacture here not keeping pace with the English. But the abolition of the Union duties gave a new impulse to the trade; it forced the workmen to submit to reasonable terms with their employers, who, in their turn, now find that, by proper exertion, and adopting necessary improvements in machinery, they have nothing to fear from English competition; and were it not for the generally depressed state of trade, arising from the disturbed and agitated state of the country, there would be more woollen cloth manufactured now in the neighbourhood of Dublin than has been at any time for fifty years past. This has been actually the case in several years since the duties were taken off."

The official accounts of the state of the woollen trade of Kilkenny, as laid before the Factory Inspectors, is, that the number of mills worked by water power is eleven.

"The woollen manufacture in Kilkenny was always confined to coarse cloths and blankets. Up to the year 1806, the manufacture was carried on by numerous persons in a very small way, all their operations being by manual labour. Subsequently water-power and spring-looms were used, and spinning, carding, &c., is now done by machinery. At present there are but few in the trade; however, I understand there is twice or thrice as much manufactured as previous to 1806. At the Ormonde mills some very excellent carpets have been made; however, as the proprietor has entered into a contract with the Government to supply all the blankets required by the police in Ireland for three years, he must relinquish this branch, at least for the present."

The woollen-trade of Kilkenny, like that of ship-building in Dublin, and other manufactures throughout Ireland, has been materially injured by combinations among the workmen; which the

late amiable and patriotic Roman Catholic Bishop, Dr. Doyle, endeavoured in vain to counteract.

On this subject the following communication from Dublin is important :—

“ Dublin, 20th April, 1834.

“ The decline of manufactures in Dublin was not the consequence of the Union, and it would have occurred had the Union never been carried. It was the consequence, natural and inevitable, of the combination of the workmen, and of that combination exclusively.

“ This position admits of proof ; for, in one instance, the combination was put down, and the trade, in that instance, was sustained : this was in calico printing. In 1817 the employers succeeded in crushing combination ; they resolutely discharged their refractory hands—took on and educated others—employed women and boys to do the work which men only had heretofore engrossed ; and that trade has thenceforward been at no time, when equal capital, economy, and energy were devoted to it, worse circumstanced in Ireland than in England. In every other department combination succeeded, and, save in a few solitary instances, the manufacture was lost. If the Union were repealed to-morrow, and a code of protecting duties enacted, every farthing of the burden thus levied on the community would be exacted by the rapacity of the workmen, to be expended in drunkenness, or in the expenses of a combination founded on injustice, and sustained by the most frightful outrages—by cold-blooded murder and noon-day assassination.”

The lace trade, which has recently been created in Limerick, and gives employment to about 1,300 young people, was in jeopardy, by reason of a projected combination and dispute between the workpeople.

But it is not only by combination that the manufactures are injured in Ireland. Within the last year an enterprising merchant at Cork erected a steam-engine for sawing timber ; the sawyers instantly formed a resolution to destroy him ; and a few nights after, *a quantity of vitriol was thrown in his face !* Some paper mill machinery, established by Alderman Magnay, near Cork, was destroyed by the workmen.

The state of the Silk Trade in Ireland has often been quoted in illustration of the “ disastrous effects of the Union.” It may be well, therefore, to give an abstract of the official report of the Hand-Loom Weavers’ Commission in 1840 :—

SILK TRADE.—The silk manufacture of Ireland is confined to the metropolis. It was introduced by the French refugees, and

established in the liberties of Dublin shortly after their settlement in that city, in the year 1693.

The weavers engaged in the manufacture of silk may be divided into those employed on tabinets or poplins, and tabbareas [tabbareas are shot with linen yarn, tabinets with worsted], on velvets, on ribbons; but, in point of fact, the number of weavers employed in the manufacture of velvets and ribbons is so very small, that they need scarcely be taken into account in the survey of this branch of industry in Ireland.

The number of silk-weavers in Dublin, May, 1838, amounted to 400; of these 310 are broad-silk weavers, 280 employed on the manufacture of tabinets and tabareas, and 30 on the manufacture of velvets; there were also 32 employed in weaving ribbons, the remainder are tabinet weavers, only occasionally employed, or who have been whole silk or single-hand ribbon weavers, and are unable to obtain any employment; of the 280 tabinet weavers, 230 have been in constant employment for from nine to ten months in each year, during the last three years, taking the mean between the statement of the employers and the operatives: the remaining number, from age, extreme poverty, want of industry or skill, are but seldom employed, and only on some sudden and unusual demand in the market for tabinets. The trade regulations, as they are called, prevent the manufacturers from giving, or the operative from taking, less than a fixed rate of wages. The manufacturer being thus debarred from lowering his wages (and compelled to pay according to the same rate both good and bad workmen), on a fall in demand for his manufacture in the market, limits the quantity of work he gives out, and only employs his best workmen; thus, except in cases of an extraordinary demand for tabinets, some new patterns to be made up for the Court, or a charity ball, or some large order to be executed for a new Lady-Lieutenant, to furnish the Castle, when all hands are required, there is a number of silk-weavers altogether out of employment, whose ages and habits unfit them for other employments.

The earnings of the tabinet weavers are equal if not superior to those of any class of weavers, and *much higher than those of the silk-weavers in Manchester and its vicinity.*

Arthur Young states that the imported fabrics had increased for the 26 years previous to 1777, while the raw material worked up had decreased—a proof that the manufacture was in no very healthy condition. It is stated that in the year 1777 the Royal Dublin Society, which had established a warehouse for the sale of silk in Ireland, wholesale and retail, had only a stock to the amount of 12,000*l.* in hand; and that from 23d of June, 1777, to 7th February, 1778, their average weekly receipts was only 150*l.* or 7,800*l.* per annum, although they offered and paid a premium of three per cent. on all wrought silk bought by wholesale at their warehouse to be sold again.

It appears from documentary evidence, that in 1784 there were only 800 silk looms at work, and that on the 21st of June, 1793, the working silk manufacturers petitioned the Legislature, and stated that, although in 1791 there were 1,200 silk looms employed, yet in that year there were not nine-tenths of that number employed, and that *the silk manufacturers, weavers, and other individuals depending on that trade for support, were reduced to the greatest possible distress.*

The trade was altogether suspended by the rebellion in 1798, and in 1800 it was deemed necessary to protect it by a duty of 10 per cent. on the introduction of foreign and British silks. Under the Spitalfields Act the regulation of wages and disputes between masters and workmen had been subjected to the control of the Royal Dublin Society. It is stated in the Report on the trade, by the Committee of Silk Weavers, “that in 1805 the last rise in wages took place; that in 1809 they suffered much by the Berlin Decrees, which had the effect of raising the price of raw silk to an enormous height, so as to prevent the manufacturer from purchasing it; that the weavers were thrown out of employment and enlisted; that from this period succeeding depressions diminished their numbers, and the silk trade extending itself in England, and being established at Macclesfield and Manchester,

where higher wages were paid than at Spitalfields or Dublin, still further reduced the number of silk-weavers; and that, notwithstanding the protecting duties, the English manufacturers were, by their increased command of capital, able to undersell the Dublin manufacturer. To this circumstance they mainly attribute the loss of the silk trade. But they say that when the protecting duties began to expire in 1821, and the drawback on home manufactured goods was taken off, and steam communication opened with England, the market was inundated with goods, during the panic of 1825, at a price less than the cost of the raw material; and that thus the loss of the silk trade was rendered inevitable. It is also stated that in all these changes the silk-weavers suffered more in the decline of numbers than in the reduction of wages, as, up to 1824, their wages were protected by the Royal Dublin Society. At this period the weavers made a reduction of 15 per cent. on the price of weaving (whole silk). Yet, after all the sacrifices that were made, the effort proved unavailing to preserve the trade in whole silks. The English were able to pour their silk goods into Ireland at a price below that for which they could be manufactured in Dublin.

From what has been stated it will be perceived that the silk trade in Ireland, from the period of 1775, has never been extensive or in a prosperous condition, but has been subject to continual fluctuations.

One witness before the Commissioners stated, that the effect of combinations is one of the great causes of the downfall of the trade and consequent distress. A man of the name of M'Connell, a silk manufacturer, who carried on the trade to a great extent, had a quantity of work going on, and made an agreement with his men, in one branch of the business, to get it done for less than the standard price. The body of the trade got information of it, and stopped his works; would not allow the men to fulfil their engagements; called a meeting, and ordered all his work home (*i. e.* the work he had out in the looms) unfinished, and fined him 10*l.* for committing that crime against their will. They would not suffer him to proceed with his business until he agreed to pay

the fine, and the full price in future for all the work out. He paid the fine, and got his work finished, and, when it was finished, quitted the trade. So disgusted was he with the conduct of the men, and the fearful effects of such a system of combination. "I myself," said he, "about nine months ago, made an agreement with men (who solicited me) to give them work under the usual price, trade being remarkably low. The body got information, and called a general meeting on that business, and came to the unanimous resolution at the meeting that no person for the future should work for me. These resolutions were passed, and in a few nights after my works were consumed by vitriol thrown in through the windows by unknown persons, and no person connected with the trade would work for me for fear of the body. Informations were lodged against eleven persons by men who worked with me at the time, and they were tried in about five months after for combination; but in consequence of the terror exercised by the body over the persons who lodged the informations before the magistrate, the witnesses on the trial swore the direct contrary of the very informations they had given before the magistrate. They were then indicted for perjury. The effect of all this was to drive me from the business. The unions in my trade have regular officers, meetings, and collections to support their combinations. They would not allow me, though having served my full time to the ribbon trade, to work at the broad-silk, though in every respect the same, except one being broad and the other narrow: a great hardship this; and as a manufacturer they would not allow me to take an apprentice at it. *I look upon the system of combination which exists as one of the great causes of the decline of the trade.* A few individuals frame a system of rules and laws, and call themselves 'a common committee,' tax the whole trade for their purposes, and enforce their laws and their system of taxation on the trade, the majority of whom are totally ignorant of their proceedings, and have no voice in the framing of their laws, but are obliged from fear to submit to the laws of this committee. The committee men are generally composed of leading undertakers of work, who give it out as well as weave it;

and so they have the less forward and more humble workmen in their power by these means. The principal leaders of this body are generally great spokesmen, and are always sure of getting themselves in the first instance appointed on the committee by self-election. Part of the combination committee of each trade is in connexion with a general combination committee or body of all trades. To this each trade that has formed a body or a union sends its delegates; and generally, when any of their laws are to be enforced against any one who has come under their displeasure, the person to punish and the punishment is pronounced and awarded by persons connected with totally different pursuits and trades. This connexion with a general body of all trades is denied by the silk weavers; but, though I cannot speak of it from personal knowledge, as I can of their own system of combination and its fearful effects, still I am fully persuaded and convinced of the truth of it."

Alderman Abbott, for many years one of the most extensive silk manufacturers and mercers in Dublin, states:—"I am acquainted with the state of the silk trade for the last fifty years. When I remember it first it was flourishing, and gave employment to a large number of individuals, consisting of silk throwsters, dyers, winders, warpers, weavers, and dressers; even as far back as I can remember considerable fluctuations took place in the trade, but were merely temporary, occasioned by the wear of muslins and other fabrics. Up to 1829 I was engaged in the wholesale silk trade, employing a large number of looms; imported my own silk, and had it manufactured here. I left the trade in consequence of the combinations among the workmen. I called my weavers together, and they agreed to make a considerable reduction in the price of weaving; when they got the work out for the winter's trade, the committee of the combinator took the shuttles from them, and would not allow them to finish their work in the looms until I agreed to give the full London prices; in consequence of which I did not think it safe any longer to continue in the trade, and I retired from business. This occurred in the year 1826. The weavers were accustomed to fix

the prices of weaving; and, as I stated before, I called them together and told them, as the facility was so great for getting goods from England, and the protecting duty being taken off, that I could not with safety give them the London prices. I manufactured everything that could be made, from silk velvets, ribbons, &c. &c. &c. I believe there are very few silk weavers here now, except the tabinet weavers. I attribute the withdrawal of the trade in whole silks to the combinations of the men, who would not work at Manchester prices, but insisted on London prices, which the manufacturer here could not afford to give."

Mr. Otway, the Hand Loom Weaver Commissioner, reported in 1840, "It cannot be doubted that illegal and dangerous combinations amongst the workmen have operated most injuriously on the trade, driven many of the most extensive manufacturers out of it, and deterred others from directing that capital and intelligence towards it by which alone it could be preserved or enabled to compete with the other silk-weaving districts of the empire. If not checked, this system will speedily drive away the portion of the silk trade which now remains.

"The day or two previous to my leaving Ireland, I called on a manufacturer of high respectability, and the head of one of the oldest houses in the trade, who had previously (last May) given me evidence. He told me that since I had examined him, he had set up a hand-loom weaving factory for broad silks; had gone to England and expended a sum of 700*l.* in purchasing jacquard-loom of the best construction, and a machine for winding silk. He took me to see his factory. I found it the best arranged, and the most healthy and convenient factory I had ever seen; but out of upwards of thirty looms, only twelve were at work, and the winding-machine appeared never to have been used. I asked the reason of this; he told me, when he had finished his arrangements there was a meeting of the body of the trade called, and that they had passed a resolution not to allow more than twelve weavers to work for him, and he was directed not, on any account, to use the winding-machine. 'The consequence is, sir, that, although I give the same rate of wages as that fixed by the union,

if I was to give 100*l.* as an inducement, I could not get a thirteenth weaver to work for me. But this is not all; they passed another resolution forbidding the twelve weavers to pay me more than 1*s.* 6*d.* each for the use of the looms, though 2*s.* 6*d.* is the fixed price, when the manufacturer supplies a jacquard-loom; and to-morrow there is to be a meeting of the trade to limit the number of weavers that they will permit to work for me to six. The other manufacturers are either afraid or unwilling to assist me to put down this combination. The consequence is, that, after sustaining immense loss, I must withdraw from the trade. The silk-winders are so exasperated at my introducing a winding-machine, though I never used it, that I dare not, even in the open day, walk through the liberty: the very women would pelt me with stones or mud.'

"The combinations of the operatives have not only driven the most extensive and wealthy manufacturers out of the trade, but, by the unjust and illegal control which they assume over the industry of their fellow-workmen, they have compelled them to emigrate to some place where they can exercise their judgment as regards the disposal of their own labour. The consequence has been, that many of the best Irish silk-weavers, sooner than submit to such a tyranny, have from time to time migrated to Manchester and other silk-weaving districts of England, where they have been glad to get employment at a much lower rate than that fixed by the trade in Dublin. There are in fact more Irish workmen now in Macclesfield than English. Mr. Curran, the secretary of the Manchester silk weavers, in his evidence, stated, 'After the Spitalfields Act was repealed, the silk weavers in Dublin combined not to take lower wages from their employers than they had previously received; and numbers came over here, where, in many instances, they were obliged to take a lower rate of wages than the rules of their trade in Dublin would permit. This had the effect of withdrawing a large portion of the trade from Dublin, and opening a market in Dublin for the Manchester silks, which more than compensated for the increase in the labour market, from the additional number of silk-weavers that had

migrated from Dublin.' It was also stated in evidence received by the Poor Law Inquiry Commissioners for Ireland, from a silk manufacturer: 'I have lately seen some of the weavers who went from here to Macclesfield; many of them told me they should be glad to return home and work for half their present wages.' And again: 'If I were to set up 50 or 60 fresh looms to work, a meeting of the weavers would immediately take place to consider if they would work at the prices I should offer them: at first they would consent, and as soon as everything was prepared for them I have no doubt but that they would strike and leave me in the lurch, and thus, through their own obstinacy, continue to linger in a state of almost starvation, rather than work under the prices they had themselves fixed upon.'"

It is justly remarked by Mr. Otway that the Irish silk trade ought, under proper management, to afford as ample employment and profit (according to the capital invested in it) to those engaged in the various operations requisite for its manufacture as are enjoyed by those engaged in the manufacture of silk in any other portion of the United Kingdom, and it may be added that the "Union" has not injured the silk trade.

In the Quarterly Report of the Factory Inspectors, for the half-year ending 31st December, 1840—and laid before Parliament—Mr. James Stuart, the factory inspector for Ireland and Scotland, thus describes the general state of the manufactures in Ireland, which he states includes "a circuit of inspection exceeding *thirteen hundred miles in extent.*" His evidence is very valuable. The language is thus:—

"I have great pleasure in reporting that, during my circuit in Ireland, the flax and cotton factory owners generally admitted, that for some time past there has been a tolerably brisk demand for the articles manufactured by them. *There is a considerable augmentation of the number of persons employed in the cotton and flax factories.* A cotton factory at Stratford, in the county Wicklow, employing about 150 persons, which has been for a long period in a dilapidated state, has *recently been fitted up, and is at work.* A large addition to the only cotton factory in the county Wexford is being proceeded with; and there are *new flax factories and large additions* to some of those already established at Belfast and in other parts of the county Antrim."

This is a remarkable proof that the Union has not produced the effects described on the manufactures of Ireland.

Since these data were collected, several new manufactories have been established; and, but for the insane hostility manifested by the Irish artisans against the introduction of English skilled mechanics and artificers, many more would now have been in full operation.

The steam-engines employed in factories, &c. in several towns in Ireland, afford another means for testing the advancing or retrograding condition of the country. A detailed statement is given in Mr. Porter's Tables, Return No. 158, p. 188; of which the following is an abstract:—

In Belfast and Neighbourhood, there were erected in 1806, one steam-engine of 20 horse-power—in 1810 two—1812 one—1817 one—1824 one—1825 three—1826 two—1827 one—1830 one—1832 two—1833 four—1834 three—1835 eight—1836 four—1837 five—1838 eleven. Total, fifty; horse-power, 1,274. These engines were for various manufacturing purposes—such as spinning, foundry, paper-making, &c.

In Clonmel and Waterford: in 1829 one—1834 one—1837 one.

In Cork: in 1815 two—1817 two—1818 one—1820 three—1823 one—1824 one—1825 two—1826 one—1828 two—1830 three—1835 one—1837 one—and from 1810 to 1834 eight for foundries. Total, twenty-eight; horse-power, 412.

In Dublin: In 1811 one—1812 one—1813 one—1815 one—1816 two—1817 two—1824 one—1825 one—1826 one—1827 one—1828 two—1829 one—1831 one—1832 one—1833 three—1834 two—1835 one—1836 two—1837 two—1838 one.—Total, twenty-nine; horse-power, 432.

In Galway: In 1832 one—1834 one—1835 one—1836 one. Total, four; horse-power, 46.

In Kilkenny: In 1816 one—1827 one—1832 two—1833 one—1838 two. Total, seven; horse-power, 164.

In Limerick: In 1818 four—1822 one—1828 one—1830 one—1832 one—1834 one—1836 two—1838 one. Total, twelve; horse-power, 206.

In Londonderry: In 1815 one—1825 one—1834 one—1835 one—1836 two—1837 one—1838 one. Total, eight; horse-power, 116.

In Portlaw: Three engines of 300 horse-power, for cotton-factories.

In Waterford: In 1817 one—1823 one—1825 one—1828 one—1832 one—1834 one—1835 one. Total, seven; horse-power, 90.

These details offer ample proof, that, notwithstanding the cheapness of water-power and the great extent to which it is used in Ireland, *steam-power* is being gradually brought into operation. The document from which I am quoting has the following explanatory note appended in reference to Dublin:—

“ Mr. Robinson has manufactured and erected sixteen stationary steam-engines, from twenty-five to four horse-power; the whole of them are at work in various distilleries, breweries, and manufactories in this city and county. His rolling-mill,

foundry, and smithy, and fitting-up shops, are occasionally kept busy in supplying the distilleries, breweries, and manufactories in this city, with hoops, metal, and wrought-iron machinery. The yearly amount of his payments to work-people averages 5,500*l*. Messrs. Mallett have built new engines, amounting in all to 560 horse-power, since the latter part of the year 1831. In consequence of the increased demand for engineer work in general, Messrs. Courtney and Stephens have considerably enlarged their concerns in that department during the last year; and in a few months will be able to execute extensive orders. Since the opening of the Kingston Railway, they have made most of the metal castings—also the engine and carriage wheels for the company; and for this latter branch of railway work, they have just completed a set of furnaces capable of shoeing any sized wheel in use.—The Messrs. Courtney and Stephens, Robinson, Mallett, and Perry, are the principal manufacturers of steam-engines in the city of Dublin.’

Having now given a detailed statement of the commerce and manufactures of Ireland since 1800, I am induced, on issuing this edition, to offer some remarks on the condition of the people, and to suggest some measures which appear to me calculated to improve permanently the state of the country.

There can be no doubt that distress and severe privations exist in several of the poorer districts of Ireland among the labouring classes and “*con-acre*” cultivators; but that distress is not attributable to the Union: it existed in a far greater extent over the *whole* of Ireland before the Union, and is a social, not a political ill, which requires judgment and capital for its permanent relief. Suffering and privation are not however confined to Ireland; although silently borne, they are felt to as great, if not greater, extent in some districts of England and Scotland. The misery last year in the Highlands was nearly equal to that in Ireland; and the Report of the National Convention, now sitting (26 April, 1848), with delegates from all the manufacturing districts, gives a melancholy account of the state of the population there.

The Report from *North Lancashire and Preston* is—“Misery and distress have visited the whole of the working classes; many dying from starvation.” From the *Potteries*—“The whole district in the greatest possible distress.” *Northampton*—“The suffering of the people is beyond endurance.” *Burnley*—“The people in the most miserable condition.” *Beddington*—“Seventy per cent. worse than ever known.”

The statements if carried out would show that there is a far

greater aggregate of human suffering in Great Britain than in Ireland, where the legislative provision for the poor is now only coming into full operation. In March 1844 there were 109 poor-houses opened in Ireland; in 1845 there were 116; and in 1846 there were 123.

The VALUATION as assessed to POOR RATES 31 December, 1847 was in—

		Poor Houses built to contain	Poor Rate called for 10 Months.	Debts 31 December, 1847.
	£		£	£
Ulster	3,320,334	28,200	184,950	36,025
Munster	3,777,112	26,210	356,575	29,623
Leinster	4,624,530	24,850	265,527	36,748
Connaught	1,465,643	14,600	61,696	54,181
	13,187,421	93,860	868,748	156,577
Collected in 1846, £390,071; in 1847, £970,318.				

The total rate made for 1847 was 1,618,240*l.* an average of 1*s.* 5½*d.* in the pound throughout the unions, which comprise on an average 45 square miles each.

This relief for the poor of Ireland, although it falls heavily on property now, must ultimately and in conjunction with other remedial measures tend not only to raise the condition of the labouring classes, but also to improve every description of property, and to render it more secure. England has hitherto supported a large portion of the Irish paupers; the number of Irish poor who arrived in Liverpool in one month, viz. from 13th January to 16th February, 1847, was—of men 16,729; women, 8,026; children, 5,284; total 30,039.

And be it remembered that “the number of poor relieved in England and Wales during the year 1847 may be stated at about two millions, and the sum expended for their relief 5,039,703*l.*”—*Parl. Paper* 144.

The plea of destitution among the labouring poor of Ireland, as an argument for repealing the Union, could never be more unseasonably urged than at the present period, when so much

financial sacrifice has been made for their relief. More has been done to improve their condition by the Imperial Parliament within the last few years than had been attempted in preceding centuries.

The per-centage of poor to population relieved during 1847 was—in England, 9·2; in Scotland, 3·7; and in Ireland, 1·5. The expenditure on each pauper relieved was, per head, in England 3*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*; in Scotland, 3*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.*; and in Ireland, 2*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Trevelyan, whose large practical mind, great experience, and Christian philanthropy entitle his observations to the consideration of every statesman, and to the attention of every person desirous of improving the condition of Ireland, adverts in his recent valuable narrative of the “Irish Crisis” (p. 158) to the beneficial results of the poor law in Ireland, in the following clear and convincing language:—

“A principle of great power has been introduced [by poor laws] into the social system of Ireland, which must be productive of many important consequences, besides those which directly flow from it. Mr. Drummond’s apophthegm, that ‘property has its duties as well as its rights,’ having now received the sanction of law, it can never hereafter be a matter of indifference to a landed proprietor what the condition of the people on his estate is. The day has gone by for letting things take their course, and landlords and farmers have the plain alternative placed before them of supporting the people in idleness or in profitable labour. Hitherto the duties of Irish landlords had been, as jurists would say, of imperfect obligation. In other words, their performance depended upon conscience, benevolence, and a more enlightened and far-seeing view of personal interest than belongs to the generality of men; the consequence of which has been a remarkable difference in the conduct of Irish landlords: and while some have made all the sacrifices and exertions which their position required, others have been guilty of that entire abandonment of duty which has brought reproach upon their order. For the future this cannot be. The necessity of self-preservation, and the knowledge that rents can be saved from the encroachments of poor-rates, only in proportion as the poor are cared for and profitably employed, will secure a fair average good conduct on the part of landed proprietors, as in England, and more favourable circumstances will induce improved habits. *The poor-rate is an absentee tax of the best description*; because, besides bringing non-resident proprietors under contribution, it gives them powerful motives either to reside on their estates or to take care that they are managed, in their absence, with a proper regard to the welfare of the poor. Lastly, the performance of duty supposes the enjoyment of equivalent rights. When rich and poor are at one again, the repudiating farmer will find the position of his landlord too strong to allow of his taking his present licence, and it will then be fearlessly asserted that the converse of Mr. Drummond’s maxim is also true, and that ‘Property has its rights as well as its duties.’ For the first time in the history of Ireland, the poor man has become sensibly alive to the idea that the law is his friend, and the exhortation of the parish priest of Dingle to his flock in September

1847 indicates an epoch in the progress of society in Ireland :—‘ Heretofore landlords have had agents who collected their rents, and they supported them. The grand jury had agents to collect the county-cess, and they supported them. Now, for the first time, the poor man has an agent to collect *his* rent. That agent is the poor-rate collector, and he should be supported by the poor.’ Time must, however, be allowed for the gradual working of this feeling before its full effects can be seen.

“Those who object to the existing poor law are bound to point out a more certain and less objectionable mode of relieving the destitute and securing the regular employment of the poor. The principle of the poor law is, that rate after rate should be levied *for the preservation of life*, until the landowners and farmers either enable the people to support themselves by honest industry, or dispose of their property to those who can and will perform this indispensable duty.

“The fearful problem to be solved in Ireland, stated in its simplest form, is this :—*A large population subsisting on potatoes which they raised for themselves has been deprived of that resource, and how are they now to be supported?* The obvious answer is, by growing something else. But that cannot be, because the small patches of land which maintained a family when laid down to potatoes, are insufficient for the purpose when laid down to corn or any other kind of produce; and corn cultivation requires capital and skill, and combined labour, which the cottier and conacre tenants do not possess. The position occupied by these classes is no longer tenable, and it is necessary for them either to become substantial farmers, or to live by the wages of their labour. They must still depend for their subsistence upon agriculture, but upon agriculture conducted according to new and very improved conditions. Both the kind of food and the means of procuring it have changed. The people will henceforth principally live upon grain, either imported from abroad or grown in the country, which they will purchase out of their wages; and corn and cattle will be exported, as the piece-goods of Manchester are, to provide the fund out of which the community will be maintained under the several heads of wages, profits, and rents. It is in vain that the granary of the merchant and the homestead of the farmer are filled to overflowing, if the mass of the people have not the means of purchasing, and it has therefore become of the highest consequence that the resources which are most available for the payment of wages should be cultivated to the utmost. The poor law cannot alone bear the whole weight of the existing pauperism of Ireland; and its unproductive expenditure, however indispensable, must be supported by adequate industrial efforts, in order to prevent all classes of society from being involved in one common ruin. Before this crisis occurred, Sir Robert Kane had proved in theory, and many good farmers in practice, that a much larger produce might be raised, and a much larger population might be supported from the soil of Ireland, than heretofore; and this view has since been confirmed by numerous surveys conducted under the superintendence of the Board of Works, which have disclosed an extensive and varied field for the investment of capital, upon which the whole unemployed population of Ireland might be employed with much advantage to all parties concerned. The great resource of Ireland consists in the cultivation of her soil, the improvement of her cattle, the extension of her fisheries; and, while there are large tracts of flooded land to be reclaimed, and still larger tracts of half cultivated land to be brought to a higher state of productiveness, it would be a misdirection of capital to employ it in the less profitable manufactures of cotton and wool. Ireland is benefited to a greater extent than many parts of Scotland and England are, by the markets and the

means of employment which Manchester and Glasgow afford; but her own staple manufacture is corn."

Ireland is far behind England and Scotland in the possession of accumulated wealth and its concomitant civilization. She suffers also from the large proportion of her population dependent on agriculture, and living on the lowest element of subsistence, from the limited portion of the surface under cultivation, from the want of capital for the improvement of the land, and from the more rapid augmentation of population than of property. Scotland suffered at first in some degree by its legislative union with England, but the remedy was found in the supply of a sound monetary circulation by means of banks chartered by the Crown, which afforded a healthy stimulus to the agriculture and trade of Scotland.

This point cannot be too strongly dwelt on in considering the case of Ireland, which, after forty-eight years' union, presents a marked contrast to the monetary condition of Scotland: thus,—

	Chartered Banks.	Paid Capital.	Unchartered Banks.	Paid Capital.	Total Cap.
Scotland . . .	6	£6,000,000	15	£7,000,000	£13,000,000
Ireland . . .	1	£3,000,000	8	£2,000,000	£5,000,000

Thus Scotland for less than 3,000,000 people has 13,000,000*l.* banking capital, a valuable system of cash credits, and extensive discounts. Ireland for more than 8,000,000 people has not 5,000,000*l.* banking capital, for 2,000,000*l.* of the Bank of Ireland capital is lent to Government.

Ireland has not, in fact, *ten shillings* per head of banking capital, while Scotland has at least FIVE POUNDS PER HEAD OF BANKING CAPITAL, in addition to superior and more numerous monetary establishments. At the period of the Scottish Union there was only the Bank of Scotland, which was chartered in 1695. In 1727, the Royal Bank of Scotland was chartered, with a capital of 2,000,000*l.*; subsequently a bank called the British Linen Company was chartered, and other joint stock banks received royal incorporation. These banks are one of the main causes of the prosperity of Scotland, and they materially aided in

relieving any temporary ill effects arising from the Union. Hence Scotland, with its inclement climate—great extent of barren soil—and disadvantageous geographical position—has attained to nearly an equality with England in agriculture, and indeed in arts, manufactures, and general commerce. By the application of the same means Ireland may naturally expect to be raised in the social scale to a level with great Britain.

I have traversed nearly the whole of Ireland—have examined minutely the condition of the people—and endeavoured to trace to their source the causes of the sufferings which prevail. The contrast which Ulster, the seat of Protestantism, presents to Munster, the seat of Romanism, has given rise to the allegation that the influence of Catholicism is at the root of the evil. But this argument will scarcely hold good; for I never saw greater physical comfort in any part of the world than in Carylthia, Styria, and other parts of the Austrian dominions, where the Romish doctrines are implicitly obeyed. So also in Tuscany, Lombardy, and other regions. It may be said, that political despotism exists in those countries, and Romanism has little influence; but in Belgium political freedom, Romanism, and great physical comfort co-exist. Romanism can scarcely then be assigned as the sole cause of the inferior condition of the southern and western Irish. Neither can indolence or improvidence be the originating causes, for the Munster labourers when removed to England, the Colonies, or the United States, become the most laborious workmen, the best colonists, and excellent citizens.

From this and many other circumstances I am led to the conclusion that one of the great wants of Ireland is *capital*—is a sufficient circulating medium—and a well-organised banking system.

I think it is the duty of Government to assist in supplying this great want; for, while I contend that Ireland has not suffered by the Union—nay more, that great benefit has accrued from that Union—I readily admit that there is yet much more to be done for the removal of social evils and for the elevation of the great body of the people. Various inquirers all point to the absence of “capital” as the chief defect of Ireland.

In the first Report on "Poor Laws for Ireland," in 1836, there is the following passage:—

"Ireland is now suffering under a circle of evils, producing and reproducing one another. Want of capital produces want of employment—want of employment, turbulence and misery—turbulence and misery, insecurity—insecurity prevents the introduction or accumulation of capital—and so on. Until this circle is broken the evils must continue, and probably augment. The first thing to be done is to give security—that will produce or invite capital—and capital will give employment."

M. Beaumont, who traversed Ireland in 1839, and viewed it as an intelligent Frenchman, thus wrote:—

"Capital is wanting; the terror which reigns in the country drives it further away. Industry alone could raise from indigence the multitude of cottiers that contend for the land; and capital, without which no industry is possible, has fled from poor Ireland for ever."

I cannot accede to the observation of M. Beaumont, that capital has "fled for ever" from Ireland, although agitation has done much to produce such a result.

Mr. Forster, who deserves great credit for his useful, impartial, and fearless description of Ireland, as the "Times Commissioner," thus expresses the effect of want of capital, (p. 30):—

"The absence of capital tends to confine productive industry to the land. It is a law of nature that population increases, but the land does not increase. The land will yield but a certain amount of produce, which is limited; but the increase of population is unlimited. Being confined to the produce of the land for subsistence, an increasing proportion of that produce must necessarily be consumed as population increases, until, if allowed to go on, the whole amount of the limited produce is consumed by the increasing producers. It is manifest that from this cause, amongst others, wealth cannot increase, nor capital accumulate, to afford other means of employment. This condition again insures other evils—intense competition for land (the only means of subsistence), want of employment, starvation, discontent, and disturbance. Disturbance carries with it insecurity—and insecurity drives away capital from the country—drives away the only remedy for the evil. These appear to me to be the evils, reacting upon and reproducing each other, under which Ireland has perpetually laboured. *It is an unhappy circle of mischief, out of which all political disturbances have arisen.*"

Capital is wanting to till the soil of Ireland, to clear its bogs, to convert its wastes into valuable flax fields, to drain its morasses and lakes, to render its water-power available for manufactures, to work its rich mines, to obtain from the ocean stores of food, to

provide remunerative employment for labour, to secure peace, and to elevate the condition of Ireland.

To obtain this "capital" confidence must be imparted to its possessors, before they will apply it to the purposes required; and so long as the infatuated agitation of the "Repeal of the Union" exists there is little hope that money will be invested in Ireland. Indeed, repudiation is now becoming synonymous with repeal. The "Repeal Association" of Dublin recently (1848) announced its determination to resist the repayment of the advances made by the Treasury for public works in Ireland! I repeat emphatically, there can be no hope for the permanent improvement of the country, so long as this most pernicious agitation exists.

The second point to which I would solicit consideration is a drainage and reclamation of the waste lands of Ireland. At p. 418, in the Appendix to this volume, will be found a statement of the nature and extent of the several bogs in Ireland; their elevation above the sea, means of drainage, and the estimated cost of drainage. I earnestly entreat attention to this subject. The bog land covers 2,830,000 acres; the estimated cost of drainage is 10*s.* per acre—about 1,500,000*l.* If drained they would be in a fit state for reclamation, of which the cost would be about 5*l.* per acre. Nearly 3,000,000 acres would thus be made productive of food, capable of adding largely to the exports of Ireland, and an area now comparatively valueless would become property to the extent of 20,000,000*l.* sterling. The greater part of these bogs belong to large landed proprietors, and the difficult question to be solved is, whether the State should purchase these bogs at a valuation, undertake their reclamation, and then resell them; or whether the drainage and reclamation of the bogs should be left dependent on the proprietors, who would require to be aided by loans from the State. Mr. Trevelyan in his work states, that "The plan of reclaiming waste lands by the direct agency of the Government did not surmount the objections made to it on the score of its interference with the rights of private property." The greater part of these wastes belong to the Dukes of Leinster and Buckingham; the Marquesses of Lansdowne, Down-

shire, Drogheda, Sligo, and Conyngham; to Lords Charleville, Darnley, Courtown, Digby, Rosse, Ashtown, Galway, Portarlington, Rosmore, Norbury, Kenmare, Ventry, Headley, Cremorne, Lucan, Louth, Miltown, Clanmorris, Maryboro', Belmore, Granard, Hartland, and other Irish peers. Surely some measure might be devised, with the concurrence of these noble lords, to aid in converting such a vast extent of waste surface into productive land. Might not some sacrifice of private rights be made for the general benefit of the people, and for the welfare of the country?

If it be deemed impracticable for the State to undertake the purchase and reclamation of these lands, could not some inducement be offered for the formation of a chartered company to undertake this great national work, somewhat after the manner of the London companies, who have property in the North of Ireland which now surpasses in value that of any other part of the kingdom? My own opinion is in favour of the State at least commencing this truly beneficent labour. An Irish Land Board might be established in *London*, under the immediate supervision and control of the Treasury, and, by responsible paid agents, set a practical example, which after a few years would be generally followed by landed proprietors themselves.

The Irish Land Board might be empowered to purchase bog tracts available for drainage in small quantities and in different places. When the land was fit for tillage it might be sold or let on improving leases, as is done by the Canada Company. The money so obtained would pay the charge of drainage, and afford means for further reclamation. The example thus set would stimulate to more extensive operations, and the desirable object would ultimately be accomplished. The State might effect a great good without the ultimate loss of one shilling. The immediate funds for purchase and drainage might be provided by the issue of Exchequer bills of a low denomination,—say 5*l.* each, — to be current in Ireland only, receivable in payment of all duties and taxes there; and, three years after their issue, these Exchequer bills might bear an interest of two per cent. per annum,

which would be guaranteed by the State, but payable out of the profits derivable from the re-sale of the reclaimed lands, on which a Report would be laid annually before Parliament. By this means an increasing and useful local currency would be given to Ireland, productive labour would be found for the unemployed, additional food would be raised, that which is now almost valueless would become landed property, the whole of Ireland would be benefited, and a most effectual measure adopted for the consolidation and perpetuity of the United Kingdom. The only means, under Providence, by which the Union can be peaceably maintained, the monarchy preserved, or an agrarian war prevented, is by providing employment and food for the poor, and by making it the direct interest of the mass of the people for their own sakes to uphold the institutions of the State.

An addition of three million acres of cultivable surface would be an incalculable advantage, and contribute to the health, comfort, and happiness of millions of our fellow-subjects. We ought not to be behind the Chinese in this work of civilization. During my recent examination of the middle and northern districts of China, I noticed every where a great extent of reclaimed land. Every inlet where the sea formerly encroached on the land was embanked, drained, and cultivated. No capital or labour were spared to augment the surface capable of yielding sustenance for man; and I feel satisfied that if the extent of bog land now existing in Ireland were in the central provinces of China, five years would not elapse without its being made fertile and productive. Ought the people of England or of Ireland to show inferiority to the Chinese in the most requisite of all labour? Ought the Government, in deference to some abstract principle, to refuse the fulfilment of the first natural duty—the providing food for its subjects? After the disastrous results of the recent famine—which may recur this year, from the late spring, and long-continued rains (27th April 1848)—ought any expenditure to be considered a sacrifice if judiciously employed in obtaining more food from the islands in which we dwell?

The present excellent Viceroy of Ireland has wisely originated

and extended an organized system of agricultural instruction, and the Irish farmers are availing themselves of this practical information. The reclamation of wastes will stimulate those who possess good land to endeavour to obtain more produce from the soil, and every augmentation will cause further production.

The improvements which have been effected by the drainage of Chat Moss and other bogs in Lancashire ought to encourage similar efforts in Ireland. The district through which the railway passes between Manchester and Liverpool shews a large extent of country reclaimed from swamp and peat, and now bearing abundant crops, and yielding more than ten per cent. in rent. Although the wages paid during the process of drainage was about fourteen shillings per week, the cost has not exceeded 10*l.* per acre for reclamation.

To a small extent reclamation is now going on in Ireland; Mr. M'Nab, of Castle Connell, county Limerick, has reclaimed 80 acres of the worst red bog, devoid of vegetation and 20 feet deep. It was drained, then coated with the subsoil, and the land which was not worth 2*s.* 6*d.* per acre is now worth 30*s.* per acre. Mr. Stuart French, of Monaghan, has reclaimed 300 acres of mountain-land in four years, and raised its value from 2*s.* to 35*s.* per acre. The entire cost was repaid by the crops in three years, although he had to bring lime a distance of four miles over a hilly road. Mr. Reade, of Wood Park, county Galway, reclaimed 500 acres of moorland and mountain at a cost of 10*l.* to 17*l.* per acre, which was repaid by the crop of the second year, and the land formerly worth 2*s.* 6*d.* per acre now pays an annual rental of 20*s.* per acre. Mr. Reade says there are 128,000 acres of such reclaimable wastes in Galway, where thousands have died during the past year, and where many are now (April 1848) dragging on a miserable and useless existence. Mr. Coulthurst, in the county of Cork, reclaimed a bog farm for which the tenants could not pay 4*s.* per acre. The drainage and reclamation cost 16*l.* per acre, which was repaid before the fifth year, and the land is now rated at the poor-rate valuation worth 4*l.* per acre.

Sir Charles Style, Bart., late M.P. for Scarborough, and his

excellent lady (daughter of Sir George Cayley, who himself has taken a warm interest in the Irish) have effected great good on their estate in Donegal, by locating the surplus population on the waste lands, and assisting the poor farmers to cultivate them. This *English* family gave up their rents for two years; and through the admirable management of Mr. Kennedy permanent employment has been afforded to six times as many persons as the land could previously support, and its produce has been multiplied tenfold.

Mr. Baines, of Barton Grange, one of the reclaimed moss farms of Lancashire, writing to Mr. Poulett Scrope on this subject, states that if the 3,000,000 acres of Irish bog were reclaimed like his farm, and made equally productive (as he is confident they might be), the yearly produce ought to be fifteen million bushels of wheat, thirty million bushels of oats, one-hundred and fifty million bushels of potatoes, and a million and a half of fat sheep—the whole affording food for the support of five millions of people.

This important subject merits immediate attention; the materials for legislation and action are ready. It is nearly forty years since the Government spent 37,721*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.* on a Bog Commission, exclusive of the cost of printing, engraving, maps, and reports. The Commission strongly reported in favour of the general drainage. Their surveys are exceedingly valuable; the depths of each bog; its height above the sea; the fall or means of drainage, and the cost thereof, are all given in detail, and an abstract table will be found of the survey in the Appendix to this work (pp. 418, 419).

It is rightly observed by Mr. Poulett Scrope,—whose exertions for the welfare of the poor of Ireland in general, for the adoption of a just system of poor laws, and for the reclamation of the waste lands, deserves the highest commendation,—that

“There are some obstructions peculiar to the waste lands themselves. Many, for example, are held in joint ownership. In other cases the boundaries of contiguous estates are undetermined. The cattle of several adjoining properties have a run over the bog or mountain, and no one can make his title good to any particular portion. For half a century past a compulsory partition of these joint

properties has been, over and over again, urged upon the Legislature; but nothing has been done. In 1836, the Poor Inquiry Commissioners put this recommendation prominently forward, as one of first necessity for the employment of the poor and the growth of food. The committee of 1835 did the same, but with no better results. A few days since I was informed by a considerable landed proprietor, that if he could only obtain an apportionment of his share of a large tract of mountain land, in which he holds a joint interest with several other parties—some absentees, some minors, and therefore incapable of joining him voluntarily—he should instantly set to work some hundreds of labourers who are now fed in idleness at the expense of himself and his neighbours. But legislation is necessary for this, and nothing is done to relieve the land from the legal shackles which prohibit its effective use.

“Again, with respect to the bog land, of which nearly three millions of acres are considered reclaimable, it is generally impossible for individual proprietors, still less for their tenants, to reclaim effectually. Arterial drainage on a large scale is indispensable as a commencement, cutting through many properties, deepening river beds, perhaps to considerable distances. Hence, as Lord Cloncurry justly observed, in a recently-published letter, Government alone can set on foot such undertakings, on that comprehensive scale, and with that engineering skill, which is necessary for the purpose of rendering these tracts reclaimable.”—[*Letter to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle*, 26 April, 1848.]

These observations corroborate what I had written and placed in the printer's hands previous to the publication of the valuable letter of Mr. Scrope, in which he supports his views by the following convincing arguments:—

“Besides the great increase to the supply of food, the reclamation of the Irish wastes would afford employment in all parts of the country, but most in those parts where it is most needed—the counties west of the Shannon; employment, first in reclaiming, and then in cultivating them when reclaimed. By increasing the surface of cultivated land, it would diminish the intensity of the struggle for its possession. If divided into farms of 15 or 20 acres, as suggested in the Devon Commission Digest, and leased in perpetuity at a quit-rent sufficient to repay the cost of the undertaking, or sold outright, some 200,000 independent freeholders—a class of which Ireland stands in much need—might be permanently established upon them. A few model farms and agricultural schools, founded here and there, would instruct these peasant-proprietors to turn their position to the best advantage, and covenants might be imposed in the deeds of sale or lease to prevent any injurious subdivision or subletting of the lots. The condition, even in these years of famine, of the tenants on the estates managed by Mr. Blacker, Mr. Kennedy, and many others, affords proof that a large amount of produce may be raised, and a comfortable living made, by the occupiers of farms of from eight to fifteen acres under such circumstances.

“Now, this is an operation which might be at once set about and executed. It would require far less time or preparation than any scheme of colonization adequate to produce a tithe of the effect. With respect to the means of defraying the cost, there could be no greater difficulty in providing them for the former than for the latter scheme. Indeed much less would be required. The funds might be borrowed in the market, on the joint security of the lands to be reclaimed, and of the poor-law unions, whose able-bodied paupers would be in the first instance set to work upon

them. The waste land purchased need not be paid for at once, but by instalments, or by a permanent fixed quit-rent equal to their present value. And if the reclaimed lots were promptly sold, funds would be rapidly coming back to hand, and no very large advances required. There would be no want of purchasers from among that class of enterprising and frugal farmers who are now yearly quitting their country, in despair of being able to live in it, and carrying away each his little capital of 50*l.* 100*l.* or 200*l.* for investment in America. A capital of from one to two millions, it is calculated, filters away in this manner yearly from Ireland; and with it go the very flower of the population, whom the country can least spare.

"It requires but an effort on the part of the Government to divert this out-flowing stream of capital to the fertilization of our home soils in lieu of those of America—to afford productive employment to hundreds of thousands of poor labourers, who are now earning a pauper's dole only by breaking stones which no one wants, or walking half a dozen miles to the food depôt—to relieve the fearful and destructive competition in the labour and land markets of Ireland, to the extent (as already indicated on the best practical authority) of a population amounting to two millions and upwards; and yet to retain that population in a position which must make it contributory to the wealth, strength, and prosperity, instead of being, as at present, a burden, a nuisance, and a source of serious peril to the safety of the community.

"This is a remedial measure, which public associations, county meetings, and many of the most intelligent Irishmen, have long earnestly asked for. It was last year proposed to Parliament by the Premier himself. What may be the obstacles which then prevented, and now prevent, its being carried out, can only be now guessed at. But if they consist in the infatuated determination of Irish landlords to retain, like dogs in the manger, their empty power over the lands which they do not, cannot, or will not put to any use themselves, but still persist in preventing others from using to employ the idle and feed the starving, it is time they should learn that the rights of property may be strained too far, and cannot be admitted to sanction the locking up of the natural resources of a country whose population is in the last agony through this denial to them of the means of living provided by Heaven for that purpose."

In the Preface to this third edition (p. xxvii.) I have referred to the advisability of encouraging the cultivation of flax in Ireland as one of the most profitable crops which can be grown. Moist waste lands are peculiarly adapted for flax, which is not an exhausting crop, for its useful fibre is almost exclusively supplied from the atmosphere, and the refuse parts of the stem returned to the soil becomes a means of further renovation. The seed forms oil cake, the most nutritive food for cattle, and is imported largely even from British India into England for fattening live stock of every description. Last year some of the finest flax was grown on waste land at Kippure Park, co. Wicklow, at an elevation of 1,100 feet above the level of the sea. The profits of the cultivation of flax are thus shown on one acre: produce 50 stone, at 15*s.*

per stone, 37*l.* 10*s.* The cost is, seed 5 bushels, at 15*s.* per bushel, 2*l.* 10*s.* *Labour*, 12 men, at 1*s.* 6*d.*, 18*s.*; 80 women, at 1*s.*, 4*l.*; six horses, at 3*s.* 6*d.*, 1*l.* 1*s.*; rent, 2*l.*; local taxes, 10*s.*; interest on capital, 11*s.*: total, 11*l.* 10*s.*; leaving a profit on one acre of flax of 26*l.* There are several hundred thousand acres of land now lying waste capable of yielding this produce and profit. The advantages of this culture will be seen more fully by the following calculation of the ultimate working of the produce of two acres of flax, about 100 stones, at 15*s.* per stone, 75*l.*

Each stone is calculated by Mr. Andrews to produce 5½ lbs. of *dressed flax*—in all 550 lbs.; this, spun to 30 hanks to the pound, will produce 16,500 hanks. About 158 females will be employed twelve months in spinning, at the rate of two hanks per week (six working days), wages for spinning each hank about 1*s.* 8*d.*, or nearly 7*d.* per diem for each spinner. This quantity of yarn would make 210 webs of cambric pocket-handkerchiefs, each web containing five dozen. About eighteen weavers would be twelve months weaving this quantity, allowing each man a month for each web (17½ weavers exactly), wages per web, 2*l.*, or from 9*s.* to 10*s.* per man per week. About forty females would be employed twelve months in needle-work (hem-stitch or veining); each would do one handkerchief on each working day, wages 8*s.* per dozen, or 8*d.* per day. The goods when finished would be worth 2*l.* 10*s.* per dozen.

158 spinners, 12 months—52 weeks, at about 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> per week	£1,269	6	8
18 weavers, 12 months, at £24 per annum	432	0	0
40 needle-women, 52 weeks, at 4 <i>s.</i> each per week	416	0	0
216 persons employed, amount of	£2,217	6	8
Cost of flax	75	0	0
	£2,292	6	8
Value of 1,050 dozen handkerchiefs, at £2 10 <i>s.</i> per dozen	2,625	0	0
Profit on the produce of 2 acres	£322	13	4

Here, then, we have one of the most lucrative sources of wealth as a means of regenerating Ireland, which ought not only to furnish flax for all its own use, but also supply England with flax,

seed, and oil-cake to the value of six or eight millions sterling annually.

Another source of wealth for Ireland is its coal mines and fuel. The counties of Kilkenny, Carlow, Queen's, Tipperary, Clare, Limerick, Cork, and Kerry, have abundance of anthracite or stone coal, which burns without flame, and is prepared for the use of steam engines by having the vapour of water passed through it. Thus prepared this coal is more economical than flaming coal in the proportion of $5\frac{1}{2}$ to $7\frac{1}{2}$. In Leinster the mines are deepest, and no less than eight strata one upon another. In Munster the coal is on the surface, and near Mallow is the largest coal-field in the British empire, with ironstone and limestone close at hand. Ulster and Connaught contain abundance of bituminous coal. The Tyrone coal sells at 12*s.*, the Connaught at 4*s.* per ton. The science and enterprise of Mr. C. Wye Williams has rendered the Irish turf very profitable for steam purposes. By compression it is deprived of moisture, and then impregnated with tar. The cost is 6*s.* to 8*s.* per ton, and affords a saving of 40*l.* on 108*l.* as compared with coal. The metallic wealth of Ireland is also very great, and still but imperfectly explored. The causes of this non-developement of the riches which Providence has placed at the disposal of the Irish is not in their union with England, but very much in their own character. Mr. Smith O'Brien, who is now urging a separation of Ireland from England, and appealing to physical force for the relief of his countrymen, and who I believe to be a mistaken patriot, and not one of those designing agitators who, for the sake of the "rent," would keep Ireland for the next century under the emasculating effects of "peaceful agitation,"—Mr. O'Brien, himself a scholar, a gentleman by birth and manners, and connected by property and blood with some of the best families in the South of Ireland, thus truly points out one of the chief causes of Irish suffering, which no repeal of the Union would rectify, to which I have adverted in the previous editions of this work (p. 54).

IRISH PRIDE—SOCIAL HINDRANCES.—"There was a general

impression existing amongst the middle classes, that in order to be respectable it was necessary that they should connect themselves with some of *the professions, rather than with branches of industry, such as manufacturing and mercantile concerns*. As regards the gentlemen, he had too many opportunities of witnessing the tendency that there was among the younger sons of the country gentlemen to spend their lives in riding about the country, indulging in amusements which belonged to country life rather than devoting themselves to useful industrial employment. *Now, they must break down those prejudices. Rational men of every class must endeavour to regard as honourable the pursuits of industry; and every body must be made to feel that it was not by making a man's son a barrister—everybody in Dublin was a barrister—(laughter)—or a doctor—everybody was a doctor—(laughter)—that he can be made respectable. Why should not a man be respectable as a manufacturer in Dublin? (Hear, hear.)—Why should he not be respectable as a mercantile man? They should not disguise from themselves, however painful it might be to their national pride, the fact, that, in these matters, the English were greatly superior to them. He had had the satisfaction of knowing men in England possessing 20,000*l.* a-year, having houses in Belgrave-square, enjoying every luxury that wealth can purchase, who go as regularly to their counting-houses every morning, as if they were commencing the world on 50*l.* a-year.”*—Speech of Mr. Smith O'Brien.—*Coleraine Chronicle*, 26th June, 1847.

There are doubtless several legislative measures required for the benefit of Ireland,—an efficient landlord and tenant law, which would not disturb the excellent system that has worked well in Ulster, and which would not take too much power from the landlord, is a national want, which, it is to be hoped, the present Session will supply. The extension of small freeholds, or lengthened leaseholds, would secure the formation of a loyal and peaceable people. But the leases granted should not be for too long periods, nor to persons without capital over too great an extent of land. The evil of such leases is seen on some properties in the South of Ireland, where the proprietors can neither improve the land them-

selves, nor compel their idle and wasteful tenants to adopt any improved system. The land is covered with weeds, and not a farm building in which an Englishman would keep his pigs. If a tenant have a lease for 7, 14, or 21 years, and the value of stipulated improvements be allowed either out of the first three years rental, or annually, there is every reason to expect that this stimulus will encourage industry and the outlay of capital. Give a man a garden on an annual and unimproving lease, and it will soon be a desert; give him a desert as his own, and he will convert it into a garden. Large quantities of land are held in Ireland under the tenure of leases for lives, renewable for ever, or renewable from time to time on the dropping of lives: these tenures might be rendered freehold under some terms of compensation for the renewal fees. Tenant-holders of such property should be authorised to convert it into freehold, under equitable arrangements, or by a corn rent, subject to revision every 25 years. It would be exceedingly advisable to frame some system which should release land from the complexity of mortgages, life interests, and joint tenures, which not only embarrass and impede its sale or transfer, but which prevent the application of capital or skill for the proper culture which would otherwise take place. The promotion of a "free trade" in land, by which its sale or transfer in large or in small quantities may be readily and economically effected, is very desirable. This might be materially facilitated by the establishment of a land-registry office in Dublin, affording facilities for the investigation of title deeds, and where sales, mortgages, and bequests may by registry be rendered valid, and divested of the excessive legal charges and delay attendant on the present expensive, cumbrous, and dilatory legislative enactments.

In the Dedication of this volume to one of the most distinguished and patriotic statesman that ever swayed the destinies of this kingdom, I have pointed out the extreme density of population in Ireland on the area of arable surface, and the great defect of monetary circulation, alike a cause and a result of poverty. I am reminded of this subject by a leading article in the "Times" of this day (27th April 1848), which in powerful and convincing

language urges an effective and organized system of emigration under Legislative control and national superintendence.

The greater part of my life having been devoted to the development of our colonial resources,—in strenuously and almost unremittingly endeavouring to make generally known the vast extent and nature of the transmarine dominions of the British Empire,—and in urging the adoption of a national system of migration whereby the surplus population and unemployed poor of the United Kingdom may be enabled to pass to other less densely peopled parts of the empire where labour is wanted and well remunerated, and where millions of fertile acres are ready for the plough of the British husbandman,—having waited long to see some expansive, systematic plan carried out,—I cannot help rejoicing that the periodical press has taken up the subject as one of the deepest national importance.

Population is *increasing* in the United Kingdom at the fearful rate of *one thousand a day*; every minute that elapses a human being is born beyond the number of those who die within the limits of the two islands of Great Britain and Ireland. Estimating the *annual addition* to our population at home at between 400,000 and 500,000 people, and the cost of their maintenance at 10,000,000*l.* yearly, what must be the inevitable result in a few years in a country which, not even excepting China and its 367,000,000 inhabitants, has already a denser population in proportion to its cultivable area than any other region of the same extent in the world? The history of past ages proves that an augmentation of population beyond the means of employment or of support has for its invariable results agrarian outrage,—political disturbances,—social war,—national bankruptcy,—ruin. In Ireland population has increased faster than the production of food, or the creation or accumulation of property, and is consequently in the preliminary stages of the downward progress, which if not arrested by timely measures must ultimately be succeeded by a widespread desolation, from which it will be impossible for England and Scotland to escape, and which would go far to cause the destruction of this great and extraordinary empire.

I venture to entreat statesmen of all parties to take this pressing and really alarming subject into serious and immediate consideration, especially in reference to Ireland. It is a disgrace to us as a Christian community to shovel out hordes of famishing paupers (300,000 emigrated last year from Ireland), regardless whether they perish by famine or shipwreck in the ocean—or reach some distant foreign land, where they may be assisting to strengthen another nation jealous of our power and eager for our downfall. Australasia, with a salubrious clime, fertile soil, and abundant nutriment, could receive yearly at least half a million from the swarming hive at home; where it was estimated last year that at least five million of people were wholly or partially dependent on potatoes for subsistence. Hundreds of thousands of cattle and sheep are slaughtered for their skins and tallow in Australia, while in Ireland thousands of our fellow Christians are pining and perishing for want of that very food which is refuse in another part of the dominions of our gracious Sovereign. Many of our ships of war now rotting in the dockyards might be dismantled of their guns, cheaply manned, and most usefully employed in bridging over the ocean for the conveyance of the destitute and discontented who now imperil the safety of the State. Each poor law union in Ireland could assess itself for its immediate relief, and, in proportion to the funds raised, land could be allotted to each union in Australia, which in time would become more and more profitable, and furnish further sums to assist emigration.

These and other plans, with some assistance from the State, would provide a continued periodic emigration, and give speedy and effectual relief to that overpeopled portion of the kingdom, whose redundant poor, swarming over to England and Scotland, beat down the wages of labour, and reduce the mass of people here to their own level. Whatever elevates or depresses the condition of Ireland must produce some corresponding effect at this side of the salt lake which separates the two islands—whose inhabitants should not be treated or spoken of as separate nations with distinctive interests. Their legislative as well as social union obliterates all diversity of objects; and I cannot help saying, that

I think it injudicious to speak and write of the Irish people as if they were antagonistic in every way to England, and as if they were all rebels to their Sovereign—all indolent—all improvident—all faithless—all beggars—all desirous of separation from Great Britain. Such language has a prejudicial effect in both islands. I believe the mass of Irishmen are as loyal, as industrious, as frugal, as honest, as peaceful, as contented, and as true, as any other portion of the subjects of Queen Victoria.

Poverty and distress unfortunately exist to a great extent among the labouring poor in Ireland, arising from remediable measures which are not attainable by a "Repeal of the Union," and a severance from England. But many of the humbler and some of the better classes, not seeing these remedies applied, and naturally sympathizing with the distress around them, are led to concur in the designs of artful demagogues, and to think that a Parliament legislating in and for Ireland would provide the remedies which the united Legislature has not yet sanctioned, but which it is hoped will, when maturely considered, be carried into effective operation.

By these means some of the evils of Ireland may be ameliorated; and, although the condition of the middle classes and landed proprietors who are above the position of day labourers has undoubtedly been greatly improved since the Union, there remains much to be done for the island, which "Repeal" would not only fail to accomplish, but which, if granted, would inevitably cause anarchy, civil war, and ruin to all classes of society.

It is now submitted that the details in the two preceding chapters substantiate the following points:—

- 1st. *That Ireland was not benefited in her shipping, commerce, or manufactures by having a "Resident Parliament;" but that, on the contrary, she suffered materially by the existence of that institution.*

2nd. *That since the Legislative Union and Commercial Incorporation of Great Britain and Ireland—the shipping, trade, and manufactures of Ireland have largely increased: as evinced by augmented tonnage, imports, and exports, customs duties, and also by official and general manufacturing returns and statements.*

3rd. *That on these grounds no argument can truly be raised in favour of a Repeal of the Union; on the contrary, it is demonstrated to be the direct, immediate, and vital interest of the people of Ireland—THAT THE UNION AS NOW SUBSISTING WITH GREAT BRITAIN BE PRESERVED IN PERPETUITY.*

4th. *That the remedial measures necessary for the relief of the poor of Ireland, and the improvement of the agriculture of the country, are: 1st, a drainage and reclamation of 3,000,000 acres waste land by the issue of Exchequer bills: 2nd, the extension of a sound banking system on the Scotch principles, together with an augmentation of capital: 3rd, a national system of emigration to our colonies: 4th, a developement of the resources of Ireland, and attention to the production of flax for the British markets: 5th, an improved system of land tenures—a defined landlord and tenant law—and a general registration to simplify and economise the transfer and sale of land.*

5th. *That these and other remedial measures do not require a “Repeal of the Union” for their execution; and that they are retarded by the agitation for a separation from England.*

PART III.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT AND SOCIAL PROGRESS OF IRELAND SINCE THE UNION.

CHAPTER IV.

Improvement of the Country Districts and Provincial Towns of Ireland since the Union. — Internal Navigation and Trade. — Varied testimony of general Advancement in the Condition of the People.

IN examining this interesting section of the question, which will either refute or substantiate the truth of the statements in the preceding Chapters, it will be advisable to search the most authentic public documents. In the evidence laid before Parliament, in 1830, on the state of the Irish poor, there are many witnesses, and irrefragable testimony, as to the condition of the provincial towns in Ireland

The evidence of Captain Robert Owen, relative to the county of Wexford, shows that it is very rapidly improving :—"There is a superior mode of ploughing, a better kind of all agricultural implements, and, generally speaking, a better management of the farms. The number of *slated* houses is increasing every day. There are now two very extensive distilleries, and several breweries in the county. The roads of every description, mail-coach as well as by roads, have very considerably improved of late, as have also the means of transport. All description of carts and public carriages have increased very materially : there are now (1830) no less than *four* public carriages *daily* between Gorey and Dublin ; when I first went there (thirteen years ago) there was but *one*. Several modes of com-

munication have been introduced into the county and neighbourhood for the accommodation of the middle and lower classes; two jaunting-cars now take passengers to Dublin at a very cheap rate, and in all respects the facilities of transport, both of individuals and commodities, is very greatly augmented; and, in fine, literary education is very considerably diffused and is being extended." (P. 124). The number of barrels of wheat sold in the town of Wexford in 1826 was 13,987, in 1835 the amount had increased to 49,220 barrels. In the same market and years, barley had increased from 62,057 to 160,035 barrels. Largely augmented sales also took place at Enniscorthy and New Ross during the same periods.

The state of Waterford next presents itself. The tonnage of the port of Waterford was :—

In 1824-25	tons 176,216
1829-30	241,397
<i>Increase</i>	tons 65,181

EXPORTS from WATERFORD, on Two periods of Two Years each.

Periods.	Horned Cattle, No.	Sheep, No.	Pigs, No.	Butter, Cwts.	Flour, Cwts.	Oatmeal, Cwts.	Barley, Barrels.
1823-24 .	705	1,272	26,181	234,691	462,898	13,954	21,120
1828-29 .	4,533	18,482	64,937	335,229	682,702	24,663	28,222
<i>Increase</i> .	3,828	17,210	37,756	100,538	219,804	10,709	7,102
1835 . .			74,097		1,503,854		

Several returns showing the amount of Grain sold in various market towns in Ireland for ten years, were laid before the Agricultural Parliamentary Committee of 1836. The Abstracts of several of these Returns may here be given, not only for future reference, but to show that no diminution of market sales took place, but the reverse. The names of all the market towns in each county may be seen in the original Parliamentary papers.

RETURN of the TOTAL QUANTITY of GRAIN sold in each of the Market Towns in the
County of WATERFORD, during Ten Years.

YEAR.	WATERFORD.			CARRICKBEG.			DUNGARVAN.		
	Barrels of Wheat.	Barrels of Barley.	Barrels of Oats.	Barrels of Wheat.	Barrels of Barley.	Barrels of Oats.	Barrels of Wheat.	Barrels of Barley.	Barrels of Oats.
1826	102,406	14,965	185,791	2,700	3,079	3,800	3,968	6,430	2,918
1827	113,189	5,899	80,008	3,460	1,833	3,280	4,058	7,093	2,050
1828	202,522	14,659	163,945	3,397	2,822	4,100	3,978	6,059	1,967
1829	131,341	13,563	102,849	2,900	2,156	4,900	4,622	6,397	1,798
1830	101,150	35,408	121,370	14,100	2,167	6,950	2,483	7,045	2,416
1831	129,599	38,028	104,576	5,700	2,408	6,100	7,928	7,904	8,187
1832	148,843	33,184	207,050	6,850	3,046	8,400	12,738	7,704	9,391
1833	177,899	9,928	171,236	5,400	2,980	7,860	15,407	6,904	15,492
1834	122,749	23,039	147,333	6,600	2,959	9,950	9,620	7,371	8,046
1835	63,775	57,731	203,167	6,191	2,903	13,169	18,401	5,735	8,553

YEAR.	CAPPOQUIN.				LISMORE.			
	Barrels of Wheat.	Barrels of Barley.	Barrels of Oats.	Barrels of Rye.	Barrels of Wheat.	Barrels of Barley.	Barrels of Oats.	Barrels of Rye.
1826	1,700	3,500	10,000	220	5,500	3,000	54,000	500
1827	2,500	3,000	12,000	340	6,400	2,600	75,000	480
1828	2,100	2,500	10,500	420	5,900	3,470	64,000	340
1829	2,700	1,750	11,000	380	4,800	470	57,000	220
1830	3,200	1,600	13,000	330	3,490	3,497	66,727	440
1831	2,800	1,700	14,000	400	4,490	2,900	90,000	348
1832	2,200	1,300	10,000	350	5,200	4,000	64,700	200
1833	29,000	1,100	14,000	440	3,490	5,040	50,000	197
1834	45,000	1,000	11,000	500	7,000	3,000	67,290	276
1835	3,200	900	10,000	550	5,797	5,000	34,370	300

YEAR.	TALLOW.				YEAR.	TALLOW—continued.			
	Barrels of Wheat.	Barrels of Barley.	Barrels of Oats.	Barrels of Rye.		Barrels of Wheat.	Barrels of Barley.	Barrels of Oats.	Barrels of Rye.
1826	3,000	2,000	48,000	300	1831	5,700	1,300	36,000	130
1827	4,020	1,900	44,000	400	1832	5,640	1,000	30,000	100
1828	4,090	2,000	49,000	200	1833	3,000	900	32,000	180
1829	4,000	1,040	38,000	150	1834	3,000	720	31,200	90
1830	5,000	2,040	39,000	270	1835	5,090	1,000	35,500	60

It is impossible to give the exact quantity of grain sold during the period, as a great deal has been purchased in the different markets for milling, malting, and feeding horses, &c., the amount of which cannot be correctly ascertained; but the above return is as correct as can be made out, taking into consideration the means of information within reach of the district officers.

The amount of goods and live stock exported from Waterford in one year (1829) was 2,136,934*l.*; while the whole trade in exports from Ireland to Great Britain for seven years ending 1729 was but 2,307,722*l.* (P. 89, Part 2*d.*, Mr. Musgrave's Evidence.)

The copper ore exported from Waterford in 1835 was 2,400 tons, value 21,200*l.* The cotton manufactures—yards 180,200,

value 4,505*l*. The coals imported the same year amounted to 64,630 tons.

Who, after the reading of these statements, can assert that Ireland has been injured by her Union with England?

Mr. Musgrave proceeds to state, that in Waterford county agricultural implements, carts, ploughs, and harrows have indeed improved very much within his recollection; that literary education has augmented (p. 81); that absenteeism is decreasing, but that whether a great proprietor resides in Belfast or in Yorkshire, it makes *no* difference in the improvement of the estate (p. 80). There is very great improvement among the better class of persons; the number of slated houses are increasing very considerably, as are also the farm-offices, the cow-houses, barns, &c.; the clothing of the people is much better; in country villages and towns there are a much greater number of bakers than there were a few years ago, and new means of transport for the conveyance of the middle classes have been introduced throughout Waterford (p. 77). A large cotton factory has been established in the neighbourhood of Waterford by Mr. Malcomson with considerable advantage, and giving employment to 600 persons, principally ejected cottiers, whose condition is now better than it had ever previously been. The same spirited gentleman has established a manufactory for flour, the shipments of which have increased very much; for instance, from 1815 to 1819 there were, cwts. of flour exported by Mr. Malcomson 34,398; and from 1825 to 1829, cwts. 357,618 (p. 74).

At Limerick also we have the strongest evidence of prosperity. Mr. Browne, proprietor of a very large distillery in the south of Ireland, says, "There has been a great increase in the exports and imports of the port of Limerick (p. 40.) The estimated value of the exports for three years ending 1822 was 1,685,256*l*. and for three years ending 1829, the value had increased to 2,279,914*l*. The amount of grain sold in the Limerick market for three years ending 1822 was 1,007,124*l*. Ditto ending 1829, 1,386,897*l*." (P. 13.)

EXPORTS from LIMERICK in Two Periods of Two Years each.

Periods.	Butter.	Bacon.	Lard.	Pork.	Wheat.	Oats.	Flour.	Feathers.	Beans.
	Firkins.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Tierces.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Cwts.	Bags.	Bushels.
1820-21	81,078	36,469	1,488	10,945	157,898	586,285	7,859	560	50
1828-29	159,420	85,190	9,500	15,141	266,246	680,804	26,505	1,000	7,673
<i>Increase</i>	78,342	48,621	8,012	4,196	108,448	74,519	18,726	440	7,623
1840-41				No Returns.					

The foregoing statements are from the Chamber of Commerce at Limerick, and authenticated by Mr. Browne, who also bears testimony to the improved condition of the country: "Within the last twenty years (says the same witness), I think the people have more comforts than they used to have; on Sundays and holidays you can see that they are much better clothed than they were twenty years ago; there are more bake-houses than formerly, very improved vehicles, a greater number of slated houses occupied by farmers than there was wont to be, and considerably more land now cultivated." (P. 39 and 40.)

From other sources we obtain the following data.

NUMBER and TONNAGE of VESSELS entering the Port of Limerick, Years ending 1st September.

No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.
1820 .. 332 ..	35,769	1825 .. 364 ..	41,871	1830 .. 376 ..	48,337
1821 .. 367 ..	43,363	1826 .. 305 ..	39,793	1831 .. 458 ..	54,254
1822 .. 285 ..	29,876	1827 .. 294 ..	39,375	1832 .. 505 ..	66,232
1823 .. 284 ..	30,807	1828 .. 462 ..	58,242	1833 .. 500 ..	65,761
Totals 1,268 ..	139,815	Totals 1,425 ..	179,281	Totals 1,839 ..	234,584

The following is a RETURN of the Number and Registered TONNAGE of VESSELS, distinguishing British from Foreign, which have Entered INWARDS, and Cleared OUTWARDS, at the Port of LIMERICK, exclusive of Tralee Creek, with the estimated VALUE of the CARGOES in each Year, from 1836. *Vessels in ballast, to and from the United Kingdom, are not included in this Return, no record of the same being kept.*

Years.	INWARDS.						OUTWARDS.					
	British.			Foreign.			British.			Foreign.		
	No.	Tons.	Value.	No.	Tons.	Value.	No.	Tons.	Value.	No.	Tons.	Value.
1836 ..	425	54,412	£ 544,120	2	375	£ 3,750	557	72,127	£ 721,270	2	368	£ 3,680
1837 ..	462	55,766	557,660	2	354	3,540	654	82,007	820,070	1	185	1,850
1838 ..	468	58,381	583,810	3	366	3,660	574	73,735	737,350	3	366	3,660
1839 ..			No Returns.						No Returns.			

The creeks annexed to the port of Limerick show a rising trade, where little or none had previously existed.

CREEKS.	1830.		1831.		1832.		1833.	
	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.
Tralee . . .	85 . .	7,232	89 . . .	8,178	102 . . .	8,603	112 . . .	9,402
Clare . . .	24 . . .	2,635	33 . . .	3,512	57 . . .	6,358	43 . . .	4,574
Kilrush . .	33 . . .	2,863	25 . . .	2,294	28 . . .	2,681	40 . . .	4,125
Totals. . .	142 . .	12,730	147 . .	13,984	187 . .	17,642	195 . .	18,101

The NUMBER and REGISTERED TONNAGE of VESSELS which have Entered INWARDS, and Cleared OUTWARDS at the CREEK of TRALEE, with the Estimated VALUE of the CARGOES, in each Year from 1836, is thus shown, exclusive of *Vessels in ballast to and from the United Kingdom, which are not included in this Return, no record of the same being kept.*

Years.	INWARDS, BRITISH.			OUTWARDS, BRITISH.		
	Number.	Tons.	Value.	Number.	Tons.	Value.
1836	96	7138	£ 71,380	105	8621	£ 86,210
1837	111	8037	80,370	119	8474	84,740
1838	84	6092	60,920	119	9512	95,120

The NUMBER and TONNAGE of VESSELS which frequent the Fishery Pier of KILRUSH during each of the Years ending 22d October, from 1835, with COAL, IRON, GRAIN, TIMBER, &c., was—

Years ending 22d October.	Number of Vessels.		Tonnage.	Years ending 22d October.	Number of Vessels.		Tonnage.
	Sea-going.	River.			Sea-going.	River.	
1835	44	103	6,081	1840	No Returns.	No Returns.	No Returns.
1836	48	120	7,043	1841			
1837	49	126	7,197	1842			
1838	72	106	9,661	1843			
1839							

This does not include the vessels which load and unload in the inner harbour, nor the quantity of turf-boats which load and unload at the turf-quay, at the inner harbour; nor does it include the steamers which ply daily.

This is sufficient testimony as to Limerick District. The city of Limerick is a beautiful and thriving town. There are more than 1000 girls employed in the manufacture of lace of excellent quality, and which finds a ready and profitable sale in England.

With respect to the county of Clare, Mr. Wilson states, that agriculture is improved; that the condition of the holders of farms from eight to ten acres has generally improved in

the last few years, and the clothing of the people very much improved. (P. 178.) A vast number of the farmers of the county of Clare are now enabled to adopt slated coverings for their houses instead of thatch: the slate quarries of Killaloe have been worked very considerably of late years by the Irish Mining Company,* and six or seven quarries have been advantageously worked by private individuals. (P. 181.)

The following is a RETURN of GRAIN sold in the City and County of LIMERICK for Ten Years. FROM AGRICULTURAL COMMITTEE, App. HOUSE OF COMMONS.

BARRELS OF WHEAT, of 20 Stone, sold each of the following Years.										
MARKETS.	1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.	1834.	1835.
City of Limerick	51,555	73,913	150,585	115,788	102,069	234,930	215,037	246,279	203,164	132,608
Rathkeale	4,515	4,510	4,574	4,683	4,823	5,217	7,221 $\frac{1}{2}$	7,157 $\frac{1}{2}$	8,015	8,960
Shanagolden.	1,460	1,496	1,504	1,560	1,676	1,794	1,874	1,967	2,174	2,437
Kilmallock	2,409	4,527	5,589	4,224	3,229	4,893	5,620	5,424	5,817	6,152
Carass.	10,751	10,286	10,034	14,275	17,260	15,607	26,037	20,532	20,482 $\frac{1}{2}$	20,720
Glenfield	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Askeaton	3,500	3,700	4,000	4,200	4,500	4,750	6,800	7,000	7,450	7,820
Total .	74,190	98,432	176,286	144,730	133,557	267,191	262,589 $\frac{1}{2}$	288,359 $\frac{1}{2}$	251,202 $\frac{1}{2}$	178,697
BARRELS OF OATS, of 14 Stone, sold each of the following Years.										
	1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.	1834.	1835.
City of Limerick	290,957	283,346	446,290	234,514	266,823	336,368	459,955	388,143	271,580	321,326
BARRELS OF BARLEY, of 19 Stone, sold each of the following Years.										
	1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.	1834.	1835.
City of Limerick	13,533	7,798	8,607	11,310	32,898	41,050	20,269	13,246	18,309	36,953

The quantity of Wheat sold in the County has increased from 74,190 to 178,697 barrels; in the City of Limerick alone—of Oats, from 290,957 to 321,326 barrels; and of Barley, from 13,533 to 36,953 barrels.

* The Killaloe slate quarries are truly deserving of national encouragement; there are 500 men constantly at work, and the energy, decision, business habits, liberality, and benevolent conduct of W. Rickford Collett, Esq., M.P. for Lincoln, the chairman of the Company, deserve the highest praise.

Mr. Livingstone, of Ballina in Connaught, furnishes a valuable table relative to some of the trade of that almost new port. It will be sufficient to give two of the first, and two of the latter years combined.

TRADE OF BALLINA.

Years.	Vessels Exporting.		Vessels importing British Goods.		Vessels importing Foreign Goods.		Tons of Oats.	Tons of Barley.
	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.		
1817-18 . .	91	6,338	40	1,194	0	0	5,450	92
1828-29 . .	263	24,143	105	8,095	19	2,114	22,631	352
Increase .	172	17,805	65	6,901	19	2,114	16,181	260

In 1817, Ballina had a population of 6,800 souls; in 1829, of upwards of 10,000 inhabitants. The houses built are of an improved description; they are a very respectable style of houses, constructed of materials contributing to the improvement of the revenue. There are establishments, and extensive establishments, in the way of mills, breweries, &c. Until lately, there was only a very small brewery, and a still smaller mill. In 1829 there were two respectable breweries, and two or three mills, in which flour and oatmeal, to a considerable extent, are manufactured, and which is not brought to account in the statement just given; and the consumption of flour is augmenting in the county. Business has increased eight or tenfold. There is a considerable importation of timber. Until recently, the mails were carried on horseback; they are now conveyed by a mail-coach drawn by four horses. The habits of the people are certainly improving: their clothing is better; and their houses, in the town and in the country, considerably altered for the better. The number of bakehouses in the villages have been extended; and there has been a considerable extension of the banking system, with a feeling of great satisfaction and entire confidence. (Part II. p. 132.)

The county of Roscommon, from being a pasture county seven years ago, is now a very extensive corn county. (p. 610 part iv.) With respect to the county of Carlow, the corn

trade down the Barrow has increased from 2,800 quarters in 1813, to 15,000 quarters in 1828.

The Corn Sales in the Counties of Mayo and Roscommon are thus shewn,—

YEAR.	RETURN shewing the QUANTITY of WHEAT, OATS, & BARLEY, sold in the principal MARKET TOWNS in the County of MAYO, for ten years.			YEAR.	RETURN of the total QUANTITY of GRAIN sold in each of the several MARKETS in the COUNTY of ROSCOMMON.		
	Tons of Wheat.	Tons of Barley.	Tons of Oats.		Barrels of Wheat.	Barrels of Barley.	Barrels of Oats.
1826	600	969	25,509	1826	35,842	17,198	92,385
1827	580	1,665	31,964	1827	26,342	18,779	95,955
1828	600	1,997	35,955	1828	36,437	19,440	92,383
1829	1,665	2,148	34,026	1829	25,661	16,629	90,641
1830	1,627	1,890	31,176	1830	36,334	18,902	90,871
1831	1,668	2,268	34,491	1831	35,922	26,185	94,950
1832	1,943	1,914	34,167	1832	67,906	16,814	100,224
1833	2,005	1,968	29,842	1833	25,014	17,109	88,594
1834	2,914	1,971	32,840	1834	36,819	18,885	104,906
1835	3,144	1,061	32,607	1835	37,802	77,929	102,787
Total	16,746	17,651	322,577		364,079	247,870	953,696

In the Counties of Clare and Galway, we have also evidence of increasing agriculture.

YEAR.	RETURN shewing the QUANTITY of GRAIN sold in the County of CLARE from the year 1826 to 1835 inclusive.			YEAR.	RETURN of the total QUANTITY of GRAIN sold in each of the several MARKETS in the County of GALWAY during ten years, (so far as the same can be made up) distinguishing each sort of Grain.		
	Barrels of Wheat.	Barrels of Barley.	Barrels of Oats.		Tons of Wheat.	Tons of Barley.	Tons of Oats.
1826	5,508	7,671	130,496	1826	12,480	3,647	21,785
1827	13,673	6,124	118,374	1827	14,410	3,984	24,474
1828	23,211	11,463	145,427	1828	17,306	4,099	29,963
1829	22,394	10,238	112,409	1829	16,800	4,039	25,676
1830	24,695	22,015	110,336	1830	17,343	4,117	26,383
1831	26,681	22,781	126,960	1831	18,460	4,230	25,406
1832	132,746	17,376	136,957	1832	44,649	4,026	28,511
1833	46,486	13,559	130,734	1833	21,951	4,562	27,528
1834	47,492	26,859	110,503	1834	23,157	4,349	28,496
1835	56,987	30,695	119,469	1835	17,148	4,228	32,876
Total	399,873	168,781	1,241,665		203,704	41,281	271,098

Portumna Market, sold, 1832, 84 Barrels of Rape, 16 st. per Barrel.

" " 1833, 153 " " "

TOTAL . . . 237

The County of Sligo Returns demonstrate that tillage must have rapidly extended. The augmented production of corn, and of Wheat in particular, on five years, ending 1835, is very large.

RETURN, showing the Quantity of GRAIN sold in the County of SLIGO, from the Year 1826 to 1835, inclusive.

YEAR.	Barrels of Wheat.	Barrels of Barley.	Barrels of Oats.	YEAR.	Barrels of Wheat.	Barrels of Barley.	Barrels of Oats.
1826	3,625	12,071	379,654	1831	12,949	10,594	398,362
1827	4,035	5,830	433,669	1832	14,976	8,667	417,927
1828	4,277	8,751	466,396	1833	15,701	10,359	459,579
1829	4,576	8,402	360,830	1834	15,896	8,912	425,986
1830	5,084	8,784	279,061	1835	10,957	8,810	387,775
Total .	21,597	43,838	1,919,610	Total .	70,479	47,342	2,089,629

We may now turn to examine the state of Cork. The tonnage reported at the Custom-house of Cork was, in

	General.	Coasters,	Colliers.
1823-24 . . Tons	112,209 . .	123,319 . .	36,054
1828-29 . . .	144,156 . .	145,289 . .	102,758
Increase . . Tons	32,947 . .	21,970 . .	66,704

Five steamers, with engines of 130 horse-power each, have been established since 1825; these steamers, together with others, ply between Cork, London, Liverpool, Bristol, Dublin, and Glasgow.

The quantity of barrels of wheat and barley sold in Cork market was, in

	Wheat.	Barley.
1823 . . .	50,585 . . .	71,576
1828 . . .	98,964 . . .	103,131
1833 . . .	105,964 . . .	
Increase . Bushels	55,379 . . .	31,555

The following RETURN shews the QUANTITY of WHEAT (barrels of 20 Stone) sold in the several MARKET TOWNS in the County of CORK, for Ten Years.

MARKET TOWNS.	1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.	1834.	1835.
Bantry . .	3,022	3,995	5,042	3,954	4,648	6,286	8,338	9,584	7,686	8,453
Macroon .	—	1,728	288	3,675	4,200	4,800	5,500	6,300	7,200	3,268
Dunmannay	2,146	2,537	3,225	4,157	4,590	4,768	5,117	5,556	7,587	9,741
Fermoy . .	24,414	24,016	20,630	30,545	30,300	30,260	36,760	37,248	43,140	56,330
Kanturk . .	6,500	6,500	6,500	6,500	6,500	6,586	6,776	7,741	8,453	8,900
Midleton .	751	839	5,824	5,948	5,632	6,717	7,099	13,262	11,057	12,493
Totals .	36,833	39,615	41,509	54,779	55,670	59,617	69,590	79,691	85,123	39,185

The BUTTER annually passing through the WEIGH-HOUSES of CORK was at three periods thus:—Quantities are given in Casks, Firkins, and Kegs. (N. B., since 1830, the Firkin of butter contains *five* lbs. of butter more than in previous years:—

Years.	C. F. & Kegs.	Years.	C. F. & Kegs.	Years.	C. F. & Kegs.
1777	207,530	1795	207,662	1829	302,207
1778	184,489	1796	219,680	1830	279,947
1779	168,616	1797	215,327	1831	249,596
1780	241,243	1798	223,004	1832	240,663
1781	249,471	1799	203,195	1833	264,003
1782	242,752	1800	183,249	1834	271,198
1783	224,721	1801	174,361	1835	283,307
Total	1,548,722		1,426,478		1,890,921

The increase on the seven years of the last period, compared with the first, is very manifest, (342,199)—but the centre period, the age of alleged Irish prosperity, shows, as in all other things, a decline. And it should be remarked, that since the Union, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Carlow, and other places, have become large exporters of butter, a large part of which formerly went to Cork.

The corn, meal, and flour exported from Cork in 1835 was 729,372 cwts., valued at 372,854*l*. The value of provisions exported the same year was 2,019,846*l*. The linen exported was 501,600 yards, value 50,169*l*. The beer exported 234,000 gallons. The swine were in number 75,189, of the value of 263,162*l*.

Mr. De la Cour observes, that the condition of the people of Cork county has been materially altered of late years, their habits and manners having improved; they are better clothed; the condition of the females is signally ameliorated; there is a growing taste for articles of English manufacture; the agricultural implements are better; the number of slated houses has increased; and the distress which exists is in the manufacturing population, partly arising from unforeseen and uncontrollable causes, and partly from the system of combination existing among the mechanics. There is an improved spirit among the higher and middle classes, as well as among the lower; party feeling and religious differences are subsiding, and education is generally extending.—(p. 238).

The returns in the previous Chapter show the large increase that has taken place in the shipping of Dublin: it may be well to give the following facts. The *Belfast Mercantile Register* says:—"To show the fallacy of the popular theme of Mr. O'Connell, that the trade of Dublin has fallen off since the period of the Union, we give an authenticated account of the tonnage of vessels cleared out from the port of Dublin, viz. : In 1789, 294,570 tons ; 1800, 273,726 tons ; 1810, 300,040 tons ; 1815, 366,799 tons ; 1820, 326,845 tons ; 1825, 396,053 tons ; 1839, 601,481 tons ; *Showing an immense increase within the last fifteen years.*

The following STATEMENT of the NUMBER and TONNAGE of VESSELS which have frequented KINGSTOWN HARBOUR in each Year, from 1836 to 1838, is from the Railway Commissioners' Report.

	1836.		1837.		1838.	
	No	Tonnage	No.	Tonnage	No.	Tonnage
Vessels which had cleared out for an English, Irish, Scotch, or Foreign Port, and were bound to an Irish port (not including Dublin), wind-bound or taking shelter	247	18,230	250	16,805	254	19,494
Vessels which had cleared out from an English, Scotch, or Foreign Port, bound to England or Scotland, wind-bound or taking shelter	130	12,513	98	10,681	159	17,599
Vessels trading to or from the Port of Dublin, waiting for wind or tide . .	1,346	203,796	1,334	197,849	1,351	194,800
Revenue cruisers and men-of-war . .	63	—	71	—	49	—
Vessels from Irish ports to English, Scotch, or Foreign ports, taking shelter or wind-bound	149	9,966	161	10,889	229	15,659
Vessels from English and Scotch to Foreign ports, taking shelter or wind-bound	27	4,201	30	3,930	42	6,366
Vessel from a Foreign port to a Foreign Port, seeking shelter	1	205	—	—	—	—
Vessels to Kingstown, or the Old Harbour of Dunleary	107	12,892	150	27,032	118	15,296
Total	2,070	261,803	2,094	267,186	2,202	269,214

This Return does not include the Post-office Packets.

NOTE.—The apparently small increase of Tonnage in the last year is attributable to the new system of measurement introduced by the Revenue, which has reduced the Registered Tonnage one-fourth in most vessels, and even more in many instances.

The real increase is fully equal to that of former years.

The NUMBER of PERSONS CONVEYED between LIVERPOOL and KINGSTOWN by Post-Office Packets, as PROPRIETORS of the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company.

Years	No.	Years.	No.	Years.	No.
1827	738	1830	1,287	1833	1,278
1828	961	1831	1,399	1834	1,673
1829	944	1832	1,225	1835	1,788
Total	2,643	Total	3,911	Total	4,739

The PASSENGERS and CARRIAGES by her Majesty's Steam Packets, between LIVERPOOL and KINGSTOWN.

Years.	Passengers.	Carrriages.
1832	6,701	125
1833	9,292	222
1834	12,425	219
1835	14,040	249
Totals	42,458	815

A very great increase has taken place in buildings at Kingstown—to which an excellent railway has been constructed by the enterprising energy of Mr. James Pim and other gentlemen. Kingstown (formerly "*Dirty Dunleary*") is now one of the most beautiful suburbs of any city in Europe.

Mr. Emerson Tennant, M.P. for Belfast, and now one of the Secretaries of the India Board—in his comprehensive historical and commercial speech in Parliament, 22d April, 1834, against the Repeal of the Union, and which alone would entitle him while he lives to the representation of the great and flourishing town for which he now so worthily sits in the Imperial Parliament, thus alludes to the past and present state of Belfast:—

"The population of Belfast was, before the era of Irish independence—that is, in 1779, about 13,000: during twenty years it increased but one-fourth, and was, at the time of the Union, in round numbers, 19,000. In 1816, it was 30,720; in 1829, 55,158, being an increase, since the Union, of more than four-fold. The quantity of shipping which entered the port, in 1786, amounted to 761 vessels, of 38,421 tons burden; at the Union in 1800, they were 856 in number; and the tonnage 67,855; an increase of about one-third. There were, last year, 2,600 ships, with a tonnage of 264,377—being an augmentation, since the Union, to triple the amount in number, and quadruple in quantity. At the time of the Union there was not a cotton nor a flax mill at Belfast, and the cotton trade alone now gives occupation to upwards of 10,000 looms; and taking the receipts of Customs and Excise as a fair test of the produce of home manufactures and foreign trade, they afford a most singular evidence of the comparative influence of Union and Independence. The Custom-house receipts were, in 1782, 60,000*l.*; twenty years afterwards, in 1800, when we had had a full experience of the influence of a free Constitution, they were 62,668*l.*, showing an augmentation of but *one-thirtieth* in all that period. The

Union took place in 1800, and five years afterwards they were 228,645*l.*; they were in 1820, 306,263*l.*, and are, at this moment, upwards of 400,000*l.*; showing that the trade of the north of Ireland has actually doubled in every period of five years since the Union. I say the trade of the *north of Ireland*, for although I do not mean to generalise this instance over the whole kingdom, Belfast is certainly the emporium and the depôt of Ulster, and I have sufficient evidence to show to the House that the improvement in the entire of that province has been uniform and immense. I hold in my hand a return of the produce of stamps in the Antrim district since the Union, by which it appeared that, from 1800 to 1814, when the proceeds were diminished by the reduction of the rate of duty, the gross receipts for stamps had risen from 6,198*l.* to 20,604*l.*: that of advertisement duty from 567*l.* to 2,275*l.*; insurance duty from 448*l.* to 1,445*l.* (and it was last year 2,944*l.*)—and the total revenue in these departments from 6,766*l.* to 35,163*l.*”

During the recent Repeal debate in the Corporation of Dublin, 28th February 1843, Alderman Perry thus bore testimony to the improving state of manufactures in Belfast:—

“He (Mr Perry) had been so circumstanced for some years back, that he flattered himself he was competent to pronounce a correct opinion on the state the Linen trade. There certainly was an increase within late years in the linen trade of Ireland; and he did not hesitate to say that in differing from Mr. Staunton upon that point, he did so in consequence of his own personal observation. He could himself, at that moment, enumerate twelve extensive flax-mills which had been built within the last six or seven years in one locality alone—namely, Belfast and its vicinity. Ten years ago there was not a single flax-mill in the north of Ireland. The first that appeared was erected about ten years ago by a gentleman named Mulholland, and his example was followed within a brief period by no less than fifteen or twenty other enterprising individuals in the north of Ireland; and up to a few months ago, when the prohibitory duties were imposed by the French nation, each and every one of those mills was in a state of the highest prosperity. All he hoped was, that the present state of things in this branch of industry would continue; and if it continued to progress as it was progressing, he would be perfectly contented. In making this calculation he did not separate two branches of the trade—the linen and the yarn. He considered the question in its integrity and as a whole, for he thought that that was the fairest and most equitable manner of treating the subject; and provided a great number of hands were employed, and a vast quantity of capital expended, he thought it a matter of minor significance whether that large amount of labour and of wealth was laid out in spinning, weaving, or bleaching.”

The Exportation of BUTTER from Belfast was—

	cwts.		cwts.
1807	14,464	In 1818	28,010
1808	19,414	In 1819	42,178
1809	19,695	In 1820	52,156
Total	53,573	Total	122,344
Increase on three years			cwts: 68,771

The butter exported from Newry, in cwts. was, in—

1807 . . . 23,157	1817 . . . 31,501	1837	The returns are in firkins ; and the annual average is stated at
1808 . . . 23,509	1818 . . . 32,747	1838	
1809 . . . 27,919	1819 . . . 59,945	1839	
<hr/>			
Average cwts. . 24,861	cwts. . . 41,397	cwts. 80,000	

We perceive, therefore, in one article alone, and notwithstanding that Dundalk, Drogheda, &c., are now shipping ports, a quadrupling of the butter trade of Newry. The same may be said of almost every other port in Ireland.

The following abstract of a return, printed by Parliament, 4th June, 1834, shews the state of the Balbriggan and Dundalk ports :—

A RETURN of the Number of SHIPPING and Amount of TONNAGE Entered Outwards at the Creek of BALBRIGGAN in the Port of DUBLIN, in the last Seven Years, distinguishing them according to the different kinds of Trade in which engaged.

Years.	Colliers.		Coasters from and to Great Britain.	
	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.
1827	73	—	—	—
1828	82	5,865	5	304
1829	93	7,216	2	89
1830	96	7,378	6	331
1831	107	7,552	2	201
1832	136	9,443	15	1,021
1833	134	11,566	17	1,034

A RETURN of the Number of SHIPPING and Amount of TONNAGE Entered Inwards and Outwards at the Port of DUNDALK.

	1827.		1829.		1831.		1833.	
	No.	Tonnage	No.	Tonnage	No.	Tonnage	No.	Tonnage
Foreign vessels . . . Inwards	10	1,475	7	1,170	13	2,222	7	1,461
British vessels from Foreign parts „	12	2,877	16	2,557	12	1,755	5	892
British Coasters . . . „	337	27,147	476	41,084	495	39,173	436	36,156
Irish Coasters . . . Outwards	13	497	10	535	18	1,292	36	2,221

Mr. Bailee bears testimony to the fact, that the physical condition of the peasantry in the North of Ireland is considerably improved ; their food and clothing are better, and sectarianism declining ; there is a great spirit of charity, from the highest to the lowest order of the nation. (p. 242.)

Mr. Barry, inspector-general of fisheries in the South of Ireland, says, that the moral and practical improvement of the people has been exceedingly rapid within the last ten years ; that the people are better clothed, particularly the females. This witness states, some of the greatest improvements in Ireland are owing to the labourers who migrate to England bringing back with them habits of industry and providence, and a greater degree of civilisation. (p. 202).

Mr. Newenham, after forty years' experience and residence in Ireland, says the condition of the people has been advancing ; they are much better clothed ; we see very few at the present day without shoes or stockings, and forty years ago, not one-quarter of the inhabitants of Ireland had shoes and stockings ; there is an improvement in the towns, and a very great deal of improvement in the habitations of the farmers. (p. 617, part iv.)

The same authority observes (what those who like him have visited Ireland and the Continent must confirm), that the poorer class of the Irish are better off than those of the same class in France and Italy. Mr. Greer, speaking of the county of Armagh, says, "There has been a very visible improvement in the condition of the peasantry generally, in the superior character of their habitations, in improved clothing, and in the consumption of wheaten bread, which has considerably increased ; there have been, and it is continuing, an increase of flour-mills ; the mode of farming has decidedly improved, and the consumption of tea and sugar has increased. All the linen that the weavers bring to market is sold ; and I do not know any man that is able to work, or that has been so for two or three years, that cannot get work ;" (part iii. p. 357). Mr. Blake says, the imports of Ireland have considerably increased, and they have been paid for by increasing wealth ; (part iii. p. 356).

Mr. Wiggins, an English gentleman of Tavistock-place, Russell-square, who has visited Ireland always *once*, sometimes two or three times a year, for the last twenty-two years, informed the Committee that he has observed a very great improvement

in the condition of the people, in every respect in clothing, habits of cleanliness, regularity and order (part iii. p. 359). Their habitations have considerably improved; they are not now content with the same miserable hut that they had twenty years ago; they wish to have three rooms instead of one; to keep the cattle separate from the children, and to sleep themselves separate from their children; they wish to have windows and doors, which they had not formerly; and even when the cabin is built by themselves, they will build it on a better place and with more comforts and conveniences, than they had before (part iii. p. 369, 360).

Mr. Wiggins, in describing the south-west of Ireland, says:—"I conceive in their moral character and conduct altogether, the improvement of the people has been very striking." In a subsequent part of his examination he adds—"I think the improvement of Ireland has been more rapid than any improvement I ever saw in England in any large tract of country." Formerly, observes Mr. J. D. Mullen, the labourers of the county of Dublin wore a coarse kind of cloth called frieze; now they uniformly wear cloth which is dearer, and is an evidence of an improved notion of comfort.

Mr. Brodigan, who resides in the county of Louth, stated that the trade of the Eastern parts of Ireland has considerably improved, and that agriculture is increasing by reason of the beneficial and extensive markets which the ports of England afford for the farmer's produce; and there is an improvement in the internal comfort and appearance of the farmers and of the peasantry (part iii. p. 874). Mr. Fanning, one of the Directors of the Grand Canal, since 1810 (the extent of which is 156 miles) says, that there is a very considerable improvement in the condition of the people, and in the state of agriculture along the line of the canal; and large quantities of bog and marsh land have been brought into cultivation and tillage: (part iii. p. 389). Mr. Wm. Stockley, an extensive mail and stage-coach proprietor in Ireland, says, that the condition of the people, of their towns, and of their shops, in the North and in

the South, and on the Wexford line (particularly at Cork), is evidently improving. That in the vicinity of Dublin the condition of the lower orders is improving; that the peasantry who formerly travelled on foot, now journey as outside stage-coach passengers; that the dress of the people is better; and at places of country amusements you see people on jaunting cars, who formerly used to come on common cars with a bundle of straw and a quilt over it; while by reason of the facility of intercourse between England and Ireland, it is quite astonishing to see the number of traders in cattle who have risen up, and are now travelling about with hundreds in their pockets, who formerly could not buy half a score of pigs (p. 390).

Mr. Williams, a director to the Dublin Steam Company, says that steam navigation commenced between England and Ireland in 1824, and there are now forty steam-vessels plying between both islands. All the Irish ports, from Londonderry round to Cork, have their *separate* establishments trading direct with England—namely, Londonderry, Belfast, Newry, Dundalk, Drogheda, Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork. The competition is so great that pigs, for instance, are carried from Dundalk to Liverpool for *one penny each*! The effect of steam navigation is to supersede the necessity of large capitalists in trade, and give productive employment to people in secondary lines of business. Small Irish traders go to the manufacturing towns of England themselves, and are, of course, enabled to sell on much better terms; hence the increase of shops and business. A very considerable improvement is visible in the appearance of the people. A Dublin shopkeeper may now, on the closing of his shop in the evening, step on board the packet for Liverpool, be at Manchester on the ensuing morning to breakfast, purchase all his goods, and be in his shop in Dublin on the ensuing morning. Wholesale merchants suffer by this course of business, but the country is benefitted.

The bringing over of improved breeds of pigs and cattle from England to Ireland is now more frequent than formerly. The increase in the export of pigs is almost incredible; a new trade has arisen in *fresh* butter, brought to England by the very per-

sons who prepare it in very small quantities, and who find a ready market for it, along with their eggs. In one week 100 firkins of fresh butter have been carried by the inland companies from Limerick, deliverable in Liverpool.

A striking example of the extension of public conveyances is given in the establishment of day cars by Mr. Bianconi in the south-east of Ireland.* These vehicles, chiefly used as conveyances by the middle classes, were only introduced in 1815; and at the present moment have so widely extended as to travel over a wide extent daily. This establishment yields support to more than 100 families; employs 200 horses, and creates a demand for 8,000 to 10,000 barrels of oats, and 600 to 700 tons of hay. Mr. Weale, an officer of the Department of the Land Revenue, considers, "that in every quarter, in every corner of Ireland,

* Mr. and Mrs. Hall, in their interesting work on Ireland, thus comment on this meritorious foreigner, whose fortunate career proves there is no impediment on the part of Government in the acquisition of wealth when prudence and industry are combined:—"Clonmel has been rendered 'famous' in modern Irish history by the successful exertions of a single individual, of whom it is not too much to say, that he has done more to improve the condition of the peasantry and the country than any other person of our age. We refer to Mr. Charles Bianconi, and the travelling cars that bear his name. He is a native of Milan; and about the year 1800, voyaged to Ireland; first visiting Dublin, and subsequently settling in Clonmel, where he carried on the trade of a picture dealer and cleaner and frame-maker, but upon a very limited scale; for his resources were, at first, exceedingly limited. By habits of industry, prudence, and forethought, he contrived to save money, and became highly respected by his neighbours; and his circumstances improving, he conceived the design of running a public car, that, by conveying passengers at a much less expense than the stage-coaches, might answer the purposes of the comparatively humbler classes. He ran his first car—from Clonmel to Cahir—on the 5th of July, 1815, and, shortly after, other cars to Limerick and Thurles. The experiment was very discouraging at the commencement; he was frequently for whole weeks without obtaining a passenger; but his energy and perseverance ultimately triumphed, and he has succeeded in obtaining a large fortune for himself while conferring immense benefit on the community; having preserved an irreproachable character, and gained the respect of all classes.

"He has now, running daily, forty-five double cars—that is, cars running up and down from the same places, and travelling over 3,600 miles daily. The number of these cars which convey the mail are eighteen up and eighteen down. The number of horses to each car is from one to four, according to circumstances. His cars vary in size, taking from four to sixteen passengers. He builds all his own cars, having a regular factory at Clonmel. They travel at the rate of from six and a half to nine miles per hour. This variation of speed is chiefly in reference to the mail-cars."

there are perceivable evidences of growing and rapidly growing prosperity." There is an extension of the growth of clover and vetches. Iron ploughs, of an excellent description, are purchased; and the common log, or block wheel, formerly used, is now superseded by the spoke wheel, introduced almost everywhere. The intercourse by steam between the two countries, has given a value to many of the lesser articles of farming produce, formerly almost without a market, such as eggs, poultry, honey, &c. These matters are now brought into the British market, and produce almost a "new creation of property, which is laid out in manufactured goods, dress, and articles of furniture." The inhabitants of Liverpool are stated by a resident in that town to be quite aware of the altered appearance even of the Irish reapers, who no longer come in the tattered clothes they formerly appeared in; they are ashamed of their rags, and are apparently a different class of persons. "I speak from a great deal of examination into the state of Ireland," observes the Right Hon. Ant. Blake, the Chief Remembrancer of the Court of Exchequer; "Ireland is becoming from day to day more prosperous: capital is spreading throughout Ireland, and in proportion as it spreads, so will the general state of all classes be improved."

The state of the labouring classes must depend on the proportion existing between the number of the people and the capital which can be profitably employed in labour. A witness of great acuteness and information says truly, that the operation of natural causes, and the improved spirit of social life, are the true and efficient sources from which the prosperity of Ireland may be anticipated. The foundations of her prosperity are laid, concludes Mr. Roe, and time will complete the structure.

No language of mine could add to the strength of this highly important testimony.

Since the period of the Union, there have been very considerable sums of money either granted or advanced by Parliament for roads, bridges, canals, piers, harbours, and other public works in Ireland. Between 1805 and 1822, surveys were

made by the Post-office, of 2,068 miles of mail-coach roads, the estimate for these improvements being 1,931,782*l.*; of this sum, 637,516*l.* was expended in seven years. Under Acts of Parliament passed of late years, very large sums of money have been vested, either for the employment of the Irish Poor, for public works, or for the exigency of affairs in Ireland.

The efforts of the Government to improve the people and the country, will be best seen in the following gratifying statement of the results attendant on the works undertaken by the Government in various parts of Ireland.

Mr. Nimmo states, in 1823, that the fertile plains of Limerick, Cork, and Kerry, are separated from each other by a deserted country, hitherto nearly an impassable barrier between them. This large district comprehends nearly 600 Irish, or 970 square miles British. In many places it is very populous. As might be expected under such circumstances, the people are turbulent, and their houses being inaccessible for want of roads, it is not surprising that, during the disturbances in 1821 and 1822, this district was the asylum for whiteboys, smugglers, and robbers, and that stolen cattle were drawn into it as to a safe and impenetrable retreat. Notwithstanding its present desolate state, this country contains within itself the seeds of future improvement and industry. Such was the state of things in 1822; subsequently, an engineer of eminence, Mr. Griffith, was employed to execute public works in this district, under the authority of the Government. He confirms the former statement of Mr. Nimmo. This tract, he observes, is a wild, neglected, and deserted country, without roads, culture, or civilisation; it chiefly belongs to absentee proprietors, and being for the most part inaccessible, has hitherto afforded an asylum for outlaws and culprits of every description. In the year 1829, after the execution of the works, Mr. Griffith reports with respect to the same district, a very considerable improvement has already taken place in the vicinity of the roads, both in the industry of the inhabitants and the appearance of the country. At the commencement of the works the people flocked into

them, seeking employment at any rate ; their looks haggard, their clothing wretched ; they rarely possessed any tools or implements beyond a small ill-shaped spade ; and nearly the whole face of the country was unimproved ; since the completion of the roads, rapid strides have been made ; upwards of sixty new lime-kilns have been built ; carts, ploughs, harrows, and improved implements have become common ; new houses of a better class have been built, new inclosures made, and the country has become perfectly tranquil, and exhibits a scene of industry and exertion at once pleasing and remarkable. A large portion of the money received for labour has been husbanded with care, laid out in building substantial houses, and in the purchase of stock and agricultural implements ; and numerous examples might be shown of poor labourers, possessing neither money, houses, nor land when first employed, who in the past year have been enabled to take farms, build houses, and stock their lands.

A most interesting account of the effect of these works on the habits of the people will be found in the Minutes of the Parliamentary Report, p. 98.

At Abbeyfeale and Brosna, observes Mr. Kelly, above half of the congregation at mass on Sundays were barefoot and ragged, with small straw hats of their own manufacture, felt hats being only worn by a few. Hundreds, or even thousands of men, could be got to work at sixpence a-day, if it had been offered. The farmers were mostly in debt ; and many of the families went to beg in Tipperary and other parts. The condition of the people is now very different ; the congregations at the chapels are now as well clad as in other parts ; the demand for labour is increased, and a spirit of industry is getting forward, since the new roads have become available.

At certain periods of the year, Mr. Griffith remarks, I was obliged to invite strangers to work on the roads, as none could be here procured for hire. The value of land has much increased, and in some cases more than double the rent has been offered. As a further illustration of one of the many incidental advantages connected with these public works, the Committee refer

to the evidence of Mr. Barrington, the Crown prosecutor, in 1829: he states, that before the roads were executed, it was almost impossible to apprehend any criminal in this district. A portion of the district was used as an asylum for offenders, and rewards were offered by the Government for the apprehension of persons in the neighbourhood. Concealed arms were deposited there, and it was the most disturbed part of the country. A party of military, a sergeant's guard, had their arms taken from them; but the opening of the roads has given the greatest facility in pursuing offenders, and has increased the value of land very much.

The Committee state, that they feel that it would be unwise to form any general conclusion from a single instance, however striking it might appear as an illustration, and however applicable from analogy; and they have, therefore, sought whether, from the evidence before Parliament, the inferences deduced from the examples referred to were fully sustainable. They have the satisfaction to state that they are so.

In a Report on a part of the county of Kerry, Mr. Nimmo states, in 1824, that—"A few years ago there was hardly a plough, car, or carriage of any kind; butter, the only produce, was carried to Cork on horseback. There was not one decent public-house, and I think only one house slated and plastered in the village; the nearest post-office, thirty miles distant. Since the new road was made, there were built in three years upwards of twenty respectable two-story houses, slated and plastered, with good sash-windows; a respectable shop, with cloth, hardware, and groceries; a comfortable inn, a post-office, bridewell, new chapel, a quay, covered with limestone for manure, a salt-work, two stores for purchasing oats, and a considerable traffic in linen and yarn. There are perhaps forty cars and carts, and a resident gentleman's coach." In like manner, Mr. Nimmo observes, in 1829, that the improvement of the county of Mayo, laid open by a new road, continues to proceed rapidly. He refers to instances in which substantial houses have been built, bogs reclaimed, and planting, drainage, and improvement carried on. At Belmullet, the advance is quite surprising; the place only

commenced four years ago; it now consists of about seventy respectable houses, two or three cottages with planted inclosures, &c. Five ships were loaded with grain and kelp; iron, hoops, and coal, were imported; and, as a convincing proof of the state the country had arrived to, thirty-five newspapers were weekly distributed through the post-office; spirits, beer, and wine, British manufactures, tea and sugar, were sold; the produce of the fisheries was admitted to a market; and the population, formerly crowded in the narrow valleys, were stated to be fast settling along the new line of road. Along the line of road from Westport to Killeery, it is stated, that the people are making extensive use of carts to carry in turf and produce to Westport, and to return with limestone; and on the Colliery road, in Leitrim, Mr. Nimmo reports, that it is surprising to see the improvement excited in the mountainous district; numerous houses rising along the road, and tillage finding its way to the summit of the hill. A most important result is noticed in the same Report: in the district surrounding Clifden, in the county of Galway, no revenue was paid to the State prior to 1822. In 1826, taxation to the amount of 2,500*l.* was collected; and in 1828, it had augmented to 6,080*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*, marking a consumption of spirits, tobacco, tea, sugar, pepper, butter, glass, timber, and other articles; and thus proving, indisputably, the increased wealth and the improved habits of the people. "I will here mention two facts that have come to my own knowledge," states Mr. Williams—"one, that in consequence of the expenditure of 160,000*l.* in public works in Connaught, in seven years, *the increase of the annual revenue has been equal to the whole of that expenditure.* I find also a corresponding increase in the revenue of the Cork district, where Mr. Griffith expended 60,000*l.* in seven years; *and the increase of customs and excise has been 50,000*l.* a year,* attributable mainly to the facilities of communication, by which whole districts have been rendered available for productive purposes, and a miserable pauper population converted into a class of consumers." The same spirit of improvement appears from a more recent Report at Belmullet, the number of houses

is nearly doubled. A considerable portion of grain is drawn from districts where, as is well known, it used to be entirely devoted to illicit distillation. The customs and excise of Galway have fully doubled since 1822; and, exclusive of the improvement in Mayo and Sligo, the surplus must have gone far to pay off the sums Government have expended since that period in the province; while the population are now enabled to pay the same rate of taxation per head as in the rest of Ireland. Some years ago, the Rev. Mr. Hickey states, there was a very miserable road leading from Cork to Skibbereen, thirty-eight or forty miles distant; there was no coach at that time, and no mode of conveyance from the one point to the other without hiring a hackney-chaise, that would take probably two days to make the journey. The grand jury have since cut a new line of road, quite flat; and, upon my visit last year, there were three coaches travelling as fast as most coaches in this country, and overloaded with passengers—all this tending to prove the great intercourse along that line. There were remarkable agricultural improvements carried on, connecting themselves with the opening of the road; and thereby showing that there was a new demand for productive labour, and an improvement in the condition of the people.

The Commissioners for Inquiring into the Condition of the Irish Poor, laid before Parliament in 1836, in their Report, advert to these facts thus:—

“The improvements which have taken place in the roads of Ireland have extended to all parts of the island; but the *increased wealth* which results from the opening of new lines of intercourse is most strikingly manifested in several of the western counties. In some of the wildest parts of these districts considerable sums of public money have been applied to the construction of new roads, under the direction of government engineers. Large tracts of land have, in consequence, been brought into cultivation, whose previous unproductive condition seems to have arisen, in great measure, from the impracticability of conveying the proper manure to them. The owners of the soil have afforded little or no aid to the exertions of the peasants by whom, in general, the reclamation has been effected; and in so far as the latter have, for the most part, become occupiers of the ground subsequently to the creation of the facilities in question, they have not been in a condition to secure to themselves any considerable share in the benefits conferred. The evidence, not only where reference is made to a recently reclaimed, but also to a long settled district, shows that a constant consequence of improvements in the mode of conveyance has been a steady rise in the amount of rent throughout

the district affected. Speaking of the increase which has taken place in the value of lands, Dean Stackpoole refers to an estate in his own neighbourhood (county of Clare,) in which the rental has been raised from between 150*l.* and 300*l.* a year to between 1,500*l.* and 2,000*l.*, 'the change being wholly attributable to the new facilities of conveying manure to the land in question.' "

The roads throughout Ireland are quite equal to those in England, and very numerous. The coaches are as well horsed as those in England, and the average rate of travelling is eight to ten miles an hour. In the wildest districts and smallest towns, there are marked indications of improvement.

The advantages of Steam Navigation to Ireland are thus stated by the Parliamentary Committee of 1830: they are deserving the attention of the advocates for "Repealing the Union:"—

"The effects of Steam Navigation between Great Britain and Ireland, and its tendency, in many most important respects, to raise the condition of the poor, have occupied much of the attention of your Committee. The political and moral consequences likely to attend this great and salutary change, are in the highest degree important; but it is chiefly with its commercial and economical effects which your Committee have felt it their duty to deal. In 1824, the first steamer was established between Dublin and Liverpool, by Mr. C. W. Williams, a witness examined before your Committee, and whose active public spirit entitles him to the highest commendation. At present, a capital of 671,000*l.* is engaged in steam communication across the channel; 42 steam-vessels have been established, of 8,423 tons by registry. From the time a sailing vessel was first prepared to start from Liverpool, to the time of her arrival in Dublin, a week might be calculated as a fair average for her passage. By steam the voyage is performed in fourteen hours. The number of voyages effected in the year is in the proportion of about seven to one in favour of steam, as compared with sailing packets. The results of this intercourse are most useful and most curious. 'The small inland trader now finds his way into the English market with what he has to sell, and he buys there what he wishes to retail in his own district.' Steam navi-

gation has given to Ireland the best and dearest market for her agricultural produce of all sorts; and the best, because the cheapest market from whence to bring manufactured goods in return. Traders now bring from the manufacturing districts of England the smallest quantity of any description of goods, and this is effected in two or three days. The effect is of the last importance with reference to the quantity of business done with the same capital. It is stated by Mr. Williams that not one-fourth of the capital is now wanting to carry on the same extent of business; and he adds, 'I anticipate that will shortly lead to the erection of shops and other establishments in the interior of Ireland, for the sale of a vast variety of articles that are not now to be had there.' Some of the small dealers, who were formerly turning but a few hundred pounds a-year, can now turn 10,000*l.* in the same articles; fifty tons weight of eggs, and ten tons of live and dead poultry, are sometimes shipped from Dublin in a single day. It is observed truly, that the sale of these articles adds more to the wealth of the tenant than to the landlord's rent; thus tending to the immediate comfort of the peasantry. Another witness informed your Committee, that since 1824, in eggs alone, a branch of trade entirely new, there have been exported, from Dublin only, to the value of 273,000*l.* distributable among the poorer classes. Cattle are brought from Ballinasloe,* in the county of Galway, to Liverpool, in little more than three days; they are sent in boats by the Grand Canal, transhipped at Dublin, and landed on the quay at Liverpool within the fourth day. The change in the usages of commerce produced by the introduction of steam has pressed heavily upon some of the mercantile classes, as stated by Mr. Roe and Mr. Wyse: 'There is no longer any scope for the employment of large capitals in extensive wholesale transactions;' but any injury produced in this way is compensated, and much more than compensated, by the benefits conferred on the smaller capitalists, and on the community in general.

* The following returns of the annual sales of this great cattle fair, will show that although numerous fairs have been established since the Union in Ireland, and vast

It may be sufficient to refer to the convincing documents in the preceding Chapters, to ascertain whether there be a shadow of truth in the allegation, that Ireland has rapidly retrograded since the Union.

The author of "Commentaries on Ireland" admits that the "British population is in a much worse condition now than formerly" (p. 72). There are, indeed, melancholy proofs of the veracity of this statement, whether we examine the condition of the people in the factories or mines, physically or morally. As to the condition of the Scotch peasantry, the following harrowing details, recently published, exhibit a state of misery

AVERAGE PRICES OF

	WEDDERS.								EWES.							
	1st Class.		2d Class.		3d Class.		4th Class.		1st Class.		2d Class.		3d Class.		4th Class.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
1828	2	0	0	1	14	0	1	10	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1829	1	18	0	1	10	0	1	5	0	1	0	0	1	12	0	0
1830	1	10	0	1	4	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	1	13	0	0
1831	2	5	0	1	18	0	1	15	0	1	10	0	1	15	0	0
1832	2	12	0	2	3	0	1	17	0	1	8	0	2	8	0	0
1833	2	14	0	2	6	0	2	0	0	1	14	0	2	12	0	0
1834	2	9	0	2	1	0	1	15	0	1	9	0	2	9	0	0
1835	2	1	0	1	13	0	1	7	0	1	1	0	1	18	0	0
1836	2	10	0	2	0	0	1	15	0	1	10	0	2	7	0	0
1837	2	12	6	2	2	0	1	17	0	1	12	0	2	7	0	0
1838	2	10	0	2	2	0	1	15	0	1	10	0	2	9	0	0
1839	2	9	0	2	0	0	1	12	6	1	7	0	2	8	0	0
1840	2	9	0	2	0	0	1	12	6	1	7	0	2	2	0	0

	OXEN.								HEIFERS.							
	1st Class.		2d Class.		3d Class.		4th Class.		1st Class.		2d Class.		3d Class.		4th Class.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
1828	14	0	0	11	0	0	8	0	0	14	0	0	12	10	0	0
1829	11	0	0	9	0	0	7	0	0	12	0	0	10	0	0	0
1830	11	0	0	9	10	0	7	10	0	12	0	0	10	0	0	0
1831	13	0	0	12	0	0	10	0	0	13	0	0	11	0	0	0
1832	14	14	0	13	0	0	11	0	0	15	0	0	13	0	0	0
1833	14	0	0	12	10	0	11	0	0	14	15	0	13	0	0	0
1834	13	0	0	11	10	0	10	0	0	13	15	0	12	0	0	0
1835	13	10	0	12	0	0	10	10	0	14	5	0	12	10	0	0
1836	14	10	0	13	0	0	9	10	0	14	10	0	13	0	0	0
1837	16	0	0	14	0	0	11	0	0	15	5	0	13	15	0	0
1838	15	0	0	13	0	0	10	0	0	14	0	0	12	15	0	0
1839	17	0	0	15	0	0	13	0	0	15	0	0	13	5	0	0
1840	18	10	0	16	5	0	14	0	0	16	10	0	14	10	0	0

not to be paralleled in the poorest part and in the worst season in Connaught:—

“It would puzzle any man, even those who are intimate with the condition and habits of the *Highland peasantry*, to say in what manner a great proportion of them subsist. When the potatoe fails from mildew or frost, the unhappy natives are reduced to the extremity of want; the luxury of butchers’ meat is so rare as not to deserve classification in this place:—The state of the Scotch islanders is such that should a fish be found mangled by gulls, or even in the incipient stage of putrefaction, it is joyfully seized upon; sea-weed and shell-fish are eaten by them; and at a moderate estimate one-sixth of their food consists of these miserable scrapings.”—*Quarterly Journal of Agriculture*, No. 7.

“So great is the emigration from the Highlands this season (June, 1831), that the passengers are forced to go to England and Ireland to procure conveyances to transport them across the Atlantic.

“There are one or two districts in the Highlands that already present a gloomy and desolate appearance; and ere the emigration season is over, it is calculated that in many cases tracts of land, *ten miles in extent, will be tenantless!* The system of RACK-RENTING has been carried to such an extent by the Highland Lairds, that their tenants, that hardy race of men, are reluctantly compelled to expatriate themselves from the land of their fathers. Young persons go to provide a home for their parents, or parents to join their families who are settled in America, but by far the greater part go upon chance, declaring that they can be no worse.”—*Glasgow Chronicle*, June, 1831.

“In a great proportion of Scotland, where the poor laws are not carried into effect, miseries similar to those which pervade Ireland exist. All the Highlands are in this state.”—*Nimmo: Lords’ Evidence*, 1824.

“Many of the Scotch poor are so neglected by landlords and their men of business, as to be driven out into other parts of the kingdom as common beggars. Swarms of common beggars from all quarters infest the northern country, and raise contributions far exceeding what would support the district poor.”—*Brewster’s Encyclopædia*, 1830.

Reasoning on the foregoing, the Scotch would have as much right to require a repeal of their Union, as Ireland; but, in fact, the Irish peasantry are in the aggregate better off than their brethren in England or Scotland; certainly in a far more comfortable condition than they were before the Union, when, although the gentry lived well, drank to excess, and rioted in waste, the people pined in wretchedness; this is confirmed by a quotation from a parliamentary speech of the Irish Attorney-General in 1786:—

“I am well acquainted with Munster, and it is impossible for human wretchedness to exceed that of the miserable peasantry. The people are ground to powder by relentless landlords.”

During a recent extensive tour through Ireland, the writer

was surprised and delighted at the condition of the people. At the great Repeal meeting at Lismore—among about fifty thousand peasantry the writer did see one ragged or drunken person. Bread is to be found for sale in every village, and there is a marked change in favour of cleanliness.

The Railway Commissioners of 1836, in their elaborate Report, thus refer to the progress of Ireland:—

“The various processes to which agricultural produce is subjected, have been gradually extended and improved. Grinding, malting, brewing, and distilling, have made great progress within these few years. Until lately, the mills of Bristol and Liverpool enjoyed almost the exclusive advantage of converting the Irish wheat into flour. That process is now performed in Ireland. The construction of water-wheels, and other machinery, has been much improved, and the use of them, under favourable circumstances, has greatly increased; but there are few large mills in which steam is not united with water power, in order that the supply may be constant and regular during the summer as well as the winter months—a proof of a better system of trading, and of more enlarged means.

The process of malting was one of the first in which improvement became manifest; and this has gradually led to greater perfection in the quality of the beer produced. Great breweries have been established in Dublin and Cork. Irish porter is now largely exported to England, and the Dublin bottled porter successfully rivals the London porter, even in London itself.

The quality of Irish produce has also considerably improved: Irish butter, Irish pork, and Irish beef, bring greater prices in the English market than they did some few years ago; while the quantity produced and exported has much increased. The districts in which these improvements are the most manifest, are those of Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and Belfast. From north to south indications of progressive improvement are everywhere visible; and most so in places which are accessible to the immediate influence of steam navigation.”

The consumption of Paper is a corroborative test of the state of a community. It is probable, however, that a large portion of paper pays duty in England, and does not, therefore, come into the following statement:—

The total quantity of lbs. weight paper charged with duty in *Ireland*, during each of the three years preceding the last reduction of duties, is thus shown for Ireland *—

Years.	Paper.	Years.	Paper.
1833 lbs.	2,457,707	1838 lbs.	3,554,879
1834	2,372,403	1839	3,462,529
1835	2,702,352	1840	3,591,293
1837	3,248,182	1841	3,991,472
Totals	10,780,644	Totals	14,600,173
Increased consumption of paper, last four years		3,819,529 lbs.	

* The Parliamentary Return whence these figures are derived was moved for by Mr. W. S. O'Brien, M.P., 23rd May, 1842. It is numbered 290 of the Session.

This indicates no diminution of intelligence and epistolary intercourse.

The number of bushels of malt charged with duty in Ireland, as compared with England and Scotland, shows a comparative as well as positive increase.

Years.	England.	Ireland.	Scotland.	Total.
1832	34,115,332	2,115,435	4,105,377	40,336,144
1833	32,249,892	1,970,058	3,767,242	37,987,192
1834	34,061,263	2,049,407	4,406,913	40,517,583
1835	34,072,665	2,152,138	4,437,220	40,662,023
1836	38,261,833	2,511,231	4,736,449	45,509,513
1837	35,657,877	2,268,475	4,751,594	42,677,956
1838	33,620,593	2,279,069	4,480,792	40,380,454
1839	33,687,302	2,101,744	4,567,083	40,356,129

The Mining Companies of Ireland are now in full work, and deriving large profits. The produce and sales of two mines, Bearhaven and Knockmahon, termed the "Audley Mines," in the County of Cork, from January 21, to October 4, 1843—was in tons 10,985, value 86,142*l*. If tranquillity were established, English capital (as in the case of the Killaloe slate quarries), would seek and find profitable employment.

The extensive inland Navigation now possessed by Ireland is described in recent Parliamentary documents :—

The largest and most remarkable line stretches to the westward from Dublin on the line of the Grand Canal. It passes through Tullamore, and falls into the river Shannon, at Shannon Harbour. From this point upwards to Athlone, and through Lough Ree to Carrick, and downwards by Limerick, to the sea, this remarkable river, or rather chain of lakes, is now partially navigated for a distance of about 150 miles by steam-vessels, either carrying goods and passengers, or acting as steam tugs. A branch of the Grand Canal extending to Athy, there joins the navigation of the river Barrow, which passes through the Carlow valley, and communicates with the important town and harbour of Waterford on the Suir. The Suir has been partly, though imperfectly, rendered navigable up to Clonmel ; the accommodation which it affords is, however, very inadequate to the wants of the country.

The Royal Canal, on leaving Dublin, runs parallel to and very near the Grand Canal for the first 52 miles, or as far as Mullingar ; whence it takes a north-western course, passes by Ballymahon, throws off a branch to Longford, and terminates at Richmond Harbour, near Tarmonbarry, on the Shannon.

In the north, a very important work, the Ulster Canal, is now in progress, from Lough Neagh to Lough Erne, thus nearly connecting the eastern with the western shore, by a line extending from Belleek, near Ballyshannon, through Lough Erne, the Ulster Canal, Lough Neagh, and thence to Newry and Belfast. The Ulster Canal is now completed as far as Monaghan, and promises to be a most useful work.

Besides these there are three small navigations communicating with Lough Neagh; the Lagan from Belfast, one from Newry by the Upper Bann, and the third, called the Tyrone Navigation, extending from the collieries, at Coal Island near Dunganon, by the Blackwater, into Lough Neagh. The Lower Bann flows from the Lough to Coleraine, but is not navigable.

With a view to show the extent of accommodation which these several Canals and Navigations furnish to the trade of the country, and also to exhibit the progressive increase of that trade, we give the following particulars from Returns supplied to us by the different Companies.

And first, with respect to the Grand Canal, the length of the main line from Dublin to Shannon Harbour is $79\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and from the Shannon to its termination at Ballinasloe, $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles; the number of its branches is 7, and their aggregate length $65\frac{3}{4}$ miles; that—

	The Total Tonnage was	Amount of Tolls.
In 1822	134,939	£24,866
1830	224,749	33,464
1836	226,770	38,953
1837	215,910	40,859

This increase has taken place chiefly on the valuable articles. Of these the tonnage carried in the undermentioned years was as follows:—

	Flour. Tons.	Grain. Tons.	Meal. Tons.	Malt. Tons.	Cattle and Pigs. Tons.
In 1822	9,805	14,347	2,075	2,967	10
1830	14,221	19,500	2,407	4,719	643
1836	28,378	22,255	4,538	4,862	1,942

In 1830 the effect of the introduction of steam-power on the Shannon, and the communication thereby established between Limerick and Liverpool, began to be felt on the Grand Canal.

In 1826, Mr. Grantham, an engineer who had been for some time employed by Government in surveying the river, made the first attempt to establish steam-boats on the Shannon: he failed. A Joint-Stock Company followed; to these succeeded the Inland Navigation Company, under the able management of a most enterprising individual, Mr. C. W. Williams. There are now nine steamers belonging to this Company on the Shannon; six above Limerick, and three below. Though this number is small when we consider the capabilities of this magnificent stream and its wide expanding lakes—it is important as a successful commencement; for the value of this navigation is only now beginning to be understood. Before the application of steam to vessels as a propelling power, the means of developing these capabilities did not, in fact, exist. The boat or barge adapted to the stream, was little suited to traverse the lake, and the construction of towing-paths along the shores of the latter would have been impracticable. The introduction of steam-vessels not only surmounts this difficulty, arising from the expansion of the stream at intervals along its course, but, as the Shannon Commissioners have justly remarked, converts what was previously a formidable obstacle to the navigation of this noble river, into one of its great advantages.

The improvements of the navigation of this river, now in contemplation will, when executed, greatly increase the traffic, by facilitating the means of communicating with the adjacent country on either bank. A regular, active, and most beneficial trading intercourse has been established between Limerick and Liverpool.

Below Limerick steam-vessels now ply to Clare, three miles below Ennis, the county town of Clare, and to Kilrush and Tarbert, thriving places near the mouth of the river. The number of passengers between Limerick, Tarbert, Kilrush, and Clare, in 1836, amounted to 23,851.

The nature and rapid growth of the Shannon trade are exemplified by the following Returns :—

RETURN of TONNAGE carried by the BOATS of the INLAND NAVIGATION COMPANY, on the SHANNON, during a period of Eleven Years.

Years.	Tons.	Tonnage by Boats purchased from other Carriers.	Total.
1826	2,004	—	2,004
1827	6,304	—	6,304
1828	8,456	—	8,456
1829	8,850	—	8,850
1830	11,270	—	11,270
1831	17,595	550	18,145
1832	23,587	2,200	25,787
1833	24,119	2,200	26,319
1834	30,438	4,125	34,563
1835	33,683	7,050	40,733
1836	40,239	7,050	47,289

RETURN of GOODS carried from LIMERICK, and shipped at DUBLIN for LIVERPOOL.

Years.	Wheat. Tons.	Flour. Tons.	Oatmeal. Tons.	Butter. Firkins.
1833	187	520	543	4,998
1834	1,218	1,750	1,192	10,097
1835	402	5,269	533	10,771
1836	289	7,158	1,156	12,795

The gross freight from Limerick to Dublin, for corn, flour, or malt, is 15s. per ton ; distance, 133 miles ; the toll, 5s., or, if intended for export, 3s. From Galway to Dublin, 21s. ; toll, 5s. 11d. ; distance, 138 miles.*

The gross freight from Dublin to Limerick, for merchandise, from 20s. to 30s. ; toll, 5s. From Dublin to Galway, 38s. 6d. ; toll, 9s. 1d.

With respect to the Royal Canal, the length of its Main Line from Dublin, by Leixlip, Maynooth, Mullingar, Killashee, to Richmond Harbour, near Tarmonbarry, where it falls into the Shannon, is 92 miles. From Killashee there is a branch to Longford ; distance, five miles.

In 1834, the Total Receipts were, £24,000	Total Expenses, £11,376
1835, " " 24,082	" " 10,740
1836, " " 25,148	" " 11,912

This Canal was begun in 1789, and owes its origin to the efforts of a Director of the Grand Canal, who seceding from that Company on account of some trifling

* Forty-four miles of this distance—viz., from Galway to Ballinasloe, is land carriage.

differences, resolved to form a rival Company. Being a person of considerable plausibility and energy, he succeeded; and if the only object of the new Company had been to injure the Grand Canal, they could not have devised a plan better suited to that end. They appear, however, to have overlooked the inevitable consequences to themselves of such ruinous competition.

The sanction of the Irish Parliament was obtained for this scheme, without any apparent examination of the grounds on which it claimed support, or of the calculations of its probable success. The effect of such rash and inconsiderate legislation might have been easily foreseen. After large sums both of private and public money had been expended on this work, the Company became bankrupt in 1812, with a debt of 862,000*l.* Irish.

The debentures and stock of the Company, bearing an interest of 6 per cent., which had been, a few days previously, quoted on the Stock Exchange at 93, became unsaleable at any price, and the payment of interest totally ceased; in consequence of which numerous families of the middle rank of life, who had been induced by the high rate of interest, and by delusive statements of prosperity, to invest their capital in the concern, were suddenly reduced to a state of deplorable indigence.

Thus, through the culpable facility of that Parliament in acceding to the private views and not very creditable feelings of an individual projector, not only were the immediate sufferers by his ill-digested scheme losers to the above amount, but its distressing effects extended themselves to the shareholders of the Grand Canal also, which, having been undertaken with the fairest prospects of success, was rendered altogether unprofitable by the competition so established. A total capital of two millions was irretrievably sunk in these unproductive speculations.

On the failure of the Royal Canal Company, a Commission was appointed to inquire into the claim of the creditors. A grant of 200,000*l.* was given by Parliament to extend the Canal from Coolnahun to the Shannon, and the present Company was incorporated by Act of Parliament, in 1818.

From a Report by Messrs. Henry, Mullins, and Mac Mahon, dated February, 1823, it appears that the gross sum received and expended by the Grand Canal up to that time

Amounted to	£1,645,601*
And by the Royal Canal	1,421,954
Making a Total of	£3,067,555

According to the above mentioned Report, the expenditure per mile on the Grand Canal amounted to 8,442*l.*; and on the Royal Canal to 10,780*l.*, and it is there estimated that had these works been properly conducted, the cost need not have exceeded 3,800*l.* per mile; further, there can be no doubt that one canal, with suitable branches, would have equally effected the object now attained by both. Thus a profitable return might have been obtained by the capitalist, and a waste of at least two millions of money prevented.

THE BARROW NAVIGATION.—At Athy, in the county of Kildare, a branch of the Grand Canal joins the river Barrow, which has been rendered navigable from

* This sum is exclusive of 93,258*l.* expended on the Shannon Navigation, and of 122,149*l.* on the Grand Canal Docks at Dublin.

thence to its junction with the river Suir below the city of Waterford. This has been effected by the construction of 17 locks, and the formation of a horse trackway. The capital expended amounts to 177,852*l*. The Barrow flows through a rich agricultural country, traversing the fertile though narrow limestone valley of Carlow, and thence by Bagnalstown, St. Mullins, and Ross, to Waterford. The management of this work has been extremely creditable to the Directors; they have carried it successfully through many and great difficulties, and are but just beginning to reap the fruits of their perseverance and integrity. The interests of this Company are justly entitled to the most favourable consideration, and to every protection consistent with those of the public at large.

In 1800, the Tonnage was, 19,828 tons.	Amount of Tolls, £1,405.
1835, " " 66,084 " " "	4,966.

THE NAVIGATION OF THE SUIR extends from Waterford, by Carrick, up to Clonmel, a distance of nearly 40 miles; it is a very imperfect navigation, and great difficulties are encountered by the boatmen in forcing the barges through the numerous shallows and rapids.

THE BOYNE NAVIGATION.—The Boyne Navigation Company was incorporated in 1789. The navigation is 19 English miles in length, extending from Drogheda to Navan.

A few years ago, some traders discovered that the Navigation Company had not a strict legal right to levy tolls on the lower portion; and it was necessarily transferred to the charge of the Board of Public Works. This portion is $12\frac{3}{4}$ miles in length, and is known by the name of the "Lower Boyne Navigation," extending from Drogheda to Carrick Dexter, near Slane.

The amount of tolls in 1837 was 775*l*. 17*s*. 1*d*. The rate of freight is 3*s*. per ton, from Drogheda to Slane; toll, $1\frac{1}{4}$ *d*. per ton per mile. Nine miles of this navigation were completed by the old Navigation Board, and local Commissioners, at an expense of 75,000*l*., and a subsequent public grant of 12,500*l*.

The revenue derived from it is adequate to cover the expense of maintenance, and for its gradual improvement.

NEWRY NAVIGATION.—The length of the Newry Canal is $16\frac{1}{2}$ Irish miles; it forms the communication between Newry and Lough Neagh, and between Newry and the sea. In 1837, the tonnage amounted to 102,332*l*.; and the tolls to 3,505*l*.

THE TYRONE NAVIGATION was executed at the public expense, with a view to encourage the working of certain collieries at Coal Island. Very exaggerated statements of the value and extent of the coal beds in that district were at that time made to Parliament, and as the means which geology has since unfolded of testing the accuracy of such statements did not then exist, they were too readily believed, and in consequence led, in very many instances, to a wasteful and useless expenditure.

The tonnage in 1836 amounted to 7,291; and of the export tonnage, coals amounted only to 718 tons.

THE LAGAN NAVIGATION was begun in 1753, for the purpose of connecting Belfast with Lough Neagh.

The tonnage in 1836 amounted to 44,700 tons; the tolls to 2,060*l*.

From Belfast to Coal Island the length of navigation is 61 miles; from Newry to Coal Island, $39\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

The total tonnage carried by all the canals and navigable rivers may be taken at

about 600,000 tons ; and the amount of tolls at 71,242*l.*, if the tolls, on an average, be taken at 1*d.* per ton per mile. The average distance which the above tonnage is carried is about 30 miles.

The following return shows the tonnage and tolls on the Grand Canal for sixteen years, ending 31st December*.

Years.	FROM THE RIVER SHANNON TO DUBLIN.		TO AND FROM DUBLIN.	
	Tonnage.	Tolls.	Tonnage.	Tolls.
		£		£
1822	3,120	1,699	134,939	24,886
1823	3,354	2,181	134,147	24,058
1824	6,670	2,777	170,078	27,679
1825	10,190	4,344	188,731	32,328
1826	8,503	3,550	180,686	28,408
1827	10,255	4,032	179,173	33,587
1828	12,756	4,965	190,387	35,212
1829	12,343	4,763	191,744	31,435
1830	10,921	3,982	224,749	33,464
1831	12,006	3,955	237,819	36,753
1832	13,806	4,258	216,418	34,552
1833	16,199	5,072	226,738	38,054
1834	17,805	5,131	225,473	38,123
1835	18,416	5,204	215,398	36,030
1836	20,344	5,629	226,770	38,953
1837	20,534	5,669	215,910	37,557
Total	197,222	67,211	3,168,160	531,079

This table exhibits a remarkable progressive traffic along this main artery of internal navigation. The tonnage from the river Shannon increased during the last eight years 62,840 tons, and the tolls 10,589*l.* During the same period the tonnage to and from Dublin augmented 410,390 tons, and the tolls 55,893*l.*

It should be remembered, that Limerick, Waterford and other maritime places, are now carrying on a very large direct trade by steamers and coasting vessels with England and Scotland, which would have materially detracted from the internal navigation of Ireland, but for the great increase of internal industry.

* Porter's Tables for 1837. Nos. 148 and 149.

The tonnage of the Inland Navigation Company on the Shannon, at two periods of five years each, is thus shown :—

In the year 1826 . . . 2,004 tons	In the year 1832 . . . 26,787 tons
— 1827 . . . 6,304 —	— 1833 . . . 26,319 —
— 1828 . . . 8,456 —	— 1834 . . . 34,563 —
— 1829 . . . 8,850 —	— 1835 . . . 40,733 —
— 1830 . . . 11,270 —	— 1836 . . . 47,289 —
Total . . . 36,884 tons	Total . . . 175,691 tons
Increase of last over first period, 138,807 tons.	

If we had been enabled to bring these returns down to 1840, the results would have been still more convincing.

The navigation of the river Shannon from Portumna and Athlone, indicates also progressive prosperity.

Years.	Number of Boats.	Portumna Tonnage.	Number of Boats.	Athlone Tonnage.	Amount of Grand Canal Tolls on Boats which navigated the Shannon.*
		Tons.		Tons.	£
1829	342	9,252	88	1,519	4,599
1830	450	13,169	66	1,199	4,646
1831	428	12,586	124	2,462	4,226
1832	380	11,639	107	2,719	4,144
1833	413	13,407	151	4,336	5,393
1834	441	13,885	171	4,684	5,387
1835	467	15,482	130	3,993	5,425

"The smallness of the amount of Shannon toll is to be attributed to the facts stated in the printed schedule, that boats plying to or from Dublin, and any part of the river above Shannon Harbour, and Steam Navigation Company's boats, two miles below Portumna, and also twenty miles on the Grand Canal, are exempt from that toll by a special order; therefore there is no Shannon toll charged on goods brought from Athlone to Dublin.

"MICHAEL SWEENEY,
"Accountant to Grand Canal Company."

The number of passengers conveyed to and from Dublin on the Grand Canal (which from Dublin to Shannon Harbour is 79 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles) is increasing, notwithstanding the augmented number and reduced fares of the coaches.

Years.	Day and Night Boats.		Total.	Years.	Day and Night Boats.		Total.
	First Cabin.	Second Cabin.			First Cabin.	Second Cabin.	
1832	16,104	54,488	70,792	1835	16,168	56,580	72,748
1833	11,596	43,218	54,814	1836	23,206	63,158	86,364
1834	13,797	50,551	64,348	1837	26,925	73,170	100,695

* Those are the gross amounts of tolls received, the drawbacks allowed not having been deducted.

In 1807, the fares from Dublin to Shannon Harbour for passengers by the Grand Canal boats were—First class, 21s.; Second class, 13s. In 1830, 12s. and 6s. 6d.; in 1837, 9s. and 6s. 3d.

The receipts for passengers on the Royal Canal show no diminution there. In 1834, 6,299*l.*; in 1835, 6,898*l.*; in 1837, 7,468*l.* For parcels in those years, 403*l.*, 448*l.*, 518*l.* The total receipts on the Royal Canal for the same years were, 24,000*l.*, 24,082*l.*, 25,148*l.*

The tonnage of Imports and Exports at the principal stations on the river Shannon was, in the years

		Landed.		Loaded.
1840	.	Tons 40,882	.	31,180
1841	.	43,405	.	37,335
1842	.	46,435	.	39,880

The number of passengers that embarked at the different stations on the Shannon by the City of Dublin Steam Packet boats from Limerick up to Athlone, in the year 1842, was 16,916.

The comparative return of traffic passing to and from the river Shannon through the Grand and Royal Canals was—

IN THE YEAR	FROM CANALS TO RIVER SHANNON.			FROM RIVER SHANNON TO CANALS.		
	Grand Canal.	Royal Canal.	Total.	Grand Canal.	Royal Canal.	Total.
1840, Tons	12,877	1,389	14,267	14,548	1,919	16,721
1841, „	13,250	1,741	14,991	15,329	1,924	17,254
1842, „	12,823	1,362	14,185	13,354	3,118	16,472
Total in three years, }	38,950	4,492	43,443	43,231	6,961	50,447

In 1842, the chief items of traffic from the canals to the river Shannon were, bale goods and general merchandise, 7,331 tons; machinery, 284; timber, 1,168; iron, 481; coals, 2,190; grain, butter, provisions, &c. are various, making a total of 14,185 tons of traffic in one direction.

The Limerick internal navigation, which is part river and part canal, is also increasing. The returns for six years are,—

	Tons.	Tolls.		Tons.	Tolls.
1831	28,212	£1,092	1834	34,993	1,349
1832	28,942	1,117	1835*	34,162	1,494
1833	31,357	1,209	1836	36,018	1,514

The augmentation is steadily progressive.

* Canal being under repairs, caused this year's deficiency.

The Barrow navigation is another of those fine inland communications, for which Ireland is so deservedly celebrated. There has been expended on it, from 1802 to 1836, 114,000*l*. The navigation is thus described in the official report :—

“The river Barrow becomes navigable at Athy, in the county of Kildare, forty-two miles from Dublin, completing an uninterrupted line of inland communication, through the medium of the Grand Canal, from Dublin to the sea below Waterford—a distance of upwards of 120 miles. The rivers Nore and Suir fall into it; the former one mile above the town of Ross, the latter a short distance below Waterford. The depth of the water from Athy to Carlow is nearly three and a half feet during the summer, and five feet in the winter months, being sufficient for boats carrying fifty tons. The principal interruption in the navigation exists between Carlow and St. Mullins, but is available for boats of from thirty to forty tons, during six months of the year. Between Athy and St. Mullin’s Scars, a distance of forty-three miles, there are twelve stages and twenty-three locks. There is a trackway for horses, forty miles in length, from Athy to below St. Mullins; there are five considerable towns upon, or adjacent to, its banks, and several very extensive flour mills.”

The progressive increase of tonnage and tolls is thus shown :

	Tons.	Tolls.		Tons.	Tolls.
1790 . .	16,000 . .	£ 121*	1820 . .	41,262 . .	£3,827*
1800 . .	19,828 . .	1,405*	1830 . .	5,100 . .	4,290†
1810 . .	36,962 . .	3,965*	1834 . .	76,084 . .	4,966†

In whatever direction we turn, a marked increase is observed in internal traffic. The Newry navigation (between Newry and Lough Neagh, sixteen and a half miles, and between Newry and the sea), which, in the annexed return, is for goods only, presents the following data :

	Tons.	Tolls.		Tons.	Tolls.
1831 . .	70,479 . .	£2,414	1835 . .	101,514 . .	£3,477
1832 . .	88,434 . .	3,029	1836 . .	102,770 . .	3,520
1834 . .	89,165 . .	3,054	1837 . .	102,333 . .	3,505
1834 . .	99,383 . .	3,404			

The Tyrone, Lower Boyne, Slaney, and Suir navigations, all present similar marked features of prosperity. The Lagan navigation, for connecting Belfast with Lough Neagh, had a tonnage, in 1836, of 44,700 tons, and tolls 2,060*l*.

If it be alleged that Statistics are not *entirely* trustworthy, their accuracy is herein most fully corroborated by a variety of *vivâ voce* testimony of the most impartial, enlightened, and disinterested witnesses.

* Irish currency.

† British currency, therefore greater real increase.

CHAPTER V.

The Progress of Ireland tested, by Savings Banks, Post-Office, Stamps,
Newspapers, Excise, Public Works, &c. &c.

WE shall now proceed to examine the condition of Ireland on various points. We have tested the country as regards its augmented trade, shipping, and produce; it is but natural to suppose, that we shall find a corresponding increase in the other branches of social industry. The returns of all are not as complete as could be wished, but they establish the general truth of the proposition in the most convincing manner. We begin with the Savings Banks.

SAVINGS BANKS.—The condition of the lower classes of the people is indicated by the accumulations of their frugality in Savings Banks. In no aspect does Ireland present a more marked feature of prosperity than in this respect.

The sums paid into and drawn out of the Irish Savings Banks from 1821 to 1828 are thus shown:—

YEARS ending January 5th.	Paid in.	Drawn out.
	£	£
1821	46,615	25,200
1822	82,338	8,030
1823	123,230	11,723
1824	175,292	17,538
1825	207,738	35,047
1826	156,249	87,085
1827	139,080	164,939
1828	254,400	134,608

But the following complete return since 1829 furnishes an accurate view of this branch of the subject. And let it be remembered, that simultaneous with this increase in the Savings Banks, there has been a considerable sum invested by farmers, shopkeepers, and others in Joint Stock Banks, Loan Funds, &c. The great increase in the number of the depositors, as well as in the amounts of the deposits, will be remarked in the following return.

IRELAND.—NUMBER OF DEPOSITORS IN SAVINGS BANKS, AND AMOUNT OF THEIR DEPOSITS.

Year ending 20th Nov.	Not exceeding £20.		Not exceeding £50.		Not exceeding £100.		Not exceeding £150.		Not exceeding £200.		Exceeding £200.		Total.	Total.
	No.	£	No.	£	No.	£	No.	£	No.	£	No.	£	No.	£
1829	15,491	103,498	9,728	289,623	4,953	315,662	840	97,282	182	30,728	68	17,336	31,262	854,329
1830	17,553	118,157	11,268	336,962	4,486	290,616	964	112,059	231	38,700	66	17,152	34,568	913,646
1831	19,311	161,318	13,494	388,598	4,799	303,991	1,031	121,991	298	49,603	66	16,831	38,999	1,042,332
1832	21,136	154,284	15,911	478,259	5,191	339,965	1,087	127,821	367	61,883	63	16,189	43,755	1,170,201
1833	23,600	173,525	18,262	550,557	5,579	367,161	1,242	148,432	419	70,840	68	16,607	49,170	1,327,122
1834	25,561	193,919	19,769	606,985	5,946	385,393	1,318	158,623	516	88,472	69	17,374	53,179	1,450,766
1835	27,901	206,293	21,788	660,008	6,621	443,012	1,498	179,586	589	99,350	85	20,404	58,482	1,608,653
1836	29,809	219,444	23,664	722,546	7,273	483,862	1,676	199,112	669	113,206	92	21,790	63,183	1,759,960
1837	29,786	222,069	23,470	716,207	7,251	485,753	1,816	214,011	662	111,715	95	22,219	63,080	1,771,974
1838	31,805	238,865	26,139	792,585	8,026	541,026	2,121	250,304	825	141,078	107	25,416	69,023	1,989,274
1839	34,045	251,848	28,059	856,626	8,828	590,735	2,355	275,417	928	156,068	118	27,971	74,333	2,138,665
1840														
1841	36,537	271,676	28,196	80,823	9,042	606,923	2,531	295,364	1,094	180,853	122	27,787	77,522	2,243,246
1842														
1843														

The Increase between the first and last period, from 1829 to 1841, has been in *Depositors*, No. 46,260 In *Amount*, £1,389,097.
The gross amount of all sums received by the Commissioners for the reduction of the National Debt, on account of Banks for Savings in Ireland, from 6th August 1817 to 20th Nov. 1841, inclusive, was £6,762,915.

The CORK SAVINGS BANK will illustrate the state of the Provincial Savings Bank in Ireland. The following are the Returns for the last four years :—

	1839.	1840.	1841.
No. of Depositors	8,696	9,298	10,078
Balances, 20th Nov. in each year	£298,003	£304,046	£333,517
			£356,593

In 1842, the number of Depositors not exceeding 20l. was 4,087, not exceeding 50l. was 4,528, not exceeding 100l. was 1,371, not exceeding 150l. was 394, not exceeding 200l. was 176.—By a Parliamentary Return of 24th May, 1843, it appears that the number of Savings Banks in Ireland is *seventy-five*, and the number of Depositors 80,125.

Excise.—In 1800 the whole Excise revenue of Ireland was 475,732*l.*: it is now (including 500,000*l.*, Tea Duties, recently removed to the Customs) upwards of 2,000,000*l.* This increase shows the augmented comforts and resources of the people.

THE REVENUE (Gross Receipts) of Ireland (after deducting the Repayments, Allowances, Discounts, Drawbacks, and Bounties of the nature of Drawbacks), from 1802 to 1815.

[From *Parliamentary Return, No. 209, House of Commons, 26th April, 1843.*]

	1802.	1803.	1804.	1805.	1806.	1807.	1808.	1809.	1810.	1811.	1812.	1813.	1814.	1815.
Customs . .	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Excise . . .						2,096,296	2,261,904	2,666,554	1,788,380	2,095,140	2,456,576	2,490,575	2,189,857	2,358,352
Land and Assessed Taxes . . .	3,218,434	2,834,098	3,222,508	3,017,802	3,426,044	} 2,068,959		1,875,361	1,628,436	1,919,022	2,188,842	2,350,656	3,109,395	3,363,656
Stamps . . .	189,731	194,469	366,702	454,487	508,473			589,127	612,950	674,937	676,203	711,551	687,467	542,968
Postage . . .	81,642	87,965	95,106	118,987	120,534	130,404	149,848	151,337	165,081	173,245	177,963	184,107	191,037	196,876
Duties on Pensions . . .	2,751	37	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Poundage, Fees, &c. . .	53,061	41,666	38,642	33,504	32,509	33,827	32,586	32,102	32,343	30,804	33,946	38,748	41,411	42,966
Total . . .	3,545,630	3,153,236	3,822,959	3,624,780	4,087,561	4,862,959	4,907,827	4,804,802	4,262,278	4,893,156	5,531,532	5,775,639	6,219,168	6,504,820

The preceding statement demonstrates conclusively that Ireland did not retrograde after the Union. Her revenue increased from 3,545,630*l.* to 6,504,820*l.* But it is in her Stamp and Post-office revenue that we see the progress of the people: her Stamps increased from 189,731*l.* to 711,511*l.*—her Postage, which indicates commerce and social intercourse, from 81,642*l.* to 196,876*l.*

The increase of stamp revenue in a country indicates extended commercial business. The increase on a few years was—

Years.	£	Years.	£
1801 .	133,313	1808 .	521,192
1802 .	173,117	1809 .	533,058
1803 .	169,031	1810 .	569,678
1804 .	168,505	1811 .	562,916
1805 .	316,526	1812 .	613,434
1806 .	421,417	1813 .	627,031
1807 .	477,176	1814 .	668,633
Total .	1,859,085	Total .	4,095,942

STAMPS.—RETURN to an ORDER of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 15th April, 1840, for A Return of STAMPS (for Bills of Exchange), issued by the STAMP-OFFICE, in each Year of 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, and 1839—viz., the Number of Stamps issued at 1s., 1s. 6d., 2s., 2s. 6d., 3s. 6d., 4s. 6d., 5s., 8s. 6d., 12s. 6d., 15s., 25s., and 30s., specifying also the Sum paid each Year by Bankers for compounding for Bill Stamps.

IRELAND.

Years.	Number of Stamps issued.								
	At 6d.	At 1s. 6d.	At 2s.	At 3s.	At 4s.	At 5s.	At 8s.	At 15s.	At 25s.
1835	211,127	186,530	117, 04	103,612	65,274	43,314	8,876	1,248	169
1836	335,870	236,595	132,713	113,915	69,272	48,510	10,731	1,729	242
1837	293,532	222,435	124,639	107,107	63,114	44,858	9,795	1,375	205
1838	289,807	238,541	122,874	102,584	61,382	42,422	10,280	1,846	266
1839	287,810	237,859	126,380	104,965	62,043	42,944	11,504	1,832	227

Note.—The Act of 9 Geo. IV. c. 33, authorising bankers to compound for the duty on bill stamps, does not extend to Ireland.

In consequence of the repeal of the assessed taxes in Ireland, it is difficult to show the condition of the upper classes in Ireland by any reference to the number of horses, carriages, and servants. The duty on wrought plate, which is an article of luxury, and only used by persons of a superior class, may probably show something of the condition of the higher orders. Taking 1800, 1801, and 1802, as compared with 1815, 1816, and 1817,—the latter being the period when the duty fell to the lowest in Ireland,—there is shown an increase in the duty of 65 per cent. Taking the years 1827, 1828, and 1829, being the period when the duty was the greatest, and comparing it with 1800, 1801, and 1802, there is shown an increase of 97 per cent.: and comparing the last three years with the first period, there appears

the still greater increase of 116 per cent. The following is the account in detail :—

PRODUCE OF THE DUTY ON WROUGHT PLATE.

	Ireland.	Great Britain.
	£	£
Average of the three years, 1800, 1801, and 1802	1,772	47,607
Average of 1815, 1816, and 1817, being the period within which the produce of the duty was smallest in Ireland since the first period	2,926	75,400
Increase	1,154	27,793
Increase per cent.	65	58
Average of 1827, 1828, and 1829, being the period within which the produce of the duty was greatest in Ireland	5,264	86,916
Increase compared with 1800, 1801, and 1802	3,492	39,309
Increase per cent.	197	82
Average of the last three years, 1831, 1832, and 1833	3,825	64,629
Increase compared with 1800, 1801, and 1802	2,053	17,022
Increase per cent.	116	36

This indicates a more rapid increase of wealth among the gentry of Ireland than of England, which I think has been the case.

The following will also show the augmenting wealth of Ireland.

About the year 1825 a power was given by Parliament of transferring stock from one part of the empire to the other. Under this statute persons were allowed the privilege of transferring their stock from England to Ireland, which gave them the advantage of receiving their dividends in Dublin. The result is exhibited in the following account :—

AN ACCOUNT OF STOCK transferred to and from ENGLAND and IRELAND up to 5th January, 1834.

	CAPITAL.	Annual Interest arising thereon, and Long Annuity.
	£	£
Capital created in Ireland by } Stock transferred from England }	23,335,378	810,129
Capital transferred from Ireland } to England }	7,324,429	247,809
	16,010,949	562,320

There have thus been actually 16,000,000*l.* of funded property transferred to Ireland, yielding an annual income of 562,000*l.*

spent in Ireland. The exemption of Ireland from the property or income tax will cause this transfer to be increased.

TRANSFER OF STOCK.

The Amount of Stock transferred from *England to Ireland*, and from *Ireland to England*, from January 1831 up to the latest Period it can be made up; distinguishing the Amount transferred in each year, and the different kinds of Stock.—(In continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 250, of 1830-31, dated 14th March, 1831.) (Years ending 5th January.)

FROM ENGLAND TO IRELAND.				FROM IRELAND TO ENGLAND.			
Years.	Total Stock.			Years.	Total Stock.		
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1832	1,311,650	10	5	1832	515,646	9	8
1833	811,595	9	11	1833	511,176	4	11
1834	607,391	2	2	1834	1,060,942	15	10
1835	561,691	7	0	1835	1,400,951	17	2
1836	1,333,600	11	8	1836	618,277	6	4
1837	1,457,825	2	10	1837	644,840	5	6
1838	742,346	12	9	1838	788,403	9	8
1839	357,628	7	4	1839	514,348	14	0
1840	934,964	16	10	1840	297,540	19	6
1841	603,459	5	9	1841	592,182	9	10
Total	9,032,704	8	5	Total	7,191,985	2	7

From an account of the amount of property passing under probates of wills, and letters of administration in Ireland, it will be seen (in the Appendix), that, taking the years 1819, 1820, and 1821, and comparing them with 1831 and 1832, the amount of property has increased from 2,814,000*l.* to 3,612,000*l.*—The following is the account:—

Years.	Amount of Property.	Average.
	£	£
1819	3,023,654	2,814,816
1820	2,634,864	
1821	2,795,929	
1822	2,679,144	
1823	3,491,426	2,975,440
1824	2,755,750	
1825	2,985,141	
1826	3,477,228	
1827	2,895,372	3,119,247
1828	3,593,257	
1829	4,015,609	
1830	3,268,751	
1831	3,772,897	3,612,612
1832	3,452,327	
	44,833,359	

THE AMOUNT OF CAPITAL ON WHICH LEGACY DUTY HAS BEEN PAID IN IRELAND,
YEAR ENDING 5TH JANUARY.

	Amount of Capital.	Amount of Duty Received.	Duty on Probates.
	£	£	£
1841	2,087,230	26,394	40,581
1842	2,487,262	30,020	38,564
1843	4,488,275	65,375	49,548

The duty received on legacies since 1797 . . . £675,266
Ditto, probates and administrations . £989,637

The total amount of property passing under probates of wills and letters of administration in Ireland was on the annual average for 3 years as follows :—

Three years ending 1821, 2,814,816*l*. Ditto, ending 1824, 2,975,440*l*. Ditto, ending 1827, 3,119,247*l*. Ditto, ending 1830, 3,623,206*l*.

The following shows the Total Amount of PROPERTY passing under PROBATES of WILLS and LETTERS of ADMINISTRATION in IRELAND, in the undermentioned years :—

YEAR.	Amount of Property.	Average.	YEAR.	Amount of Property.	Average.
1819	3,023,654	} 2,818,149	1828	3,593,257	} 3,623,206
1820	2,634,864		1829	4,015,609	
1821	2,795,929		1830	3,260,751	
1822	2,679,144	} 2,975,440	1831	3,772,897	3,612,612
1823	3,491,426		1832	3,452,327	
1824	2,755,750				
1825	2,985,141	} 3,119,247			
1826	3,477,228				
1827	2,895,372				
			Total	44,833,349	

The annexed demonstrates the AMOUNT of CAPITAL on which the several RATES of LEGACY DUTY have been paid in IRELAND, in the years 1834 and 1835; the Amount of each Rate paid in each year, and the Total Amount of each Rate paid in these Two years is separated.

RATE OF DUTY.	1834.		1835.	
	Amount of Capital Paid upon at each Rate.	Amount of Legacy Duty received at each Rate.	Amount of Capital Paid upon at each Rate.	Amount of Legacy Duty Received at each Rate.
At 10s. per cent.	£ 1,243,471	£ 7,035	£ 1,552,892	£ 8,584
" £1 5s. ditto	606,059	8,582	597,406	8,917
" £2 0 ditto	83,912	1,976	68,391	1,470
" £2 10 ditto	81,983	2,247	4,382	147
" £5 0 ditto	163,792	9,413	143,377	8,143
Total .	2,179,217	29,253	2,366,448	27,261

The AMOUNT of CAPITAL, and of each RATE of LEGACY DUTY paid in the Two years 1834 and 1835, as above, was—

RATE OF DUTY.	1834 and 1835.	
	Amount of Capital Paid upon at each Rate.	Amount of Legacy Duty Received at each Rate.
At 10s. per cent. .	£ 2,796,363	£ 15,619
" £1 5s. ditto . .	1,203,465	17,499
" £2 0 ditto . .	152,303	3,446
" £2 10 ditto . .	86,365	2,395
" £5 0 ditto . .	307,169	17,556

The following is for the year ending January 5th, 1840 :

RATE OF DUTY.	Amount of Capital Paid on at each Rate.	Amount of Legacy Duty received at each Rate.
10s. per cent. . . .	£ 1,233,731	£ 7,009
£1 5s. ditto . . .	805,831	11,530
£2 0 ditto . . .	111,510	2,514
£2 10 ditto . . .	9,124	267
£5 0 ditto . . .	100,058	6,121
Total .	2,260,254	27,441

The TOTAL AMOUNT of DUTY on LEGACIES, PROBATES, and ADMINISTRATIONS received in Ireland in the year 1839, ending January 5th, 1840, was—

Amount of Duty on Legacies received . . . 27,443*l*.
Amount of Duty on Probates and Administrations, 42,237*l*.

These statements show the increasing accumulation of property in Ireland.

REVENUE received in the UNITED KINGDOM for STAMP DUTY on Legacies Probates, Administrations, and Testamentary Inventories in each year, from January 5th, 1823, to January 5th, 1836.

Years.	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Great Britain.	Ireland.
1824.	£	£	£	£
Legacies . .	930,881	50,359	981,241	16,296
Probates . .	782,042	38,556	820,599	29,411
1825.				
Legacies . .	988,087	61,370	1,049,458	23,552
Probates . .	805,222	46,718	851,940	31,112
1826.				
Legacies . .	992,100	64,805	1,056,906	30,258
Probates . .	831,137	43,374	874,511	34,552
1827.				
Legacies . .	869,208	54,114	923,323	21,053
Probates . .	762,459	52,578	815,037	38,102
1828.				
Legacies . .	967,377	65,676	1,033,053	35,750
Probates . .	830,800	37,989	868,789	32,166
1829.				
Legacies . .	1,105,250	65,043	1,170,294	27,557
Probates . .	833,744	43,850	877,594	41,659
1830.				
Legacies . .	1,119,936	58,773	1,178,709	29,325
Probates . .	835,273	42,709	877,982	46,400
1831.				
Legacies . .	1,153,305	69,954	1,223,260	24,628
Probates . .	857,909	46,029	903,938	37,125
1832.				
Legacies . .	1,075,264	69,194	1,144,459	19,353
Probates . .	833,592	43,340	876,939	41,728
1833.				
Legacies . .	1,123,800	81,252	1,205,053	25,974
Probates . .	803,911	41,268	845,179	39,508
1834.				
Legacies . .	1,093,343	56,674	1,150,017	25,463
Probates . .	839,041	46,422	885,463	38,543
1835.				
Legacies . .	1,140,229	69,509	1,209,739	29,273
Probates . .	864,393	67,455	931,848	44,324
1836.				
Legacies . .	1,106,364	72,518	1,178,883	27,284
Probates . .	848,066	51,544	899,611	40,996

The internal postage of Ireland is an excellent criterion of the condition of the internal trade of the country. The following is an official statement of the amount received for postage of letters at the various post-offices in each county of Ireland, in each of the years 1830 and 1836 (excepting Dublin):—

Counties.	1830.	1836.	Counties.	1830.	1836.
	£	£		£	£
Antrim . . .	13,360	16,587	Broughtforward	182,946	181,917
Armagh . . .	2,789	3,952	Longford . . .	2,262	2,428
Carlow . . .	2,290	2,600	Louth	4,707	5,345
Cavan	3,219	3,918	Mayo	3,901	4,448
Clare	2,244	2,787	Meath	2,483	2,756
Cork	20,154	25,415	Monaghan . . .	2,168	2,722
Donegal	2,977	3,856	Queen's County.	2,874	3,108
Down	8,052	8,824	Rosecommon . .	2,376	2,952
Fermanagh . . .	1,524	2,461	Sligo	2,789	3,585
Galway	7,117	8,650	Tipperary . . .	9,037	10,845
Kerry	2,963	3,388	Tyrone	4,637	5,872
Kildare	3,281	3,926	Waterford . . .	6,534	7,325
Kilkenny	3,851	4,688	Westmeath . . .	4,184	5,080
King's County .	3,209	3,921	Wexford	5,145	5,847
Leitrim	1,447	2,024	Wicklow	2,713	3,072
Limerick	7,542	9,185			
Londonderry . .	5,836	7,216	Total	147,681	178,801

In the above we observe, that *every* county (the metropolitan is excluded, because that is no test of internal communication) presents an increase; while, at the very same periods, the Post Office Revenue in England was declining, or stationary, in each county.

In the following Table we see a progressive increase, trebling in amount since the commencement of the present century, while for many years the Post Office Revenue of Great Britain was almost stationary:—

GROSS RECEIPTS OF THE POST OFFICE REVENUE, IRELAND, from 1800 to 1838, inclusive.*

First Period.	Second Period.	Third Period.
1800 . . . £84,040	1813 . . . £195,453	1826 . . . £207,177
1801 . . . 65,030	1814 . . . 203,226	1827 . . . 207,757
1802 . . . 102,293	1815 . . . 212,562	1828 . . . 216,232
1803 . . . 102,518	1816 . . . 225,000	1829 . . . 239,559
1804 . . . 108,844	1817 . . . 212,269	1830 . . . 241,063
1805 . . . 118,429	1818 . . . 203,456	1831 . . . 247,711
1806 . . . 146,682	1819 . . . 197,510	1832 . . . 256,976
1807 . . . 149,357	1820 . . . 197,677	1833 . . . 242,671
1808 . . . 158,749	1821 . . . 192,511	1834 . . . 232,071
1809 . . . 180,510	1822 . . . 187,120	1835 . . . 240,471
1810 . . . 180,670	1823 . . . 186,024	1836 . . . 245,664
1811 . . . 195,531	1824 . . . 188,826	1837 . . . 255,070
1812 . . . 189,963	1825 . . . 199,602	1838 . . . 250,000†
Total £1,783,116	Total £2,601,236	Total £3,382,422

* The gross produce of the Twopenny Post, Dublin, for the year ending 5th January, 1838, was 125,721*l*.

MONEY ORDERS ISSUED, AND COST OF THE OFFICES.

RETURN of the Number and amount of MONEY ORDERS Issued and Paid in Ireland during each Quarter, from the Quarter ending 5th April 1837, to that ending 5th January 1842.

		TOTAL.	
		Number.	Amount.
			£
1839	5 April	14,716	22,520
	5 July	18,872	29,297
	5 October	19,473	30,268
	5 January	19,133	29,779
1840	5 April	24,061	32,861
	5 July	34,136	45,103
	5 October	38,998	51,082
	5 January	45,700	69,087
1841	5 April	58,495	95,150
	5 July	69,784	111,042
	5 October	75,157	120,370
1842	5 January	80,385	134,733

The public conveyances on five parts of Ireland since 1800 show the increased commerce of the people.

Years.		Dublin.	Belfast.	Cork.	Limerick.	Derry.	Total.
1800	Mail Coaches .	4	1	1	1	0	7
	Stage Coaches .	8	0	0	0	0	8
	Caravans . .	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Passengers . .	151	5	5	5	0	166
1820	Mail Coaches .	11	4	4	2	1	22
	Stage Coaches .	20	4	3	3	0	30
	Caravans . .	12	4	0	1	0	17
	Passengers . .	389	12	83	58	5	661
1829	Mail Coaches .	13	4	6	4	3	30
	Stage Coaches .	22	6	4	3	0	35
	Caravans . .	12	4	0	1	0	17
	Passengers . .	612	179	118	94	24	1027
1840	Mail Coaches .						
	Stage Coaches .						
	Caravans . .		No	Returns.			
	Passengers . .						

The increase is very remarkable.

NEWSPAPERS.—At the period of the Union there were but *seven* Dublin and eighteen country newspapers, with a very limited circulation. Now there are *twenty-seven* Dublin newspapers, with a circulation of three millions and a half; and in the country districts *sixty* newspapers, with an annual circulation averaging

two millions and a half. (See Statistical Chart for number in each county.) Dublin, after London, is the only city in the United Kingdom that publishes a daily paper. The Irish journals are as well conducted as those of any other part of the British Empire, and, considering the strong party feeling that generally exists in the sister island, there is a very commendable absence of personality and rival vituperation. The number of advertisements in the five years, from 1829 to 1833, was 611,223. In the subsequent five years ending 1839, the number had increased to 854,520, being an increase of 243,297.

Number of NEWSPAPERS in IRELAND.

Years.	Dublin.	Country.	Total.	Circulation.
1800	7	18	25	
1830	17	49	66	4,035,314
1831	19	53	72	4,261,430
1833	22	56	78	4,332,572
1839			90	5,782,857
1840				6,057,795

NEWSPAPER STAMPS.—Return to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 17th of June, 1842, for a Return, moved by Mr. Brotherton, of the Aggregate Number of STAMPS issued for NEWSPAPERS in IRELAND in each year, from the 1st of January, 1827, till 1st of January, 1842.—(*In continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 530, Sess. 1827.*)

Years	Ireland.	Years.	Ireland.	Years.	Ireland.
1827	3,545,846	1832	4,458,990	1837	5,262,211
1828	3,790,272	1833	4,332,572	1838	5,312,232
1829	3,953,550	1834	4,084,442	1839	5,782,857
1830	4,035,314	1835	4,290,836	1840	6,057,795
1831	4,261,430	1836	4,286,438	1841	5,990,033
Total	19,586,412	Total	2,353,278	Total	28,405,128

Accountant and Comptroller,
General's Office, Stamps and Taxes, } THOMAS. LIGHTFOOT, A G.
30th June, 1842.

The number issued was, in 1840 6,057,795
 “ “ 1827 3,545,846

Showing an increase, since 1827, in one year, of . . . 2,511,949

While political intelligence is spreading, it is very satisfactory to observe that the drinking of ardent spirits is diminishing.

The number of gallons of spirits taken out for consumption in Ireland was, for years ending 5th January—

In 1841	Gallons 7,401,051
1842	6,485,443
1843	5,290,650

The number of bankruptcies in Ireland is also a test of the condition of the people; they have increased of late years in England, but not in Ireland.

Number of COMMISSIONS of BANKRUPT which have been issued in each year, in *Ireland*, from 1st January, 1823; and of the Number of CERTIFICATES which have been granted upon such Commissions; and of the Number of COMMISSIONS which have been SUPERSEDED, during each year of the same periods.

From 1 January 1823 to 1 January	COMMISSIONS.	CERTIFICATES.	SUPERSEDEAS'S.
1824 . . .	52	27	12
1825 . . .	62	21	10
1826 . . .	90	23	10
1827 . . .	87	29	17
1828 . . .	73	25	11
1829 . . .	60	31	9
1830 . . .	78	32	12
1831 . . .	64	31	13
1832 . . .	69	18	6
1833 . . .	56	22	7
	691	259	107
	The actual Number of Commissions issued in those years.	The actual Number of Certificates granted in those years; of which number, 37 were Certi- ficates granted on Com- missions which issued prior to the 1st January 1823.	The actual Number of Supersedeas's issued in those years.

P. PLUNKET, *Secretary of Bankrupts.*

The Stamp-Duty on Fire Insurance in Ireland, in 1837, was 40,471*l.* In 1842, the amount was 46,769*l.* The value of Farming Stock insured in Ireland, in 1836, was 179,819*l.*; in 1841 it was increased to 446,847*l.*

The following Tabular Return of the County Cess of Ireland, from 1824
The annual augmenting of the County

SUMMARY of the AMOUNT of COUNTY CESS levied in each County, County of a
[House of Commons,

COUNTIES, &c.	1825.	1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Antrim, County . . .	32,094	34,491	37,630	43,011	41,609	42,628	44,238
Armagh, ditto . . .	21,538	23,351	23,072	24,761	25,211	23,849	23,234
Carlow, ditto . . .	8,741	9,300	10,916	9,654	9,898	9,253	11,360
Carrickfergus, County Town	548	583	745	663	794	760	850
Cavan, County . . .	23,059	18,014	22,819	22,275	23,470	22,687	24,992
Clare, ditto . . .	30,579	22,149	28,236	34,402	32,233	33,275	27,602
Cork, ditto . . .	82,116	83,585	89,715	69,829	72,968	63,112	67,835
Cork, City . . .	27,319	28,156	26,253	26,699	27,058	27,648	27,752
Donegal, County . . .	30,941	19,850	24,025	29,597	27,419	29,152	24,607
Down, ditto . . .	31,679	28,961	31,054	32,083	31,661	35,984	38,958
Dublin, ditto . . .	20,831	19,646	20,056	17,907	19,027	20,258	20,366
Dublin, City . . .	29,004	28,701	25,426	26,211	27,303	28,306	29,663
Drogheda, County Town . .	1,116	1,327	1,147	1,044	994	1,135	935
Fermanagh, County . . .	16,295	17,137	17,007	20,576	18,832	15,134	18,447
Galway, ditto . . .	28,821	28,065	22,880	27,132	27,871	27,452	33,430
Galway, County Town . . .	3,783	2,825	3,441	3,744	3,340	4,058	3,842
Kerry, County . . .	23,627	18,899	24,502	25,030	26,738	28,444	32,673
Kildare, ditto . . .	17,898	18,237	18,768	18,722	18,427	20,453	17,206
Kilkenny, ditto . . .	18,422	17,976	19,816	17,807	18,720	18,264	19,379
Kilkenny, City . . .	2,029	2,183	2,193	2,064	1,826	2,273	2,232
King's County . . .	14,524	14,760	14,552	14,176	14,500	14,402	15,092
Leitrim, County . . .	17,072	15,451	13,138	13,821	12,851	13,011	14,907
Limerick, ditto . . .	31,574	28,061	32,512	32,776	31,432	30,909	30,120
Limerick, City . . .	6,360	5,333	5,600	6,385	6,523	6,555	5,921
Londonderry, City & County	26,487	22,622	26,173	26,435	27,105	27,696	24,102
Longford, County . . .	10,285	10,787	10,702	13,109	8,980	12,682	10,723
Louth, ditto . . .	11,719	14,490	11,742	11,418	10,731	10,796	10,236
Mayo, ditto . . .	27,552	23,690	25,311	24,519	27,916	25,623	16,852
Meath, ditto . . .	28,777	25,119	28,346	27,524	24,737	26,336	25,899
Monaghan, ditto . . .	19,860	19,345	17,307	20,919	21,562	18,733	19,577
Queen's, ditto . . .	16,002	14,487	16,555	18,378	17,898	21,290	17,472
Roscommon, ditto . . .	20,092	19,859	21,431	21,332	27,671	20,952	24,441
Sligo, ditto . . .	22,105	19,253	20,485	21,508	22,735	17,290	20,668
Tipperary, ditto . . .	48,836	46,143	49,404	48,885	50,440	51,847	52,197
Tyrone, ditto . . .	34,344	29,772	34,857	42,915	44,250	44,170	41,616
Waterford, ditto . . .	18,459	17,436	20,143	21,483	19,755	16,765	17,195
Waterford, City . . .	3,895	4,815	6,094	5,151	4,327	3,864	4,263
Westmeath, County . . .	15,595	15,175	16,387	16,823	16,843	16,061	15,305
Wexford, ditto . . .	28,603	27,898	25,658	27,687	31,421	28,303	33,728
Wicklow, ditto . . .	21,808	19,777	18,715	17,182	18,320	19,596	17,704
TOTALS . . .	874,411	817,729	864,836	885,655	895,415	881,025	887,638

to 1838, shows an increase, between the first and last year, of 242,407. Cess shows no impoverishment.

City, and County of a Town in Ireland, in each Year since the Year 1824.
24th June, 1839.]

1832.	1833.	1834.	1835.	1836.	1837.	1838.	Total.	No. of Return.
£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	
42,776	46,341	45,612	41,002	48,651	50,722	53,256	604,066	1.
23,803	23,933	23,763	26,415	27,954	24,499	28,820	344,209	2.
12,816	14,022	14,779	15,163	13,450	14,421	16,739	170,519	3.
903	928	732	839	902	900	1,051	11,205	4.
23,755	23,986	23,543	22,593	21,251	24,734	26,585	323,770	5.
51,535	42,042	49,024	44,290	41,594	48,565	49,262	534,794	6.
69,375	80,620	77,049	62,798	70,666	68,265	78,951	1,036,892	7.
29,001	28,585	26,379	29,067	28,901	31,758	25,594	390,177	8.
27,261	25,314	24,723	27,609	32,508	30,462	34,623	388,097	9.
39,053	39,344	39,313	43,103	40,600	40,731	48,486	521,017	10.
20,613	22,336	23,523	23,181	23,672	22,883	24,220	298,527	11.
32,151	32,967	34,982	33,565	38,295	38,919	40,618	446,118	12.
1,641	2,011	1,411	1,488	1,258	1,385	665	17,562	13.
16,300	16,559	17,795	16,346	21,715	21,711	25,345	259,205	14.
39,972	38,218	41,988	43,938	44,713	43,074	44,528	492,090	15.
3,951	4,902	4,944	5,637	3,905	4,294	4,957	57,629	16.
31,780	33,077	29,902	30,979	29,170	25,108	28,697	388,632	17.
20,927	19,681	20,181	19,864	20,750	20,903	23,399	275,423	18.
21,795	29,582	30,532	29,793	31,324	24,223	31,001	328,639	19.
2,331	2,980	3,326	3,556	2,817	2,781	3,173	35,770	20.
15,661	18,127	20,710	21,058	23,058	17,846	21,490	239,961	21.
14,900	13,862	15,256	15,638	15,412	14,484	18,791	208,600	22.
30,438	31,934	32,926	32,088	33,398	36,258	35,941	450,374	23.
5,580	5,775	6,317	6,311	6,622	3,807	10,154	87,250	24.
23,601	25,328	24,326	23,996	24,587	26,798	28,087	357,351	25.
10,231	11,154	12,278	11,270	14,891	12,943	17,679	167,723	26.
9,907	12,966	13,577	10,925	13,409	11,693	15,041	168,654	27.
23,991	28,048	31,022	27,051	29,941	34,928	31,289	377,739	28.
28,448	31,591	27,505	25,990	25,914	22,135	29,853	378,180	29.
18,963	19,313	19,172	16,854	19,860	19,290	21,598	272,361	30.
19,864	22,683	22,950	21,575	23,258	19,566	23,128	275,114	31.
30,045	27,490	25,773	27,356	26,647	25,622	31,679	350,397	32.
17,273	18,554	21,533	22,531	22,282	15,000	20,749	281,973	33.
54,739	55,975	57,836	56,795	65,531	58,018	60,015	756,670	34.
36,973	33,621	38,486	39,279	54,852	44,241	50,388	569,772	35.
20,159	18,850	20,953	23,866	24,426	21,422	23,293	284,211	36.
4,212	4,025	5,334	4,928	5,534	6,268	7,311	70,028	37.
15,127	17,134	17,625	18,272	17,516	16,224	19,166	233,261	38.
26,410	31,797	32,696	29,030	30,723	29,260	37,547	420,768	39.
18,518	20,136	20,040	21,702	21,141	19,595	23,627	277,867	40.
936,796	975,811	999,835	977,763	1,043,120	995,757	1,116,818	13,152,615	41.

The mode in which the Grand Jury Presentments, or County Cess, for the whole of Ireland in the year 1838 were expended, is thus shown :—

New roads, bridges, pipes, gulleys, quay-walls, or cutting down hills, and filling up hollows and ditches, 112,973*l.* ; repairs of roads, bridges, pipes, gulleys, walls, &c., 314,119*l.* ; court or session-houses, erection or repair, 11,714*l.* ; gaols, bridewells, houses of correction, building or repairing, 6,721*l.* ; all other prison and bridewell expenses, including salaries, 98,818*l.* ; police and police establishments, and payments to witnesses, 165,763*l.* ; salaries of all county officers not included above, 110,513*l.* ; public charities, 117,650*l.* ; Repayment of advances to government, 129,081*l.* ; Miscellaneous, not included above, 71,609*l.*—1,138,965*l.* Deduct re-presentments, &c., 7,919*l.* Total for the whole of Ireland, 1,131,046*l.*

The County Cess, or Grand Jury Presentments, levied for local purposes, were, for all Ireland, in 1842, 1,183,485*l.* Of this the sum of

133,338*l.* was for *new* roads, bridges, &c. ; 347,269*l.* was for repairs of roads and bridges ; 108,004*l.* was for gaols, bridewells, houses of correction, and session-houses, erection or repair ; 179,513*l.* for police, police establishments, and payments of witnesses ; 96,475*l.*, for salaries of county officers ; 104,640*l.* for public charities ; 131,528*l.* for repayment of advances to Government ; and 90,912*l.* miscellaneous—Total, 1,183,485*l.*

In 1800, the Excise Revenue of Ireland was 475,732*l.* The following is an Account of the Amount of Duties of Excise collected in each Revenue District in Ireland, in each Year since 1828 :—

COLLECTIONS.	YEARS.														
	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.	1834.	1835.	1836.	1837.	1838.	1839.	1840.	1841.	1842.
Armagh. . .	£ 84,076	£ 76,156	£ 78,777	£ 66,515	£ 69,739	£ 72,137	£ 76,506	£	£	£ 59,846	£ 69,095	£ 60,791	£	No Return.	
Athlone . .	38,047	36,996	35,387	33,583	40,825	36,205	36,681			35,274	35,086	30,609		No Return.	
Clonmel . .	75,924	64,672	68,201	89,534	82,718	81,865	76,514			77,970	85,934	80,220		No Return.	
Coleraine . .	51,216	40,269	36,331	33,817	41,963	42,973	44,577			42,440	46,398	42,417		No Return.	
Cork. . .	306,723	265,477	253,849	289,725	311,462	267,733	251,875			213,376	252,015	188,307		No Return.	
Drogheda . .	68,529	65,722	85,753	87,650	95,903	86,501	79,471			85,875	84,369	76,031		No Return.	
Dublin . .	458,779	462,698	452,933	528,939	524,558	445,442	415,490			345,059	353,540	354,866		No Return.	
Dundalk . .	122,501	108,118	110,258	119,340	99,085	90,901	105,417			104,286	112,297	102,932		No Return.	
Foxford . .	25,673	20,976	16,763	18,182	15,348	16,296	17,224			17,905	23,515	26,788		No Return.	
Galway . .	65,840	71,189	70,059	65,325	58,050	50,795	47,283			51,684	52,631	42,890		No Return.	
Kilkenny . .	57,938	49,310	52,466	55,459	54,982	50,267	69,137			76,144	75,772	72,266		No Return.	
Limerick . .	93,197	77,615	88,353	107,598	94,153	85,159	86,050			70,368	83,394	71,508		No Return.	
Lisburne . .	242,063	209,526	187,043	226,390	179,487	151,267	165,373			170,438	181,891	181,777		No Return.	
Londonderry	74,945	73,797	70,542	80,696	72,142	58,504	64,458			74,274	76,758	73,956		No Return.	
Mallow . .	80,954	74,540	71,008	98,148	88,566	78,107	93,055			91,042	96,744	87,867		No Return.	
Maryborough	66,129	58,576	66,284	71,822	72,821	76,895	81,923			68,675	75,218	70,747		No Return.	
Naas . . .	53,442	44,326	51,034	52,968	57,249	56,405	57,208			47,053	48,884	51,544		No Return.	
Sligo . . .	39,483	37,823	40,068	39,740	31,654	24,040	31,171			44,920	47,212	44,644		No Return.	
Tralee . . .	12,397	9,268	8,131	7,129	10,509	10,089	11,433			10,349	12,652	11,413		No Return.	
Waterford . .	68,778	66,324	66,003	70,817	75,752	69,624	68,349			73,101	77,313	66,255		No Return.	
Wexford . .	74,326	66,391	77,081	78,809	75,926	72,066	81,852			66,465	83,868	78,191		No Return.	
Totals . .	2,160,971	1,979,780	1,986,335	2,222,196	2,152,902	1,923,260	1,961,057			1,826,554	1,974,593	1,816,030		No Return.	

This remarkable increase in the Excise indicates more than unequivocally the improved condition of the people. Recently the Tea duties have been removed from the Excise to the *Customs*, which makes more than £500,000 difference against the Excise.

PUBLIC WORKS.—The conduct of the Imperial Legislature with reference to money for public works, is very striking :—

AUGMENTATION of GRANTS by the *Irish* Parliament for 6 years previous to the Union (1800) } £79,314
 AUGMENTATION of GRANTS by Imperial Parliament for 4 years previous to 1817 } £396,834
 GRANTS by the Imperial Parliament for Ireland :—

	From Jan. 1801, to Jan. 1817.	From Jan. 1817, to Jan. 1833.	Total.
To Charitable and Literary Institutions	£1,995,128	£2,230,622	= £4,225,750
Encouragement of Manufactures and Agriculture	868,174	472,247	= 1,340,421
Public Works and Employment of Poor	1,535,336	1,536,824	= 3,072,160
Total	£4,398,638	£4,239,693	= £8,638,331

MONEY granted by the Imperial Parliament for the IMPROVEMENT of HARBOURS in or connected with Ireland, was, for—

Howth 345,194*L.*, Kingstown 304,335*L.*, Donaghadee 132,672*L.*, Port Patrick 125,379*L.*, Dunmore 79,175*L.*, Hobbs Point 23,422*L.*—Total, £1,010,177.

By the Act 1st and 2nd W. IV. c. 33, an advance of 500,000*L.* was made in support of public works in Ireland.

Upwards of one million sterling has been advanced by the Legislature to carry the Irish Poor-Law Act into operation.

Various other items might be added to show the liberality of the Imperial Legislature towards Ireland.

MONEY voted by the British House of Commons and Acts of the Imperial Parliament, for PUBLIC WORKS in Ireland, under the direction of the Irish Board of Works*.

INLAND NAVIGATION.

1804	{ Inland Navigation . . . £4,000	1812	{ Inland Navigation . . . £10,309
	{ Ditto ditto 11,000		{ Lagan ditto 2,900
	{ Ditto ditto 52,323	1813	{ Inland Navigation . . . 13,402
	{ Lagan ditto 1,997		{ Lagan ditto 1,900
1805	{ Inland Navigation . . . 42,461	1814	{ Inland Navigation . . . 10,309
	{ Lagan ditto 997		{ Royal Canal 882
1806	{ Inland Navigation . . . 43,418	1815	{ Inland Navigation . . . 68,213
	{ Lagan ditto 74,702		{ Lagan ditto 2,946
	{ Lagan ditto 5,054	1816	{ Inland Navigation . . . 65,309
1808	{ Inland Navigation . . . 35,098		{ Lagan ditto 800
	{ Lagan Ditto 1,413	1817	{ Inland Navigation . . . 20,154
1809	{ Inland Navigation . . . 20,488		{ Lagan ditto 1,300
	{ Lagan ditto 2,600		{ Inland Navigation . . . 4,000
1810	{ Inland Navigation . . . 56,209	1818	{ Additional Allowance to
	{ Lagan ditto 150		{ Chairman 276
1811	{ Inland Navigation . . . 35,169		{ Grand Canal 150,000
	{ Lagan ditto 2,750		{ Royal Canal 200,000

* Mr. G. Lewis Smyth has given many details on this subject in a recent pamphlet respecting railroads in Ireland, and to prove that all the grants of the Imperial Parliament have been extravagantly squandered, and used in "Irish Jobs."

1819	{ Inland Navigation . . . £5,475	1824	Inland Navigation . . . £6,100
	{ Additional Allowance to Chairman 276	1825	Ditto 4,500
	{ Lough Allen Canal . . . 5,000	1826	Ditto 4,681
1820	{ Inland Navigation . . . 4,480		{ Ditto 5,299
	{ Additional Allowance to Chairman 276	1827	{ Ulster Canal 120,000
			{ Wellesley Bridge, Limerick 50,000
1821	{ Inland Navigation . . . 3,450	1828	Ditto 4,748
	{ Additional Allowance to Chairman 276	1829	Ditto 5,852
	{ Lough Allen Canal . . . 4,000	1830	Ditto 5,547
1822	{ Inland Navigation . . . 4,000	1831	Ditto 5,300
	{ Additional Allowance to Chairman 276	1832	Ditto 2,650
1823	{ Survey of the Shannon. . 2,023		
	{ Inland Navigation . . . 3,500		Total . . . £1,190,528
	{ Additional Allowance to Chairman 276		

The following is a list of other votes for Public Works in Ireland, from 1809 to 1836.

1809	{ Improving Howth Harbour £6,000	1818	{ Dunmore Harbour . . . £12,923
1810	Ditto ditto . . . 3,814		{ Howth ditto 10,135
1811	Improving Post Roads. 26,001	1819	{ Dunmore ditto 8,000
	{ Ditto ditto 59,673		{ Howth ditto 5,000
1812	{ Improving Howth Harbour 10,000	1820	{ Dunmore Harbour . . . 12,000
	{ Bog Commission . . . 3,000		{ Howth ditto 6,700
	{ Pier at Ardglass . . . 5,000	1821	{ Dunmore ditto 12,900
1813	Improving Post Roads. 76,961		{ Howth ditto 6,440
1814	{ Ditto Ditto 57,796	1822	{ Ditto ditto 3,978
	{ Pier at Ardglass . . . 5,883		{ Dunmore ditto 10,000
1815	{ Improving Post Roads. 6,3653		{ For Employment of the Poor 100,000
	{ Bridge at Londonderry 15,000	1823	{ Howth Harbour 4,348
1816	Improving Post Roads. 55,878		{ Dunmore ditto 8,000
	{ Ditto ditto 39,289		{ Kingstown ditto . . . 30,000
1817	{ Ardglass Harbour . . . 103	1824	Howth ditto 4,000
	{ Dunleary ditto 30,000	1826	Public Works 45,500
1828	Ditto 20,000	1827	Ditto 36,000
1829	Ditto 14,000	1835	{ Dunmore Harbour . . . 5,473
1830	Ditto 22,800		{ Galway Roads 13,000
1831	Ditto 11,000	1836	Dunmore Harbour . . . 527
1833	Dunmore Harbour . . . 7,500		Public Works under 6 Geo. IV. c. 25, and 7 and 8 Geo. IV. c. 47. 200,000
1834	{ Ditto 4,000		
	{ Galway Roads 5,000		Total . . . £1,077,299

But this is not all. Mr. Smyth says, that the “existing Board of Works” was appointed in 1831, when the salaries of the Commissioners, formerly only 500*l.* a-year, were raised,—that of the Chairman to 1,000*l.**, and of the others to 600*l.* a-year each. Very extensive duties, and full power as to the direction of the

* Sir J. Burgoyne's salary was further raised last year to 1,200*l.*

various public works, administered or assisted by the former Boards, and the control of every new enterprise, to which assistance might be applied, were given to the new body, who, to promote public works in Ireland, have been voted from the treasury:—

1 and 2 William IV. c. 33, 500,000*l.* ; Grant Fund, 50,000*l.* ; 1 and 2 William IV. c. 103, 100,000*l.* ; Repayments re-issuable, 120,000*l.* ; 1 Victoria, c. 21, Grant Fund, 50,000*l.* ; 1 and 2 Victoria, c. 88, 50,000*l.* ; * Expenses of Board, 1831, 1,110*l.* ; 1832, 3,564*l.* ; 1833, 4,434*l.* ; 1834, 3,276*l.* ; 1835, 8,565*l.* ; 1836, 3,140*l.* ; 1837, 3,591*l.* ; 1838, 3,206*l.* ; Shannon and Railway Commission, 50,000*l.* + 5,000*l.* + 12,700*l.*, 67,700*l.*—Total, 968,576*l.*

From 1831 to the present time the following sums of money have been awarded to Limerick by the Board of Works, which awards, it is said, owe their origin to Mr. Spring Rice. The sums will be found numbered, as here, in the Parliamentary Report for last year:—

No. 41. Road from Woodford to new line to Limerick, 959*l.* 46. Road from Glenquin to Goulburn Bridge, County Limerick, 600*l.* 5. Limerick Navigation Company to improve Works, 8,910*l.* 6. Road leading to Ennis, 205*l.* 7. Ditto to Waterford, 560*l.* 15. Completing Wellesley Bridge and Docks, † 25,000*l.* 34. Road leading to Waterford, 296*l.* 35. Road leading to Ennis, 117*l.* 36. Road leading from Abbeyfeal to Glinn, 1,181*l.* 61. Rebuilding Thomond Bridge, 9,000*l.* 68. Barrington's Hospital, 2,500*l.* 70. Limerick Navigation Company to improve Quays, &c., 6,500*l.* 75. Road from Mitchelstown to Kilfinnane, 1,150*l.* 80. Limerick Bridge, 40,000*l.* 93. Road from Buttevant to Kilfinnane, 400*l.*—Total, 97,379*l.*

The following RETURN shows the Gross Amount of PUBLIC MONEY advanced under each separate Head of Account for PUBLIC WORKS in IRELAND. A lengthened detailed statement was laid before Parliament, 17th August, 1839, showing the specific application of each sum of money granted:—

Arts and Agriculture : The Cork-street Society, Dublin, 923*l.* ; the Royal Dublin Society, 285,438*l.* ; the Farming Society, Dublin, 87,132*l.* ; the Linen Board, Dublin, 537,656*l.* Bogs and Waste Lands, 32,633*l.* Buildings : Bridges, 91,810*l.* ; Chapels, 2,113*l.* ; Churches, 749,541*l.* ; Docks, 923*l.* ; Gaols and other Prisons, 486,995*l.* ; Infirmarys, Hospitals, &c., 435,167*l.* ; Law Courts and Sessions-houses, 80,444*l.* Light-houses, 104,028*l.* ; Record Offices, 6,975*l.* ; Round Towers, &c., of defence, 85,765*l.* ; School-houses, 33,648*l.* ; Workhouses, 800*l.* Fisheries, 7,914*l.* Harbours and Ports, 1,285,660*l.* Inland Navigation, 1,159,849*l.* Mines, 32,859*l.* Poor (relief of), 693,399*l.* Post Roads, 883,363*l.* Public Works of a Miscellaneous Character, 1,743,136*l.*—Total of Advances from 1800 to 1st June, 1839, 8,828,141*l.*

W. H. HARDINGE.

*Record Office, Custom House Buildings,
Dublin, 8th June, 1839.*

* These sums are from the votes for the respective years ; but the actual expenses have proved, in general, 1,000*l.* a-year more.

† Besides 55,384*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* previously advanced for the same purpose.

Annexed is an abstract of the Eleventh (the most recent) Annual Report from the Board of Public Works in Ireland.

The Report will indicate to some extent the care bestowed on even the most trifling department of the internal economy of Ireland. This Report is exclusive of the extensive and expensive works going on at the river Shannon.

"1. LOANS AND GRANTS FOR PUBLIC WORKS.—The state of all the Loans and Grants made by us will be found in the Appendix.

"LOANS.—The sums which have been made applicable to loans are—

"1st. Originally appropriated by the Act 1 and 2 Will. IV. c. 33, 500,000*l*; 2nd. Moneys received of Principal of Loans, the amount of which is re-issuable under the 60th section of the 1 and 2 Will. IV. c. 33, 305,717*l*; 3rd. Additional sum appropriated by the Act of 6 and 7 Will. IV. c. 108, but not considered by the Lords of the Treasury to be re-issuable, 100,000*l*; 4th. A portion of the sum of 50,000*l*. applicable to Public Works in Ireland, under the 14th section of the 1 and 2 Vict. c. 88, 46,000*l*.—Gross Fund, 951,717*l*.

"From the Gross Fund of 951,717*l*. deduct net amount of Loans sanctioned, acted on, or in operation, up to 31st of December, 1842—924,937*l*., which leaves available at this date an amount of 26,780*l*.

"The whole amount of Exchequer-bills issued on account of these loans to the 5th January, 1843, was, 831,850*l*.; of these an amount has been paid off of—623,450*l*. leaving outstanding, 208,400*l*.

"The whole sum transferred to the credit of Her Majesty's Exchequer on this account, *exclusive* of 100,000*l*., to be accounted for to the Paymaster of Civil Services in repayment of loans to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 459,212*l*.

"GRANTS.—The sums applicable to Grants are—

"1st. The Fund originally appropriated by the Act 1 and 2 Will. IV. c. 33, 50,000*l*.; 2nd. A further sum provided by the Act 1 Vict. c. 21, 50,000*l*.; 3rd. A portion of the sum of 50,000*l*. provided by the Act 1 and 2 Vict. c. 88, 4,000*l*.—Total, 104,400*l*.

"From the accompanying account will be seen the amount of grants sanctioned up to the 31st of December, 1842, and the state of progress in the several works for which they were made.

"In former Reports, we have enlarged upon the benefits which have resulted from the application of these funds to the construction of new lines of roads, particularly through wild and uncultivated districts, and opening communications between the sea and the interior of the country, in the last season, a period of great distress, owing to the previous failure of the potato crops in parts of the west and south-west of Ireland. By a happy coincidence, we had the power of accelerating the commencement of three works in Connemara, and two in the county of Kerry, under our immediate direction, just at the time, and in the districts, where the population was suffering under the greatest privations; by the arrangement made, the employment was divided and diffused, so as to give to every family a portion of its advantage, and the persons engaged received wages every week, and thus relief was afforded to several thousands. In referring to this circumstance it is not with the intention of advocating the necessity of setting forward public works on principle, solely with a view of giving employment in a case of such emergency, but when well-

designed projects, calculated in their results to effect extensive and permanent improvement, can be made auxiliary to such a desirable object, the consequences must be highly satisfactory, and put an additional value on the operations of a Grant Fund.

"The Ulster Canal, extending from the river Erne, near Belturbet, in the county of Cavan, to the navigable water of the river Blackwater, in the county of Tyrone, and connecting Lough Erne and Lough Neagh, has been completed with the aid of a loan from this board, and opened for the passage of boats during the last season. Two steamers have been established on Lough Neagh for the purpose of towing boats between the Ulster canal and the Lagan and Newry navigations, leading to the seaports of Belfast and Newry. A steam-vessel has also been lately placed on Lough Erne; thus, a speedy and regular communication has commenced and will be maintained throughout the line, and it is expected that a large increase of traffic will result, as well as the opening of new sources of trade in the districts embraced by the Ulster canal and the extensive lakes with which it is connected.

"II. COLLECTIONS OF REPAYMENTS OF OLD LOANS FROM THE CONSOLIDATED FUND, UNDER THE 57TH GEO. III. AND OTHER ACTS.—The repayments on this account have been comparatively small, the balances on Loans to Grand Juries are in gradual course of extinction, except some few instances, where a difference in account has arisen; in the cases of loans to public bodies on the security of the tolls to be derived from the undertakings a heavy accumulation of debt has accrued, and which, in most instances, will probably never be cleared off. The loans in this state of embarrassment are of very old standing, and must have been made under a principle, not admitted of late years, having reference far more to the effecting public improvements than regard to the prospect of repayment.

"In the instance of the loans to the trustees of the Navan Turnpike-road, we have, by a summary process, allowed by the Act of 4 Vict., c. 6, s. 5, entered into possession. The tolls are received, and the works for the maintenance of the road are carried on under the immediate direction of this Board, and the surplus of the income will be applied towards the liquidation of the debt.

"By this arrangement, while the road is maintained in good order, the funds appropriated to repayment of the loan have been greatly increased.

"III. INLAND NAVIGATION.—These works, three in number, are but of a small extent; the produce of their tolls is not considerable in amount, but their maintenance is not attended with heavy expense.

"IV. ROADS AND BRIDGES.—A considerable extent of public works is maintained in the west and south of Ireland, under the provisions of the Act, 6 Geo. IV., c. 101, such works having been constructed wholly or in part at the public expense; the last of such maintenance being repaid by grand jury presentments.

"Upon the same principle, the roads which have been formed by the aid of grants under the Public Works Act, 1 and 2 Will. IV., c. 33, &c., are maintained by this Board out of funds advanced from the Exchequer and repaid by grand jury presentments.

"The principle has been extended to the repair of post-roads, on which the royal mail is carried by the section of the Grand Jury Act, 6th and 7th Will. IV., c. 116, which authorises this Board, on the requisition of the Postmaster-General, and with the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant, to apply such immediate repair as may enable the vehicles by which the mails are conveyed to keep the prescribed rate of travelling.

"The Board very seldom receive any complaints of the management of these roads,

which are generally in superior order to others of the same districts, and are maintained, as we believe, at a moderate expense.

"V. PHENIX PARK AND DUBLIN BUILDINGS.—The works at Dublin Castle have been those of ordinary maintenance and gradual improvement towards the state which it is desirable they should attain.

"The additions and alterations projected for the Chief Secretary's office have been completed, and part of the rooms occupied.

"V. FOUR COURTS.—The several Courts have been put into an efficient state of repair; the Masters' New Offices and Bankruptcy Courts have been completed, and are now occupied; their former offices have afforded accommodation to several branches of the Law Offices, which was much wanted.

"Increased and improved accommodation for the records of some of the Law Courts is urgently required, and projects for attaining that object are under consideration.

"The Pumping Apparatus, for supplying the whole of the building with water, has been completed, which will be found a valuable acquisition in the event of a fire occurring in any part of this extensive establishment.

"At the Custom-house, Queen's Inns, and the other Public Buildings in Dublin, only the ordinary repairs for maintenance have been required.

"VICE-REGAL LODGE.—The new range of Stables and Coach-houses required for the accommodation of his Excellency has been completed; the Establishment heretofore existing was very inadequate in quality and extent.

"At the Chief and Under Secretary's only the ordinary repairs have been required to maintain the Houses, Offices, and Gardens in a suitable state for occupation.

"By order of the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury, the buildings of the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham, and the Hibernian School in the Phoenix Park, have been placed in charge of this Board, and provision for their maintenance has been made in the Estimates for 1843.

"The Dépôt for Convicts in Smithfield (lately occupied as a Penitentiary), has also been handed over to the Department, to be maintained by Parliamentary Estimates.

"VI. DUNMORE HARBOUR.—This Harbour did not sustain any material damage during the past year. The Packet Station having been removed, but few vessels resort to this harbour.

"VII. KINGSTOWN HARBOUR.—The usual Return of Vessels which have made use of this harbour during the last year, as well as in the two preceding years, accompanies this Report.

"The Eastern Pier Head has been raised to the proper height to receive the coping and platform course, upon which a suitable Light-house will be erected. The work of the Pier-head has been constructed in a very superior manner, both as regards the execution and the materials.

"Considerable preparations had been made, by driving piles and erecting a stage upon which to set up and traverse the machinery requisite for the construction of the Western Pier-head; these works of preparation were, however, destroyed by a tremendous gale from the south-east, which occurred in the early part of the month of November last; by this circumstance the commencement of the operations with the diving-bell will be necessarily retarded, and in the mean time the best consideration will be given to the preparatory measures calculated to afford the

greatest security during the laying-in of the foundation, and the subsequent erection of the superstructure in that particularly exposed situation.

"VIII. HOWTH HARBOUR.—The works have been maintained in a generally good state ; some repairs, but not to any serious extent, are required to the Sea Pavement, the Wharf Roadway, and the flights of Steps for landing and embarking, which have sustained some injury. These matters will be attended to in the coming season, and their repair will not be expensive.

"IX. DONAGHADEE HARBOUR.—The repairing and strengthening of the Sea Pavement of the Breakwater, or Sea Defence, have been continued with effect, and are nearly completed.

"X. LUNATIC ASYLUMS.—Considerable additions, with improvements, have been made, with the sanction of his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant in Council, at the Clonmel District Lunatic Asylum, where increase of accommodation was much required.

"The subject of improvement in the ventilation and security of the patients at the Ballinasloe District Asylum has been taken into consideration under the same authority, and plans for effecting the object have been submitted ; as also for some minor improvements in the Asylum of the Maryborough District.

"We have the honour to be

"Your Lordships' most obedient humble Servants,

J. F. BURGOYNE,
BROOK T. OTTLEY,
J. RADCLIFF."

The state of Banking in Ireland, and its defects, will be given in the Financial Chapter.

The statements contained in the preceding pages amply confirm the truth of the facts developed in Part II., on the Shipping, Commerce, and Manufactures of Ireland. The evidence of the augmentation of wealth, the progress of civilisation, and the general welfare of the people, is fully substantiated on the most irrefutable testimony.

PART IV.

POPULATION AND EDUCATION OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER VI.

Population Augmentation from 1641 to 1800, and from 1800 to 1840 ;—Number of Houses ;—Sexual Proportions ;—General Area and Arable Land and Inhabitants in each County ;—Occupations of the Inhabitants ;—Comparative Greater Density of Population of Ireland than any other Part of the World ;—Causes of Irish Inferiority, Physical and Natural, not Owing to the Union or Government ;—Education of the People.

WE have tested the state of Ireland in relation to her political institutions and civil and religious freedom ; her external commerce and shipping, internal trade, and social progress since the Union ; let us now proceed another stage in the argument, and ascertain the truth or falsity of the allegation that, by means of the Union, Ireland has been depopulated, and “ hundreds of thousands ” destroyed.

An increase of population is a convincing test of the advancing state of a nation. It was correctly observed as such by Arthur Young, in his Tour through Ireland, in 1766, when he observes : “ Ireland everywhere evinces the marks of a rapid increase of population.” Various censuses have been made of the population of Ireland, but they have in general been framed on inaccurate data. At the end of Elizabeth’s reign the population was estimated at not more than 700,000, and before the rebellion in 1641, at 1,456,000.* In—

1672	at 1,100,000	1725	at 2,317,374
1695	1,034,102	1754	2,372,634
1702	1,320,008	1767	2,544,276
1712	2,099,094	1777	2,690,565
1718	2,169,048	1785	2,845,932

* The population of England in 1682 was so great as 7,369,230, on a surface of 49,450 square miles ; so that it has scarcely been doubled in 150 years ; but in Ireland has been doubled in about forty years.

These returns were all vague, some being founded on the estimates of private individuals, others on the hearth-money collectors' returns. In 1805, Newenham estimated the population at 5,395,456, and an incomplete census of 1812 gives it at 5,937,356.

The number of inhabitants is now upwards of eight millions, independent of nearly half a million of Irish now residing in England and Scotland, and of a large yearly emigration, which from 1831 to 1841 has been 403,459.

By the general law of population, there is now, however, a less rapid increase than formerly; the number of females, however, still exceeds the number of males in the proportion of $103\frac{4}{10}$, and until the sexes are equal, population is not stationary; nor does the population begin to retrograde until the number of *male* births exceeds those of females. Population in Ireland has increased much faster than *property*, and hence the still comparative difference in the wages and comforts of Ireland in relation to Great Britain.

The preponderating number of the female population is a sure test of augmentation and of prosperity. The relative numbers of the sexes at three periods were as follow:—

Sexes.	1821.	1831.	1841.
Males . . .	3,341,926	3,794,880	4,019,576
Females . . .	3,459,901	3,972,521	4,155,548
	6,801,827	7,767,401	8,175,124
Proportion of Females to 100 Males .	$103\frac{4}{10}$	$104\frac{7}{10}$	$103\frac{4}{10}$

In the West Indies, during slavery, the male population and male births preponderated over those of females. But since the abolition of slavery, the female births predominate. In new-peopled countries, such as America, Australia, &c., the female births predominate, and continue so, until population has reached the limit of subsistence.

When population and subsistence are at a par, the numbers of the sexes are equal; and when subsistence is below popula-

tion, the male births predominate, and population is diminished to the level of subsistence.

We are as yet very imperfectly acquainted with the fixed laws that govern the increase or decrease of population; but, adopting the generally recognised assertion,—that population increases in the ratio of food and comforts,—it must be admitted, that as Ireland has doubled its population in less than half a century, there must have been a great augmentation of food, and of material prosperity conducive to the social advancement of a nation.

In addition to the Census returns of the resident population of Ireland in 1841, we ought to add, first, the numbers who have emigrated to the Colonies and United States from 1831 to 1841, viz. 403,459, which, with the low addition of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for births, gives $25,012=428,471$. Then we must add the recruits who have entered the army during the same period from 1831 to 1841, viz. 39,179. Next, we must look at the number of persons of *Irish* birth, residing in England, Scotland, and Wales on the 7th of June, 1841, viz. 419,256, and estimating that only *one-fourth* of this number have been added since the Census of 1831, we have another abstraction (not allowing for children) from Ireland of 104,814. The total of these three sums will be 572,464, which added to the actual resident population on the 7th June, 1841, gives 8,747,588, which abstracted from the population of 1831, similarly computed, viz. 7,854,317, shows at the very least an increase on ten years of 893,271, or nearly *twelve* per cent. Now, when we consider how densely peopled Ireland was in 1831, this augmentation is extraordinary. The *whole* increase in Scotland between 1831 and 1841, was only $10\frac{8}{10}$ per cent.; and, separating the manufacturing counties from the agricultural, (which more nearly resemble Ireland,) the increase in the farming Scotch counties was only $4\frac{7}{10}$ per cent. The unity of the physical law of population is manifested in Scotland as in Ireland; that is, population diminishes when density increases beyond a certain ratio.

Thus, in Scotland the increase between the years 1801 and

1811 was *fourteen* per cent., viz. from 1,599,068 to 1,805,688; between 1811 and 1821, *sixteen* per cent.; between 1821 and 1831 *thirteen* per cent.; and between 1831 and 1841 *ten* per cent. And let it be observed that Scotland has only 2,620,601 inhabitants on an area nearly as large as Ireland. In many of the Scotch counties there has been, during the last ten years, an actual *decrease* on the population; but no Scotch demagogue thinks of saying they were “*slaughtered by the Union with England.*”

In Argyleshire the decrease was nearly *four* per cent.; in Dumfries and Haddington, Nairn and Peebles, *one*; in Kinross, Perth, and Sutherland, *three* per cent. from 1831 to 1841.

In England we find the same law manifested. The increase between 1801 and 1811 was *fourteen and-a-half* per cent.; between 1811 and 1821, *seventeen and-a-half*; between 1821 and 1831, *sixteen*, and between 1831 and 1841 *fourteen* per cent. In Wales, for the same periods, the rates of increase respectively were, 13, 17, 12, and 13 per cent.

Probably, no country in the world, (excepting the United States, where there is a vast extent of unoccupied and fertile land,) has increased its population so rapidly as Ireland since the Union.

The Population Returns for 1821 and 1831, represent a very large increase between those two periods; in some counties as much as one in five; in others, nearly one to four. The increase was in—

Donegal . . .	20 per cent.	Galway . . .	23 per cent.
Clare . . .	24 ditto.	Mayo . . .	24 ditto.

It would be tedious to particularise further: suffice it to say, that the extraordinary increase which has taken place in the population of Ireland since 1800—namely, from *four* to more than *eight* millions, (independent of extensive emigrations to Great Britain, the United States, and the Colonies, amounting to at least *three* millions, during forty years,) most amply refutes the allegation contained in the “Address of the Loyal National Repeal Association to the Inhabitants of Countries subject to the British Crown,” dated 13th September, 1843,—wherein it is stated that “*One great proof of increasing prosperity*

is found in the due augmentation of the people : whilst the most decisive evidence of human misery is found in the fact of a retrograding population. In Ireland that misery is evinced to the extent of an ANNUAL retrocession of more than seven hundred thousand souls."

And at the great Repeal Meeting at Tara-hill, the author of the preceding-named address, and leader of the Repeal agitation, thus reiterated the assertion,—"*Thus had seven hundred thousand Irishmen been slaughtered by the Union, and by the tyranny of the Government which administered it.*" An impartial public will now be able to estimate the truth of these gross allegations of the WHOLESALE DESTRUCTION OF THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND !

Three recent censuses of the Irish population and houses are as follow :—

Provinces.	1821.		1831.		1841.	
	Population.	Houses.	Population.	Houses.	Population.	Houses.
Leinster .	1,757,492	278,398	1,961,109	296,369	1,978,731	320,051
Ulster .	1,998,484	359,801	2,353,928	412,023	2,386,373	436,767
Munster .	1,935,612	306,995	2,163,694	341,438	2,396,161	377,665
Connaught	1,110,229	197,408	1,360,783	237,919	1,418,859	249,877
Totals .	6,801,827	1,142,602	7,839,514	1,287,749	8,180,124	1,384,360

The augmentation of houses and population in Ulster province, where there was tranquillity during the period under consideration, is a striking feature in the country. Ireland contained, in 1792, only 701,102 houses, and the increase of the number of houses from 1821 to 1841 is upwards of 241,758*, while it is a pleasing circumstance to be enabled to state, that the new buildings are all of the better class of habitations. Even in Dublin, the decay of which has been so loudly lamented, the improvement has been truly remarkable. Since the Union, more than one hundred handsome streets and squares have been added to Dublin ; and from 1821 to 1831, the number of new houses built have been 2,374. Building is now extending in every direction in Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Belfast, &c., and the houses are well built, slated, and neat, in architectural style.

* The valuation of the houses in Dublin, inside the Circular Road, in 1870, 704,747.

In 1813, Dublin contained but 110,437 inhabitants; it now possesses, within the limits of the Circular Road, a largely augmented population, better lodged, better fed, and better paid as wages for labour, than they have ever heretofore been.

2,213 houses were built in Dublin from 1800 to 1834, and the rental on 17,324 amounts to 704,757*l.*, or 40*l.* per house; and the annual rental added to Dublin since the Union has amounted to 128,520*l.*

The state of the provincial towns of Ireland is shown in the following comparative Table of 1821, 1831, and 1841. If the census for 1813 and 1821 had been correct, as well as those previous to the Union, the augmentation of the town population would have been manifest, and would be well deserving of attention. Moreover several of the cities named in the following Table have had their boundaries so entirely altered by the municipal, that the returns for 1841 no longer serve for comparison with the preceding years. Limerick city, for instance, has had about 17,000 persons transferred to the Baronies of Clanwilliam and Pubblebrian.

POPULATION and Number of HOUSES in several Cities and Towns in Ireland, for 1821, 1831, and 1841, exclusive of alterations in the latter year.

Name of Towns.	1821.		1831.		1841.	
	Population.	No. of Houses.	Population.	No. of Houses.	Population.	No. of Houses.
Dublin . . .	175,585	13,578	203,752	15,952	232,726	21,771
Belfast . . .	37,277	5,494	53,287	8,700	75,308	12,875
Newry . . .	10,013	1,489	13,071	2,257	18,907	3,620
Londonderry .	9,313	1,252	13,251	1,513	15,196	2,419
Cork . . .	100,658	11,180	107,007	12,860	106,055	14,274
Arklow . . .	3,808	551	4,383	702	6,237	1,052
Downpatrick .	4,123	787	4,784	897	8,812	1,710
Dungannon . .	3,243	498	3,515	652	3,801	675
Athy . . .	1,838	310	4,494	733	4,698	844
Drogheda . . .	18,118	3,164	17,365	3,311	17,300	3,654
Tullamore . . .	5,517	955	6,342	1,111	9,008	1,781
Athlone Town } and Borough }	7,543	1,019	11,362	1,853	10,337	1,763
Armagh . . .	8,493	1,189	9,189	1,540	12,112	2,051
Tralee . . .	7,547	1,039	9,562	1,426	12,534	1,754
Wexford . . .	8,326	1,261	10,673	1,823	11,252	
Dundalk . . .	9,256	1,493	10,078	1,725	13,204	2,435
Sligo . . .	9,943	1,480	15,152	2,667	15,861	2,819
Galway . . .	27,775	3,957	33,120	4,675	29,968	
Limerick . . .	59,045	7,208	66,675	8,257	65,296	
Total . . .	506,361	67,904	597,072	72,654	6,618,612	75,497

Ireland, in proportion to its cultivable surface, is too densely peopled. The number of individuals to each square mile of arable land will be seen by the Statistical Chart prefixed to this work. The comparative density of population in different counties, with the cultivated lands distinguished from the general area, is thus given in the Census Returns for Ireland in 1841 : —

Counties, exclu- sive of Towns containing 2,000 Persons and up- wards.	Arable Land.*		Rural Population.	No. of Per- sons to the sq. mile of arable land.	Total Area.		No. of Per- sons to sq. mile of the entire area.
	Acres.	Square Miles.			Acres.	Square Miles.	
LEINSTER.							
Carlow . .	184,059	287.59	72,172	251	220,740	344.91	209
Dublin . .	196,063	306.35	113,778	371	220,894	345.15	330
Kildare . .	356,787	557.48	104,090	187	417,946	653.04	159
Kilkenny . .	470,102	734.54	173,157	236	508,183	794.04	218
King's . .	337,256	526.96	130,239	247	493,083	770.44	169
Longford . .	191,823	299.72	108,117	361	269,045	420.38	257
Louth . .	178,972	279.65	96,479	345	200,706	313.6	308
Meath . .	547,391	855.3	171,726	201	579,435	905.37	190
Queen's . .	342,422	535.04	138,873	259	423,737	662.09	210
Westmeath . .	365,218	570.65	131,316	230	452,840	707.56	185
Wexford . .	510,702	797.97	173,267	217	574,196	897.18	193
Wicklow . .	280,393	438.11	117,892	269	499,837	781.	151
Total . . .	3,961,188	6,189.26	1,531,106	247	4,860,642	7,594.76	202
MUNSTER.							
Clare . .	455,009	710.95	267,907	377	827,266	1,292.6	207
Cork . .	1,308,882	2,045.14	683,919	334	1,839,818	2,874.72	238
Kerry . .	414,614	647.83	269,406	416	1,185,319	1,852.06	145
Limerick . .	526,876	823.24	274,520	333	678,083	1,059.5	259
Tipperary . .	843,887	1,318.57	364,261	276	1,059,372	1,655.27	220
Waterford . .	325,345	508.35	149,207	293	460,028	718.79	207
Total . . .	3,874,613	6,054.08	2,009,220	332	6,049,886	9,452.94	212
ULSTER.							
Antrim . .	503,288	786.39	256,352	326	743,269	1,161.36	221
Carrickfergus	12,483	19.5	5,494	282	16,571	25.89	212
Armagh . .	265,243	414.44	211,893	511	327,298	511.4	414
Cavan . .	375,473	586.68	234,914	400	476,858	745.09	315
Donegal . .	393,191	614.36	290,022	472	1,192,964	1,864.01	156
Down . .	514,180	803.41	323,807	403	610,284	953.57	339
Fermanagh . .	289,228	451.92	150,795	334	456,985	714.04	211
Londonderry	318,282	497.31	197,622	397	517,036	807.87	245
Monaghan . .	285,885	446.7	191,301	428	319,453	499.14	383
Tyrone . .	450,286	703.57	298,498	424	805,930	1,259.27	237
Total . . .	3,407,539	5,324.28	2,160,698	406	5,466,648	8,541.64	253
CONNAUGHT.							
Galway . .	742,805	1,160.63	403,746	348	1,564,553	2,444.61	165
Leitrim . .	249,350	389.61	155,297	398	392,363	613.07	253
Mayo . .	497,587	777.48	369,138	475	1,363,034	2,129.74	173
Roscommon	440,522	688.32	243,539	354	606,923	948.32	257
Sligo . .	290,696	454.21	166,915	367	461,293	720.77	231
Total . . .	2,220,960	3,470.25	1,338,635	386	4,388,166	6,856.51	195
General Total	13,464,300	21,379.7	7,039,659	335	20,756,342	32,445.85	217

It will be seen from the above, that (*excluding towns*) the total number of persons to the square mile of arable land is 335. In Connaught, a large portion of which is mountain, lake, river, and bog, the number is 386; and in Ulster, of which a very great portion is also uncultivable, the proportion is so high as 406.

It is a great mistake to call Ireland "*the Emerald Isle*," or, as it is sometimes termed, "*the Green Isle*." The really very fertile land is of small extent compared to the entire area; while a very large portion is of inferior land—reclaimed bog or mountain sides, from which the stones and rocks have been removed.

In the Irish "Guide Book," published in Dublin, in 1838, the area of the lakes, bogs, and mountains are given for each county: the aggregate in acres for each province is as follows:—

Provinces.	Lakes.	Unimproved Mountain and Bog.	Total.
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
Leinster . . .	44,652	1,905,368	1,950,020
Ulster . . .	183,796	1,469,922	1,653,718
Munster . . .	44,652	1,905,368	1,950,020
Connaught . . .	194,477	1,330,022	1,524,499
Totals . . .	467,577	6,610,680	7,078,257

By this calculation nearly *half a million* acres (467,577) are covered with lakes, and more than *six millions* (6,610,680) acres with unimproved mountain and bog!

According to the table from the population census for 1841, just given, the arable land is, acres, 13,464,300, while the whole of the area of Ireland is 20,765,342, being a difference of 7,301,042—more than *one-third* of the entire surface of the island!

It is necessary to travel through Ireland to see that it is not merely the people that are poor, but that the soil itself is in many places exceedingly poor. Take, for instance, the county of Kerry, which has 416 persons to the square mile of arable land. In this county there are about 600,000 acres in lakes, bogs, and rocky mountains, with scarcely a tree or blade of herbage. Half the surface of the county is utterly waste as regards tillage or pasturage. Travel from Tarbert, on the Shannon,

through Tralee to Killarney — and the desolateness of the country will be immediately apparent. Then from Killarney to Glengarry, or Glengarriff,—with the exception of two or three small isolated spots (and the neat town of Kenmare, where the Marquess of Lansdown has done so much good)—there is scarcely a wilder district in the world. The road is hewn through rocks—one tunnel alone is a quarter of a mile through the mountain; and the mountains rise around in arid peaks, without tree or herbage. For forty miles of the road, there does not seem sufficient means of support for forty human beings. Not a bird even is to be seen in this dreary and solitary grandeur.

Even the country that is cultivated thence to Cork *viâ* Bantry, Skibbereen, and Bandon, is merely good by comparison; and it is only on the banks of such rivers as the Lee and other streams that the traveller again has his eye cheered with foliage and herbage. Turn to the wilds of Connemara, where the traveller's eye becomes wearied with mile after mile of utter barrenness—desolate mountains and boggy ravines—incapable of sustaining any description of animated life. Proceeding northward to the county Donegal, we find that the extent of arable land is put down at only 393,191 acres out of a total area of 1,192,964 acres; nearly three-fourths are barren waste, where there are 472 individuals to the square mile of arable land.

Mayo stands in the same position,—only *one-third* of the area is habitable, and there are 475 individuals to each square mile of arable land. In Tyrone there are 424; in Monaghan, 428; in Down, 403; in Cavan, 400; and in Armagh 511 mouths to each square mile of cultivable surface. Then the centre of Ireland may be traversed for fifty miles and nothing seen but bogs. Considering that Ireland is almost a purely agricultural country; and, except in the north, dependent solely on the fertility of the soil; she is probably more densely peopled than any part of the world. Indeed, excepting the two great tea-districts of China, Ireland is more densely peopled than that great

empire, which contains more than three hundred and fifty million inhabitants—who have immense manufactures, and a vast extent of internal commerce to support them as well as agriculture.

That this assertion may not be subject to doubt, the following census of the provinces of China, taken from an official work called the *Ta-tsing*, published by the Imperial Government of Peking in 1825, is here given. The Saxon system of tithing used in China, and the extreme vigilance of the police, leaves us no doubt of the truth of this census, which was praised by the celebrated Dr. Morrison for its accuracy.

POPULATION, &c., OF CHINA PROPER, exclusive of Tartary, the Dependent Provinces, and the Colonies.

Provinces.	Square miles.	Months, or Population.	Fixed Revenue.	Military force.	Months per sq. miles.	Latitude of provincial capitals (N.).	English miles from Peking.	English acres in each province.
Mani						m. s.		
Canton . .	79,456	19,174,030	424,567	99,000	241	23 10	2,720	50,851,840
Fokien . .	53,480	14,777,410	377,507	76,000	275	26 2	2,202	34,227,200
Techeiang .	89,150	26,256,784	1,357,593	59,000	670	30 20	1,185	25,056,000
Kiannang .	92,961	72,011,560	2,458,476	132,000	774	32 4	862	59,495,040
Shankong .	65,104	28,938,764	1,231,807	35,000	444	36 43	287	41,666,560
Pichelli . .	58,949	27,990,871	923,931	241,000	478	39 55	Peking.	37,727,360
Midi						m. s.		
Quangsi . .	78,250	23,046,999	981,374	39,000	319	25 13	2,680	50,080,000
Houquang .	144,770	46,022,605	738,123	88,000	311	30 34	1,183	92,652,800
Honan . .	65,104	23,037,171	1,052,823	24,000	353	34 52	553	41,666,560
Shansi . .	55,268	14,004,210	1,061,916	35,000	267	37 53	421	3,337,152
West						m. s.		
Yunnan . .	107,969	5,561,320	165,306	53,000	58	25 6	2,946	69,100,160
Kweichow .	64,554	5,288,219	36,764	70,000	82	26 30	2,745	41,313,560
Tzecheun .	166,800	21,435,678	185,484	85,000	128	30 40	2,048	106,752,000
Shensi . .	154,008	25,300,381	497,610	104,000	164	23 15	952	98,565,120
Total and average	1,225,823	352,866,012	11,513,281	1,139,000	288			784,526,120

In China we see there are 288 to the square mile, of whom not much more than one half are probably dependent on agriculture. In Ireland the total population is 8,175,238, which on 32,445 square miles, gives 251 to the square mile; but, taking the cultivable land (21,037 square miles) as a true test of a pure, agricultural population, we have 389 mouths to the square mile in Ireland!

We shall next examine the area and population of England and Scotland. According to the evidence of Mr. William Cowling before the Select Committee on Emigration, the following was the cultivated and total area of England and Scotland. Ireland* is given from census of 1841.

	Cultivated Acres.	Total Acres.	Square Miles.
England and Wales . . .	28,749,000 . .	37,094,400 . .	= 47,960
Scotland	5,265,000 . .	19,738,930 . .	= 30,842
*Ireland	13,464,300 . .	20,765,342 . .	= 32,445

The number of individuals to each square mile according to the census of 1841.

	Population.	No. of Mouths to Square Miles of whole Area.
England and Wales	15,906,741 . .	272
Scotland	2,620,184 . .	86
Ireland	8,175,238 . .	251

Now when we consider the vast accumulation of wealth in Great Britain, its eight centuries of progressive civilisation, its manufactures, internal and external trade, and other sources of wealth, the density of the population of Ireland will be the more fully seen.

Comparing Ireland in density of population with other countries, we shall yet more clearly trace one of the main causes of the present state of the Sister Island, where population has so far and so rapidly outstripped the augmentation of property.

Number of inhabitants to the square mile in the following countries :—

Austria 138	Naples and The Two Sicilies . . . 190	Sardinia 16
Bavaria 145	Norway 9	Spain 67
Bohemia 203	Papal States . . 158	Sweden 17
Denmark 93	Portugal 97	Switzerland . . . 143
France 161	Prussia 138	Turkey (Europe) . 20
Greece 61	Russia (in Europe) 26	Do (Asia) 20
Hanover 128		Wirttemberg . . . 208
		United States . . .

Ireland has a far denser population than any of the above-named countries; and, excepting the United States, she alone has doubled her population since the commencement of the present century.

It is very desirable that in every consideration affecting Ireland this most important consideration should be a main object for reflection. We should remember that, even in an agricultural point of view, Ireland is a poor country; that there are nearly one hundred distinct mountains, or mountain ridges, varying in height from 1000 to 3500 feet; that there are more than one hundred lakes or loughs, covering a great extent of surface; together with rivers and bogs almost innumerable;* while the land actually under cultivation does not, acre for acre, produce one-third the agricultural produce of England; and this not solely owing to imperfect cultivation, or to want of capital and manure, but owing to the intrinsic poorness of the soil, the exceeding moisture of the climate, and, excepting some rich spots, the stony and boggy nature of the country.

A population of 389 to each square mile of cultivable surface in a country depending mainly on the productions of an imperfectly tilled and poorly manured soil, would be too much for England, with all her accumulated wealth, trade, and manufactures.

We may now resume the examination of other portions of our subject.

By the following Table, prepared by the Census Commissioners, we are enabled, with some degree of accuracy, to ascertain the proportion of persons in Ireland employed in the production of food, clothing, &c.

* The pure bog land is 2,830,000 acres; of which the depth varies from 20 to 35 feet.

OCCUPATIONS.	LEINSTER.		MUNSTER.		ULSTER.		CONNAUGHT.		IRELAND.	
	Number.	Proportion to 100 of the Population.	Number.	Proportion to 100 of the Population.	Number.	Proportion to 100 of the Population.	Number.	Proportion to 100 of the Population.	Number.	Proportion to 100 of the Population.
<i>Ministering to Food.</i>										
Producers . . .	425,921	21.6	578,198	24.1	478,009	20.	372,013	26.2	1,854,141	22.7
Manufacturers . .	5,277	.3	3,502	.2	3,842	.2	1,374	.1	13,995	.2
Traders	12,665	.6	10,282	.4	9,586	.4	3,402	.2	35,935	.4
Total	443,863	22.5	591,982	24.7	491,437	20.6	376,789	26.5	1,904,071	23.3
<i>Ministering to Clothing.</i>										
Cloth Manufacturers	71,258	3.6	91,850	3.8	381,145	16.	124,971	8.8	669,224	8.2
Leather Workers .	18,777	.9	17,294	.7	15,883	.7	5,879	.4	57,833	.7
Clothes-makers .	46,595	2.4	39,137	1.6	62,805	2.6	19,461	1.4	167,998	2.
Traders	2,304	.1	1,321	.1	2,285	.1	359	.	6,269	.1
Total	138,934	7.	149,602	6.2	462,118	19.4	150,670	10.6	901,324	11.
<i>Ministering to Lodging, &c.</i>										
Workers in Stone .	10,198	.5	8,374	.3	8,528	.4	3,104	.2	30,204	.4
„ Wood	20,536	1.	19,066	.8	17,829	.7	6,655	.5	64,086	.8
„ Metal	15,410	.8	12,736	.5	11,457	.5	4,594	.3	44,197	.5
Miscellaneous . .	10,313	.5	6,239	.3	4,994	.2	2,240	.2	23,786	.3
Traders	941	.1	560	.	467	.	125	.	2,093	.
Total	57,398	2.9	46,975	1.9	43,275	1.8	16,718	1.2	164,366	2.
Ministering to Health	2,848	.2	2, 27	.1	1,358	.	638	.	6,871	.1
„ Charity . . .	108	.	89	.	46	.	10	.	253	.
„ Justice . . .	8,426	.4	4,761	.2	3,728	.1	2,626	.2	19,541	.3
„ Education . .	5,365	.3	4,781	.2	4,639	.2	2,029	.1	16,814	.2
„ Religion . . .	2,435	.1	2,060	.1	1,866	.1	831	.1	7,192	.1
Total	19,182	1.	13,718	.6	11,637	.4	6,134	.4	50,671	.4
<i>Unclassified.</i>										
Ministering to Arts	1,122	.1	1,088	.	526	.	759	.1	3,495	.
„ Trade	22,769	1.1	18,664	.8	12,527	.5	5,589	.4	59,549	.7
„ Travelling . .	6,511	.3	6,530	.3	3,880	.2	2,054	.1	18,975	.3
Miscellaneous . .	138,806	7.	135,829	5.7	88,360	3.7	46,414	3.3	409,409	5.
Total	169,208	8.5	162,111	6.8	105,293	4.4	54,816	3.9	491,428	6.
General Total . .	828,585	41.9	964,388	40.2	1,113,760	46.6	605,127	42.6	3,511,860	43.

This Table shows that two-thirds of the males, and more than one-third of the whole population of Ireland above the age of 15, are engaged in producing, preparing, or selling food; and if we reflect how sensitively such a popu-

lation must feel (as *producers*), any diminution in the price of their chief article of production, we shall see a great cause of the distress that is from time to time suffered. The average price of Wheat and Oats in Ireland, per barrel and per bushel, calculated upon the Return advertised in the *Dublin Gazette*, for the years ending 1st day of May, 1841, 1842, and 1843, was—

		WHEAT, per barrel.	WHEAT, per bushel.	OATS, per barrel.	OATS, per bushel.
		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Years {	1841	32 5	8 1½	13 11	3 5
	1842	30 8	7 8	12 0	3 0
	1843	27 0	6 9	10 7	2 7

29th June, 1843.

THOS. ATKINS,
Clerk of Corn Table, City Dublin.

This great reduction in two years of the price of the staple of Irish produce, must undoubtedly have affected the country.

The number of small farmers, or cottier system of husbandry, is another point not to be overlooked in considering the state of Ireland, although foreign to the objects of this work; to discern the political economy branch of this question, it may not be unadvisable to give the following Table, from the census of 1841, showing the number of farmers, labourers, and servants in 1831 and 1841, although its minute accuracy is questionable.

The TOTAL POPULATION of IRELAND, according to the Census of 1841; accompanied by an ABSTRACT of the Total Number of Persons in Ireland ascertained, by the Commissioners of Public Instruction, in 1834, to belong to each Religious Persuasion at the time of their Inquiry.

TOTAL POPULATION of IRELAND According to the Census of 1841.	ABSTRACT OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS IN IRELAND Ascertained by the Commissioners of Public Instruction to belong to each Religious Persuasion.				
	Members of Established Church.	Roman Catholics.	Presbyterians.	Other Protestant Dissenters.	Total of Abstract.
8,175,238	852,064	6,427,712	642,356	21,808	7,943,940

FARMERS, AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS, AND SERVANTS IN IRELAND, IN 1831 AND 1841.

PROVINCES.	1831.							1841.					Proportion of Labourers and Servants to the Popu- lation.	
	No. of Farmers.	Labourers employed in Agriculture.	Labourers employed in Labour, not Agri- culture.	Male Servants 20 years old and upwards.	Total.	Add $\frac{1}{3}$ for Persons between 15 and 20.	Total No. of Labourers and Servants.	No. of Farms above one acre.	Servants and Labourers.	Servants.	Labourers and Porters.	Total No. of Labourers and Servants.		
													1831.	1841.
LEINSTER .	108,608	162,417	31,440	16,571	210,428	26,303	236,731	133,220	256,477	22,818	13,777	293,072	3.9	3.3
MUNSTER .	153,711	212,347	34,507	17,486	264,340	33,043	297,383	162,386	360,386	18,104	9,695	388,185	3.7	3.1
ULSTER . .	218,388	120,795	16,651	10,938	148,385	18,548	166,932	234,499	254,439	11,985	4,280	270,704	6.7	4.3
CONNAUGHT	173,906	71,882	7,278	9,147	88,307	11,038	99,345	155,204	233,956	6,785	1,312	242,053	6.6	2.9
Total .	659,613	567,441	89,876	54,142	711,459	88,932	800,391	685,309	1,105,258	59,692	29,064	1,194,014	4.7	3.4

The proportion of a population employed as servants, to the wealthier class of the inhabitants of a country, will show its progress in general wealth and comfort. The following data

from the Census Report for 1841 will substantiate the general truth of the facts in this chapter.

1831.			1841.*			Proportion to the entire Population.			
Male Servants.	Female Servants.	Total.	Male Servants.	Female Servants.	Total.	1831.		1841.	
98,742	253,155	351,897	227,937	275,914	503,851	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
						1 to 78	1 to 30	1 to 36	1 to 29

Of the above enumerated 227,937 male servants in 1841, there were of *domestic* male servants 68,489. On examining the details of the voluminous and valuable census for 1841, it will be seen that the greater proportion of servants is found in those districts which show the highest state of house accommodation, of wealth, and of education. The preponderance of 1841 over 1831 will be observed above.

One of the alleged grievances to which it is said that the peasantry of Ireland are subject, is the excessive rent of land; the average of each county will be seen in the Statistical Chart prefixed to this work, wherein it will be found to vary from 8s. to 18s. an acre. The evidence before the Irish Poor Law Commission Inquiry shows, that "similar quantities of land in England are let from 10 to 30 per cent. above the rents in Munster." In another part of the same Report it is stated, that the Irish farmer *has an advantage altogether over his English competitor.*

Farms *not exceeding five acres* in extent are more numerous in Leinster than those of any other magnitude. In Munster, the majority of holdings vary from five to fifty acres; in Ulster, between eight and twelve; in Connaught, the great majority of farms do not exceed one to five acres; in many instances they are as low as *one-third of an acre!* For instance, the barony of Murrisk, county Mayo, contains about 29,000 acres, of which

* The number for 1841 include all servants residing with the family, whether agricultural or domestic; classes which are separated in the detailed Table of Occupations, under the respective heads of "Ministering to Food," and "Unclassified."

a very large proportion is mountainous and boggy waste; and on this there is a population of 34,527, of whom hardly any are above the condition of the meanest peasant cultivators. There is not a farm in the Barony of ten acres—the greater number do not exceed four acres. And, let it be remembered, that this is not a poor soil with a surrounding rich soil, but the reverse—the greater part of the province being physically poor, to an extent that no skill, or capital, or time would rectify. The natural poverty of a large part of the soil in Ireland will be more fully seen by the following abstract of the Valuation and Survey now proceeding throughout each county in Ireland, under the Ordnance Department. The gross valuation of the Counties yet completed is as follows:—

RETURN of the several COUNTIES, COUNTIES of CITIES, and COUNTIES of TOWNS, in IRELAND, of which the VALUATION, under 6 & 7 Will. IV., c. 84, has been completed.

Counties and Towns, &c.	Acreable Contents.	Annual Amount of the Valuation.	Expense of the Valuation.	Cost of the Valuation per Acre.	Rate of Cost to each 100l. of the Valuation.
	A.	£	£	s. d.	£ s. d.
Antrim	693,065	474,361	11,682	0 4	2 9 3
Armagh	312,327	242,005	4,884	0 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	2 0 4
Carrickfergus	16,700	13,520	221	0 3	1 12 10
Cavan	416,260	251,023	4,193	0 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 13 4
Donegal	1,185,641	225,111	8,714	0 1 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 17 5
Down	611,209	455,713	11,501	0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 10 5
Drogheda	5,675	23,657	386	1 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 12 8
Fermanagh	417,735	171,146	6,811	0 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 19 7
Leitrim	376,212	121,003	3,235	0 2	2 13 5
Londonderry	508,741	220,430	8,207	0 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 14 5
Longford	257,221	150,795	2,472	0 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 12 9*
Louth	196,924	186,829	2,627	0 3	1 8 1
Meath	577,043	527,593	5,765	0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 1 10
Monaghan	318,733	203,360	3,792	0 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 17 3
Rosecommon	585,398	289,363	5,153	0 2	1 15 7†
Sligo	451,085	190,751	3,791	0 2	1 19 8
Tyrone	778,543	277,555	10,294	0 3	3 14 1
Westmeath	433,768	292,531	3,728	0 2	1 5 5‡
Total	8,042,280	4,316,746	97,456	5 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	40 18 4

This official statement shows that, in many parts, the annual valuation does not reach one pound sterling per acre. In the

* No Return furnished by Treasurer.

† No Return furnished by Treasurer.

‡ The Barony Return cannot be given, as the Grand Jury Cess was only partially levied for Summer 1842, under the Valuation.

County Donegal, for instance, 1,185,641 acres are valued at only 225,715*l.*—which is less than *five shillings per acre*. Even in Meath and Louth, the richest counties in Ireland, the amount does not rise to the extent of twenty shillings an acre. In most of the counties it is not ten shillings an acre. The total number of acres surveyed, up to June 1843, was 8,042,280, and the annual valuation only 4,316,746*l.*, averaging 10*s.* 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* per acre. This striking fact sufficiently attests the comparative poverty of the soil of Ireland.

We may now consider the character of the people. There is a great physical variety in the population of Ireland. In the West and South the Milesian race, with black hair and brilliant dark eye, handsome oval face, and finely moulded sinewy form, predominate. In the central and mountainous districts the Gaelic or Celtic, with high cheek-bones, round face, gray eye, rough brown hair, dingy complexion, and muscular body of short stature.

On the East and in the North we trace the Saxon, with lofty brow, broad manly face, of ruddy hue; blue eye, clear skin, red or flaxen hair, and powerful frame. Then there are several minor varieties of the Dane, Norman, &c. All these races have more or less intermingled, blending often in the same individual the physical as well as mental and moral characteristics of several distinct progenitors, modified by the effects which climate, food, and drink produce on the human race.

To speak of the “Irish *nation*” as an homogeneous people, with unity of qualities and individuality of thought and action, is a solecism. There are more distinctive peculiarities among the people of Ireland than among the people of England, Scotland, or Wales. The inhabitants of the North of Ireland (Ulster), are totally different from those in the South (Munster); then again, the Connaught men (Mayo, for example), are widely distinct from those of Leinster (Wexford or Carlow, for example). This variety of race will to a certain extent account for the contradictory statements respecting the Irish character, and also for the greater degree of civilisation in some parts of Ireland. Even in the adjoining counties of Cork and Kerry

there is a remarkable contrast in the people. The men of the latter county are reputed to possess a readier wit, greater intellectual aptitude, and shrewder faculties than the "Corkonians," who are, however, alleged to be better farmers, steadier traders, and more persevering and skilful workmen than their more subtle-minded and laughter-loving neighbours. But the most marked difference is between the men of Ulster, or "Northerns," as they are termed, and all the other inhabitants of Ireland.* Dwelling in a comparatively sterile region and inclement climate, with a disadvantageous geographical position, and no natural advantages, yet the men of Ulster are not inferior in wealth, skill, intelligence, comfort, religious and moral freedom, and a due appreciation of the blessings of constitutional liberty, to the inhabitants of any other part of the globe.

Yet the Ulster men are Irishmen by birth and hereditary descent of more than two centuries; they have been born and they live under the same government, the same laws, the same local institutions, as the rest of their fellow-countrymen; on the general area, and on the arable surface, they are more densely located than in the most fertile part of Ireland; the number of inhabitants is 2,316,373; and the average for the square mile of arable land 406; their physical frame is cast in a manly mould, their stern love of truth and probity is so proverbial that they are designated the "*sturdy* northerns," and their mere affirmation is most readily believed by their southern countrymen.

They combine in a remarkable degree the prudential thrift and commercial activity of the Scotch, the persevering enterprise and indomitable self-reliance of the English, and the buoyant feelings and generous impulses of Irishmen.†

The general character of the inhabitants of the south and west of Ireland may be indicated by stating that in their virtues,

* Reference is here made to the Presbyterians, Protestants, and Dissenters of the North,—the descendants of the Scotch and English colonies, founded in Ulster by James I.

† The Royal Artillery—the finest military corps in the world—by reason of its professional skill, excellent discipline, and high martial bearing, is largely composed of Ulster men from the counties of Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Londonderry.

as in their vices, there is a want of the civilisation observable in the north ; and, therefore, many of the following traits refer to those who have been educated in proper principles, who have been taught the all-important duties of self-government, and who are freed from the enthralling despotism of superstition and democracy which are craftily substituted for the inestimable doctrines of religion and liberty. The people are ready-witted, of keen rather than capacious intellects, quick in their perceptions, with great mobility of character, but yet ardently strong in their attachments, and ferociously bitter in their hatreds.

Generous, hospitable, and charitable to a fault, with a deep feeling of superstition, and a strong conviction of the wise and merciful care of a Supreme Being over all his creatures.* Yielding their confidence implicitly to those who appeal to their passions rather than to their judgment, prone to hyperbole, vain as well as proud ; easily excited, and as quickly depressed ; readily roused to the most demoniac deeds, under false principles of religion or patriotism ; enduring for a time great labour, but wanting in long-sustained energy ; fond of the marvellous and legendary lore ; and morally as well as mentally taking an erroneous *ideal* rather than a practical *real* for their standard.

It will be seen that these are qualities readily capable of being moulded to a good or bad purpose, and that once in subjection to an idea or a principle, however erroneous, there is the greater difficulty in effecting a change. Hence the northerns and southernns, although inhabiting the same island, speaking the same language, and under the same government, are thoroughly opposed in their religious and political feelings.

Time, which is necessary to the purification from error, and the dissemination of sound religious truth†, are essential to an

* The driver of the Waterford and Dublin coach recently observed to the author in reference to the exemplary conduct of the landlord (I think Mr. Dobbin,) of the "Commercial Hotel" in Waterford, which is equal, in comfort and economy, to any inn in the United Kingdom : "Ah, sir, the blessing of God is with him, and follows him in all he undertakes; and sure I could not say more if I were to spake for a month."

† It is most gratifying to observe that under the authority of that pre-eminently

amalgamation of these two great classes of Irish society; and the rapid and economical means of intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, will daily tend to harmonise more and more the, at present, conflicting elements of the Irish character. This is one of the reasons why the Union with England is so beneficial to Ireland.

In the British Army and Navy the southern and western Irish are impetuously brave, obedient to command, easily governed through their affections, and, as was the motto of the Irish brigade in the service of France, "*Semper et ubique fidelis*." In situations of trust, they are found in England and in Scotland steady, watchful, and attached to the interests of their employers; * fond of domestic life, and in favour of local habits and associations.

On the dark side of the picture may be seen, revenge, murder, heartfelt hatred, and all the fearful crimes of unrestrained passions. But these crimes arise, not from cupidity, or petty desires; they spring from real or supposed deadly injuries, and are generally connected with the occupation of land; in former years they arose from a cruel religious spirit, artfully encouraged and stimulated into the most demoniac deeds by designing men; thus the same quality of mind which yields a strong gratitude for a slight favour, impels to the most ferocious destruction for an equally slight injury or insult.

It is therefore worthy of remark, that murder in Ireland is not the result of avarice, or fear lest a minor crime be detected; neither is it (generally speaking) ever committed on

good man—the Rev. Theobald Mathew—(whose pious and truly Christian exertions have been of vast benefit to Ireland), and other Roman Catholic priests, the blessed Bible is now in course of translation and cheap circulation throughout Ireland. Four parts, I believe, have been published, at a cost scarcely exceeding the paper and print, and thus a great and most beneficial movement has been made for the enlightenment of our Irish Roman Catholic fellow-subjects.

* In the great manufactories in the North, the Irish are now preferred as workmen, for their sobriety and submissiveness to well-regulated authority. Indeed, it may be observed, that an Irishman is much improved by removing him to Great Britain, or the Colonies, where he is freed from those pernicious influences which are continually perverting his warm and susceptible imagination.

defenceless women;* it is prompted almost invariably at the present day by a personal wrong, or a family feud; and is viewed too often as wild but retributive justice. In no part of the world is a "spy," an "informer," or one who has been guilty of treachery to those with whom he was formerly associated, more utterly abhorred than in Ireland. The most appalling murders have been committed, and yet rewards, to the extent of thousands of pounds, with free pardons for accomplices, and Government protection abroad, have in vain been offered for the discovery of the perpetrators; although hundreds of persons were cognizant of the names and abodes of the criminals; and although a moiety of the sums offered would be a large fortune for life to the discoverer of the crime. There is an instinctive abhorrence of "blood money;" and the Irish peasant rightly believes, that what is ill-gotten can never produce good or happiness to the receiver.

In domestic life, and among the poorest classes, "home" is a haven of peace, where the storms of this world, the bitter strife of religious or party differences, and the jealousies of society, are unknown. The Irish farmer is a dutiful son, reverencing his parents, and yielding his primary tribute of affection to his mother, whose dying blessing is ever an object of fond solicitude.

Woman, everywhere the solace of man and the adornment of life, is in Ireland most deservedly beloved and trusted. Faithful in her vows,—endearing in her affections, and sedulous in the fulfilment of her filial and other maternal duties,—the Irish woman is not excelled in any part of the globe; and for kindly and cheerful feelings, and unostentatious charity, she is rarely equalled.

Endowed with such valuable qualities, it is not to be wondered that the people of Ireland are generally liked by the people of England. It is a well-known fact that Irishmen quickly and advantageously marry in England, and that an Englishwoman

* An exception must here be made to the massacres of defenceless women and children in 1641, and at other periods of insurrection against the Protestant religion or British Government, when the passions of the people were goaded into fury by their leaders.

is not long a spinster in Ireland. There is indeed a natural affinity between the two countries, which it is the height of wickedness to endeavour to weaken or destroy.

In the highest branches of human knowledge, and on the widest arena of human enterprise, the names of Irishmen are justly celebrated. Among divines, philosophers, statesmen, orators, legislators, diplomatists, financiers, historians, warriors, poets, astronomers, physicians, sculptors, musicians, and dramatists, we find the names of Archbishop Ussher, Berkeley, Adam Clarke, Wellesley, Wellington, Burke, Canning, Boyle, Swift, Sterne, Goldsmith, Sheridan, Hastings, Grattan, Foster, Curran, Flood, Clare, Bushe, Yelverton, Hutchison, Plunket, Sheill, Jebb, Browne, Loftus, Sloane (Sir Hans), Castlereagh, Charlemont, Macartney, Staunton, Malone, Francis (Sir Philip), Coote (Sir Eyre), Knox, Parnell (financier), Parnell (poet), Pottinger (Sir Henry), Gough (Sir Hugh), Brinkley, Oxmantown, Robinson, Hamilton, Morgan (Lady), Mornington, Hutchison, Moore, Gillespie (Rollo), Hawkins, Abernethy, Lever, Hall (Mrs.), Lover, Wolfe, Maxwell, Maturin, Carolan, O'Neil (Miss), Farrer (Miss), Mossop, Murphy, Cooke, Macklin, Hogan, MacLise, and others of past and rising celebrity.

It is generally supposed that the Duke of Wellington was born at the family seat, Dangan, county Meath. His Grace was born in Grafton Street, Dublin. The Marquis Wellesley was born at Dangan. These illustrious brothers—the Fabius and Marcellus of the British empire—have ever evinced a heart-felt interest for the welfare of a country which their ancestors have inhabited, as distinctly traced, for more than five centuries. The Duke of Wellington conceded Roman Catholic emancipation contrary to his feelings and judgment, rather than deluge his native land with the blood of his countrymen; and for this act of self-devotion he has been meanly and ignominiously taunted and reviled by those whom he has benefited. The Marquis Wellesley twice refused the premiership, and for years voluntarily excluded himself from office—to obtain Catholic emancipation; and when the records of his Irish viceroyalty are published, the just and comprehensive policy he endeavoured to carry into

effect in Ireland will be found equal to his glorious government of British India.*

Lord Wellesley was a perfect specimen of the Irish gentleman of the old school, with a beautiful form and of the most polished manners and exquisitely refined taste; thoroughly master of his own language and of the highest classic attainments; abounding in pathos, rich in anecdote, and sparkling with wit; quickly perceptive, and yet deeply reflective; of high comprehensive resolves; prompt, vigorous, and effective in action; quickly discriminating character, and well adapting instruments for the purposes designed; yielding confidence most fully, and, with the power that alone belongs to genius, pouring into his subordinates the spirit and energy of a large, vigorous, and well-stored mind; kindly considerate to inferiors; gay, animated, instructive with equals; deferential but proud to superiors; ardently attached to Constitutional liberty; conscious of the responsibility of political power, despising wealth, imbued with a pure patriotism, and, when full of years and honours, descending into the grave, breathing forth his dying thoughts for the welfare and perpetuity of the United British Empire.

What enabled these distinguished men to inscribe their names in the Scroll of Fame, and to add to the honour and to the welfare of their country? The wide and noble field of British enterprise. Wherever wind blows, or ocean rolls, there may be found united the English, Irish, Scotch, and Welch, under the glorious title of *Britons*, establishing the physical, mental, and moral supremacy of their "United Kingdom," striking the fetters from the slave, emancipating the oppressed, and, in fulfilment of a Divine mission, preaching the glad tidings of the Gospel in distant and heathen lands:—

*"Go, stranger,—track the deep,
Free, free the white sail spread;
Wind may not blow, nor billow sweep,
Where rest not Britain's dead."*

* Of the Marquess Wellesley's Eastern administration, it may be said briefly, that his Lordship consolidated the Anglo-Indian Empire,—established our Oriental supremacy on the basis of justice; that he brought thirty million brave and intelligent subjects under the dominion of the British Crown; and that he added *ten millions sterling annually to the Imperial revenue*.—R. M. M.

I return to statistics and facts,—as it is exceedingly desirable to prove, in the most ample manner, that poverty among some classes in Ireland is not the result of a legislative Union with Great Britain. Had the Parliamentary incorporation of the two islands taken place three hundred years ago, instead of in 1800, the condition of every class in Ireland would not have been inferior to that of any other part of the empire. Mr. and Mrs. Hall, in their recent valuable work on Ireland, give the following description of the “Palatines,” which illustrates the truth of the preceding observations:—

THE PALATINES IN IRELAND.

“In the immediate vicinity of Adare—but also in other parts of the country—a singular and peculiar race of strangers settled a century and a half ago, and still keep themselves, to a considerable extent, apart and separate from the people. They are known as ‘the Palatines.’ Early in the last century Lord Southwell introduced into Ireland a number of German Protestants, placing them originally at Court-Matress.

“Even now they are very different in character, and distinct in habits, from the people of the country. We viewed several of their cottages, or, as they are better pleased to call them, ‘houses,’ in the neighbourhood of Adare; and the neatness, good order, and quantity and quality of the furniture—useful and ornamental—too surely indicated that we were not in a merely Irish cabin. Huge fitches of bacon hung from the rafters; the chairs were in several instances composed of walnut-tree and oak; massive and heavy, although rudely-carved chests, contained, as we are told, the house linen and woollen, and the wardrobes of the inhabitants. The elders of the family preserve, in a great degree, the language, customs, and religion of their old country; but the younger mingle and marry with their Irish neighbours. The men are tall, fine, stout fellows, as our Irish friend said ‘*to follow* ;’ but there is a calm and stern severity and reserve in their aspect that is anything but cheering to a traveller to meet, particularly after being accustomed to the brilliant smiles, and hearty ‘God save ye kindly,’ so perpetually on the peasant’s lips, and always in his eyes. This characteristic is also remarkable in the cottages. The women are sombre-looking, and their large blue eyes are neither bright nor expressive; they are slow to bid you welcome, and, if they rise from their seats, resume them quickly, and hardly suspend their occupations to talk with you; not that they are uncourteous—they are simply cold, reserved, and of that high-toned manner which is at ease with or careless of the presence of strangers. In their dealings they are considered upright and honourable. Like the Quakers of old, they do not interfere with either politics or religion; are cautious as to land-taking; and in the troublous times, when the generality of persons were afraid to walk forth, the quiet Palatine pursued his avocations without let or hindrance, being rarely, if ever, molested. Many of the old Palatines used to have their Bibles buried with them; and this accounts for our being unable to find any other than English Bibles in their houses. We failed, indeed, to discover any books in their own language; but one of the elders told us they had given many of them to the

soldiers of the German legion as keepsakes, while that body was quartered in the neighbourhood. They are at present, both as regards their customs and traditions, only a relic of the past ; and yet one so strongly marked and so peculiar, that it will take a long time before all trace of the 'Father-land' is obliterated. Their superstitions, also, savour strongly of the banks of the Rhine ; but they are careful in communicating them, which may proceed from their habitual reserve. They retain the names of their ancestors, such as 'Fritz,' 'Meta,' 'Ella,' 'Ruth,' 'Ebenezer,' which are common among them, and sound strangely when mingled with the more aboriginal Dinnys and Nellys.

"About sixty years ago, Ferrar, the historian of Limerick, thus wrote of the Palatines :—'They preserve their language, but it is declining ; they sleep between two beds ; they appoint a burgomaster, to whom they appeal in all disputes. They are industrious men, and have leases from the proprietors of the land at reasonable rents ; they are, consequently, better fed and clothed than the generality of Irish peasants. Besides, their modes of husbandry and crops are better than those of their neighbours. They have by degrees left off their sour-cROUT, and feed on potatoes, milk, butter, oaten and wheaten bread, some meat and fowls, of which they rear many. They keep their cows housed in winter, feeding them with hay and oaten straw : their houses are remarkably clean ; to which they have stables, cow-houses, a lodge for their plough, and neat kitchen-gardens. The women are very industrious, and perform many things which the Irish woman could never be prevailed on to do ; besides their domestic employments and the care of their children, they reap the corn, plough the ground, and assist the men in everything. In short, the Palatines have benefited the country by increasing tillage ; and are a laborious, independent people, who are mostly employed on their own small farms.' "

Now the "Palatines," as well as the "Ulster men," are under the same Government as the other classes of Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland. Why do we find in their cottages *neatness, good order, useful and ornamental furniture, wardrobes of house-linen and woollens, and huge flitches of bacon from the rafters—* for consumption, and not, as Goldsmith has it—

*"In some Irish houses where things are so, so,
A gammon of bacon's hung up for a show ;
But as to eating the thing they take pride in,
They'd as soon think of eating the pan that it's fried in."*

Why, it may be asked, are the "Palatines" better off than their neighbours ?

The preceding remarks on different races, and their modes of thinking and acting, will, to a great extent, answer the question ; to which must be added the words of Mrs. Hall, and of Ferrar :
"they do not interfere with either politics or religion ; are cautious as to land-taking ; they are considered upright and honourable in their

dealings ; are attached to their Bibles ; and they are a laborious, independent people, and have better modes of husbandry and crops than those of their neighbours ; and are consequently better fed and clothed than the generality of Irish peasants."

When will the present unfortunate victims of delusion and of the fell arts of personal avarice and of a morbid desire for notoriety, learn that the true secret of their condition lies not in the Legislative Union, but in their own conduct ; and that if they will imitate the "Palatines," in the south, or the "Ulster men," in the north, that redress for poverty and degradation is at their own door, and that in this "the patient must therein minister to himself?"

Will the Irish peasant remember the words of Holy Writ—
 "He that tilleth his land shall have plenty of bread ; but HE THAT FOLLOWETH AFTER VAIN PERSONS shall have *poverty enough*." (Proverbs, xxvii. 19). And that "*in all labour there is profit*." Contrast this with the following excuses for idleness, recently laid before one of the Hand-loom Weaver Commissioners in Ireland :—

"It was once endeavoured to be explained to me, that the comparative lowness of condition of the Irish peasantry arose from a fact that might not have been brought before me, namely, that 'an Irishman's year has but 200 days !' I confessed that the proposition was novel to me, and my informant, with perfect gravity, thus logically, and, as he considered, unanswerably, demonstrated it : 'You will allow,' said he, 'an Irishman has 52 Sabbaths, in which he should not work !'—Granted. 'There then is 52 days. Not an Irishman that doesn't attend at least one market weekly ; there go 52 more days. Find an Irishman, if you can, that does not attend one fair a month ; there go 12 more days. Where's the man, if he be at all respectable, that won't devote his afternoon or half-day to the wake or funeral of his friend or neighbour ; and it's a poor neighbourhood that there won't be one death in a week ; there go 26 days more. Then you know there are our saint-days, and our holy-days, and our birth-days ; and maybe Dan will be getting up a precursur, or a tithe-maiting, or the likes o' that, which a man is bound to attend for the love of Ould Ireland ; and now make your reckoning, and see whether a man will have more than 200 days in a year he can call his own.'"

Amongst the many characteristics of the lower orders of Irish, that of pride is very general, and in many instances carried to a ridiculous extent. A quarryman would rather starve than submit to the regular and permanent wages of a daily labourer. This was singularly exemplified at the Killaloe slate quarries,

when (during the heat of the Repeal agitation) the men became all at once dissatisfied, and struck for wages. With a sincere wish to give constant employment to upwards of 1,000 persons, and "to develop this branch of the national resources," the Company conducting this most important undertaking then endeavoured to establish a regular system of wages. But this certain remuneration was most repulsive to the feelings of the quarrymen. They had trusted for years to "*luck*," and to their station in life, and no argument could induce them to change their system. They also refused to answer to their names every morning, unless they were called over apart from the labourers. An attempt to clothe them in a useful and durable working dress totally failed: the wish to better the outer man, was viewed as an infringement on an ancient right to wear tattered corduroys; and an indistinct and undefinable dread of servitude seemed to haunt them. An hon. and gallant Baronet, living near Castle Connell, made a bold attempt by importing a couple of smock-frocks for his ploughmen, but the ridicule which these useful habiliments excited, obliged the wearers to cast them off, and resume their cumbersome great-coats, &c.

This is a peculiar trait of the Irish character; but it is not without its advantages. There consequently is almost a total absence of servility amongst the lower orders. They are deferential without being humble; and their pride only requires a proper turn to be given to it to make them enjoy the same feeling of independence which, in other countries, arises from wealth and civilisation. The standard of intelligence and acumen is certainly above par amongst the working Irish: the natural talent of the boys from twelve to fifteen years old, is probably superior to that of any other country.

Having ourselves visited, during the present autumn, the magnificent (though comparatively unknown), slate quarries near Killaloe, we may be pardoned in again introducing the subject, as we consider the undertaking to be one of really national importance. We learnt from the best authority, that more than 60,000*l.* has been already spent there by Englishmen

in opening these extensive works, and in making the necessary arrangements for the sale of *cheap* slate throughout Ireland. For upwards of five years, at least 2,500 persons have been annually supported by this outlay of *English* capital: the consequence has been that the poor-house has never received a single inmate from the district. Emigration has ceased, and destitution has disappeared.

The encouragement given by Government has been hitherto nothing, and by the Irish nobility and gentry very limited. Yet surely this influx of English capital is of vital importance to the prosperity of Ireland, and ought to be encouraged. Let us however draw no criterion from the past. Her Majesty, in her gracious Speech, has expressed a most anxious desire to ameliorate the condition of Ireland; and should this subject be shortly brought under the notice of the Executive, we feel satisfied that it will meet with due consideration.

But it is not only among the poorer classes in the south and west of Ireland, that defects in personal conduct produce poverty and its concomitant, discontent; we have not merely to complain of the filth inside and outside the peasant's hut, which the labour of one hour would remove; of the torn garments, which a few stitches would mend; and the broken fence, inviting the entrance of cattle to the corn-field; it is not merely in the peasant that an absence of order, and a want of the spirit of improvement is manifest; in many of the upper classes we see the same apathy and indifference to a beneficial change if it involves the slightest trouble and anxiety.

Mr. Featherstone, who was examined before the Commons, Committee on Public Works in Ireland in 1835, was asked (Question 2338), if the landlords would object to a compulsory power being given them to make roads?

Answer—"A great number of them would: it is a very rare thing to find a man of any class inclined to join in *making improvement* in that country: *he opposes it.*

"2401. Do you not attribute a great deal of the evils of Ireland to the fact of the landlords being, generally speaking, in distress?—I think they are greatly distressed; but I attribute a great deal to their own indolence and supineness towards *carrying on improvements*, and a great *dislike to those who do carry on improvements.*

"2413. The mountain land burns red ashes?—It will; the mountain is alluvial land, and produces anything: the oats of a beautiful gold colour, and an enormous crop; but what is *the good of it?* you cannot send it to market." (The witness, I should observe, had already stated that there were no roads, and that the Grand Jury would not make them.)

"2414. You are speaking of the land in the valleys between the mountains?—Yes.

"2415. What observations would you make upon the mountains themselves?—The mountains are capable of improvement also; and the Carlow people, who have a very bad description of mountain, came up to settle there, and they preferred cultivating the hills, to our great astonishment. They are a far more industrious race than any I have met with in Ireland; but, being strangers, there was a prejudice against them. *They adopted improvements: for instance, they put their corn on stones, that the mice might not destroy it.*"

THIS PREJUDICE AGAINST IMPROVEMENTS is forcibly illustrated by the following extract from a deservedly popular work:—

"In the generality of the cottages, there was the same abandonment to filth and discomfort which characterises the peasantry at large. In one which forms a gate-house to the park of Ardfry, and which is a mansion of solid masonry and spacious accommodation, it was striking to find an Irish family living in the usual slovenly style, though the husband, besides other sources of income, realises thirty pounds a-year as a reader of the Scriptures to the peasantry; while a neighbouring cot, occupied by a comparatively poor Scotsman belonging to the Coast-guard, presented to us the pleasing spectacle of good furniture, clean floor and walls, a *gudewife* baking barley or wheaten bread, and a *gudemán* respectably, though plainly, dressed. One might suppose from this, that poverty has nothing to do with Irish squalor; but we must recollect, that though this particular man was not poor, he and his wife have been reared amidst people who are so, and are exposed at this moment to the contagion of example. And not only so, but, strange as it may appear, that public opinion, which is exercised on so many important affairs in Ireland, is exercised also in preserving certain regulations as to dress, accommodation, and other small domestic matters; so that a Connaught peasant would find it almost as uncomfortable to put on a whole coat, or sand the floor of his cabin, as to bid for land over his neighbour's head, or to give evidence against a friend in a case of murder. I heard, on this occasion, some amusing examples of this peculiar form of the tyranny of opinion. A mason, for instance, who, after great entreaties, had been induced to rear a building designed for a very humble purpose, was so persecuted by the ridicule of his neighbours, that he one night came and pulled it all down again. Any movement in Ireland towards an improved social and domestic condition, would, therefore, need to be a general one."—*A Few More Days in Ireland.*—*Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, October, 1837.

What would a "Repeal of the Union" do towards removing habits of improvidence, idleness, and apathy? But there is another formidable ill, equally beyond the redress of the Legislature. In 1793, the Irish Parliament passed an act conferring the

elective franchise on a class of voters known as the "*forty shilling freeholders*," with a view to the possession of political influence at elections, and to the augmentation of rent-rolls. Hence the rapid and extraordinary multiplication of small tenures, constantly subdividing and reducing the tenant to a far worse condition than an ordinary day-labourer, and rapidly producing a pauper population.

The serious effect of this state of things, which Ireland owes to her "domestic Parliament," are thus described by the Irish Railway Commissioners in their Report to the Queen, dated 13th July, 1838, of which the able and lamented Mr. Drummond, under secretary of Ireland, was the chief—together with General Burgoyne, Professor Barlow, and Mr. R. Griffith; with Major Jones, R.E., for the Secretary. The testimony of such an impartial commission, and of men whose whole conduct indicate their attachment to Ireland, is very remarkable. (See Report, Part iii., page 79.)

"The misery and destitution which prevail so extensively, together with all the demoralisation incident to the peculiar condition of the Irish peasantry, may be traced to this source [the 'Forty Shilling Freeholders' Act]. The country, particularly in the west and south-western counties, is overspread with small but exceedingly crowded communities, sometimes located in villages, but more frequently in isolated tenements, exclusively composed of the poorest class of labourers, who, removed from the presence and social or moral influence of a better and more enlightened class, are left, generally, to the coercive power of the law alone to hold them within the bounds of peace and order. No system of constant or remunerative industry is established amongst them. The cultivation of their patches of land and the labour of providing fuel are their sole employment, which, occupying but a comparatively small portion of their time, leaves them exposed to all the temptations of an idle, reckless, and needy existence.

"In such a community there is no demand for hired labourers. Every occupier, with such assistance as his own family can furnish, manages to raise the scanty supply of food which he may need for their support, and as much grain, or other produce, as may be required to pay his rent; but beyond this, there is no solicitude about cultivating the land, nor the least taste for improving or making it more valuable. At the periods of active labour, when additional hands are absolutely necessary, every expedient is resorted to in order to avoid the employment of a single paid labourer. Children of tender years are then forced to do the work of men in the fields, to a degree far beyond their strength, and all the females who are capable of rendering assistance, are tasked in many ways utterly unsuited to their sex, and incompatible with the slightest attention to their proper cares and duties. At all times, indeed, of the year, whether the case be urgent or not, the share of labour, out of doors, imposed upon women and young girls, who might, in every

respect, be so much better occupied, is as injurious to the moral condition, as it must be to the personal and domestic comfort of the peasantry.

"There is a class of landholders superior to these, holding from eight to twelve or fifteen acres, who are equally slovenly and careless in the management of their land ; but necessarily obliged, on account of its greater extent, to procure assistance out of their own families. Sometimes, but rarely, these persons hire daily labourers among the neighbouring poor ; and in such cases they are usually guided in their choice, not by the character or capability of the man they employ, but by the lowest rate of wages at which they can possibly obtain his service. More commonly, however, they engage, as farm-servants, young men between sixteen and twenty-five years of age, who reside in the family of their employer, and hire themselves out at remarkably low wages, seldom exceeding 1*l.* per quarter, and, in numerous instances, scarcely more than half that sum.

"The litigation which occupies a great portion of the time of the several Courts of Petty Sessions, arises out of the disputes of this class of servants with their employers ; the former being usually impatient to break off their engagements at the busy and more profitable season of the year, and the latter anxious, of course, to reap the full benefit of the contract. Another common subject of angry contention, before the same tribunals, is furnished by ill-defined boundaries, neglected fences, and consequent trespass between the neighbouring tenants of the small divisions of land above described. More time and money are commonly wasted in such contests than would suffice to repair all the damage which forms the ground of quarrel ; and animosities are engendered which often lead to feuds of a lasting duration, and the most deadly consequences.

"It is plain, that under such a distribution of property, no rational hope can be entertained of the general introduction of an improved system of husbandry, or the employment of the labouring poor, to the extent and in the manner which would be beneficial to them, and conducive to the prosperity and good order of the community.

"It is, therefore, much to be wished that such a system should no longer continue. For the preservation of property—for the interests of the public peace—for the progress of civilisation and improvement—and for the permanent good of the rural population, it is desirable that a speedy alteration should take place. The evil cannot remain stationary ; it must either be met with effective opposition, or it will, by its own accumulative force, proceed to the last point at which the process of subdivision is practicable ; and what may be the consequences of suffering it to go so far, it is painful to contemplate."

Partly arising out of and connected with this great evil of the rapid subdivision of land, without a corresponding augmentation of surplus wealth, is another of considerable moment, which the late Dr. Doyle (the exemplary and patriotic Roman Catholic Bishop) forcibly condemned, namely "*Early Marriages.*" That it may not be supposed these are theories of the author of this work, et the following accurate description of the evil, and of its results, as given in a recent Connaught Journal, be perused :

"*EARLY MARRIAGES.*—Amongst the social evils of Ireland, there is none occupies a more prominent position than that of early and improvident marriages. *To this*

may be attributed, in a great measure, the poverty and privations to which the peasantry of this country subject themselves, particularly in the province of Connaught. While the inhabitants of Ulster and Leinster never think of marriage until a suitable provision has been made for this change of circumstances, the peasantry of Connaught rush forward, regardless of the consequences, and reckless of the future. In Leinster a man secures a home to bring a wife to before he thinks of looking for one. In Connaught, a peasant thinks of a wife first, and takes chance of a home after; and though this may not be strictly correct in every instance, it will be found, on inquiry, to be true with reference to two-thirds of the matches made by the cottier peasantry of this province.

"A great portion of this evil may be traced to the sub-letting system, which has been carried to such an extent, particularly in Mayo. The holdings of land vary in general from two to three acres, and though many extend to twenty, yet a greater number are certainly below than above five acres. Let us suppose the case of a tenant occupying five acres of land, and having a family of six children. He is enabled to portion off his eldest daughter by a cow or two, some sheep, perhaps, and a small sum of money 'to pay the priest.' His eldest son is next to be provided for (of course, by marriage); and this, following closely on the nuptials of his daughter, renders it improbable that, with justice to his younger children, he could divide his stock or his purse with him. One alternative remains—to divide his holding, and he is then left to support a wife and two children on two acres and a half of land. Two acts of the drama have now been played, and three children at least remain behind. Another son or a daughter is sent to commence the world on an acre cut off the already miserable farm; and the ultimate result is, that from being once comparatively comfortable on five acres of land, the father ends his days either on half an acre, or more probably, unable to support the remnant of his family, he becomes a pauper, dependent for existence on the charity of his neighbours.

"This is a melancholy picture, but it is not, therefore, the less true. It results from the natural anxiety which every man feels to 'become his own master'—an anxiety commendable in itself, when regulated by the dictates of common sense, which, we regret to say, is seldom appealed to in such instances as these we have endeavoured to portray; and, therefore, it becomes necessary that some measures should be adopted to mitigate the evil—that some influential party should point out a course leading to the same end, but unattended by the same misery and distress. We belong not to the Malthus school—we would not unnecessarily interfere with the domestic arrangements of the peasant—but when we perceive him without education to guide the judgment, without forethought or reflection as to the future results, enter into an engagement on which depends his happiness and misery in this life, we consider it an act of the greatest benevolence to assist him in attaining his object with more certainty of happiness and less of misery.

"We have reason to know that this subject has engaged the attention of some of the landlords of this country; and instead of offering any suggestions of our own, we shall content ourselves for the present by detailing the system which has been adopted on two estates in this county, with a view to the mitigation of the evil. The holdings have been divided equally, and a rule has been made that a second dwelling-house shall not be built on any one holding, thus putting an end to such dividing or sub-letting. It therefore becomes necessary that, before a marriage takes place on the estate, a new holding shall be had, and a new house built; and as there was reclaimable land which could be brought into cultivation, no inconvenience has yet

been felt from the arrangement. We understand that the experiment has been only four years in operation, which is too short a period to test its applicability. But already it has led to a visible change in the habits of the occupiers. Land no longer forms an item in the nuptial negotiations; and the certainty of the farm still continuing undiminished in extent, induces a liberality sufficient to compensate in some degree for the loss; while the obtaining of a holding, and the building of a house, lead to habits of industry and forethought, and have put an end to marriages being contracted, as heretofore, by boys of sixteen or eighteen years of age. We shall look forward with much interest to the results of this experiment, *convinced, as we are, that early and improvident marriages form one of the greatest evils under which the peasantry of this country labour.*"—*Mayo Paper.*

The testimony laid before the Commission appointed to inquire into the condition of the Irish poor, and published in 1836, as to the ages at which the people generally marry is as follows:—

"The Galway labourers usually marry at from eighteen to twenty-one; in Leitrim, from sixteen to twenty-two; and in Mayo and Sligo usually under twenty years of age. In the county of Dublin, at twenty-six; in Kilkenny, at from twenty to twenty-five; in King's County, at from seventeen to twenty; in Louth, from twenty-five to thirty; in Meath, from twenty to twenty-five. In Queen's County they marry at twenty-six; in Wicklow, from twenty-three to twenty-eight; and in Kerry from eighteen to twenty-two.

"The Rev. Mr. Fitzmaurice, P.P. at Templemore, in the last-mentioned county, says, 'I have married girls of twelve to thirteen, and at this moment there is a married woman in Templemore who has just had a child at the age of fourteen! A woman in the parish of Killarney had *two* children before the age of *fifteen*! In the following counties the age at which the labourers marry, are, in Clare, from seventeen to twenty-five, but the greater number before twenty; Limerick, from eighteen to twenty-five; Cork, about twenty; Tipperary, from eighteen to twenty-two; Waterford, from twenty-four to thirty; Armagh, from nineteen to thirty; Down, from twenty to twenty-five; Fermanagh, from eighteen to twenty-five.'

In addition to the evils of subdivision of land and of early marriages, there are other avoidable and remediable causes which have tended to depress and impoverish some parts of Ireland. Agitators, violent party men, and sectarians, have much to answer for; and those who still endeavour to keep up "agitation," and religious feuds in Ireland, would do well to pause, and evince in reality some of that patriotism to which they lay such an exclusive claim, by permitting the excitable minds of the people to rest, even for a time, from incessant turmoil, from which no possible good can be derived. Let the encouragers of this pernicious and demoralising system read and ponder on the following description of its effects as given in the Hand-

loom Weavers Commissioners' Report on the "Linen Manufacture of Ireland," page 727.

"Political and religious animosities and dissensions, and *unceasing agitation, first for one object and then for another, have so destroyed confidence, and shaken the bonds of society,—undermined men's principles, and estranged neighbour from neighbour, friend from friend, and class from class*—that, in lieu of observing any common effort to ameliorate the condition of the people, we find every proposition for this object, emanate from which party it may, received with distrust by the other; maligned, perverted, and destroyed, to gratify the political purposes of a faction.

"On this subject, the complaints of every man engaged in trade with whom I conversed were loud and uniform. Commerce was compared, by one of them, in timidity, to the dove; it will venture only where assured of security and tranquillity, and not light on shores disturbed by political or social convulsion. I could enumerate a *long catalogue of instances in which capital has been actually driven from the country, by the insecurity arising from agrarian and political disturbances*; but the far great number of cases in which these causes have deterred its approach, would, if detailed, convincingly account for many of the evils, happily almost peculiar to this ill-fated land.

"The comparative prosperity enjoyed by that portion of Ireland where tranquillity ordinarily prevails, such as the counties Down, Antrim, and Derry, testify the capabilities of Ireland to work out her own regeneration, when freed of the disturbing causes which have so long impeded her progress in civilisation and improvement. We find there a population hardy, healthy, and employed; capital fast flowing into the district; new sources of employment daily developing themselves; a people well disposed alike to the Government and institutions of their country; and not distrustful and jealous of their superiors. Contrast the social condition of these people with such pictures as we have presented to us from other districts. Mr. John William Haynes, the conductor of the *Barrington Mont de Piété* in Limerick, states :*—

"There is a description of persons who live entirely on their dealings in huckstering eggs, potatoes, and other things of that sort, of a very poor description. They deal almost entirely with us. They pledge in the morning their bed-clothes for as much money as will buy six or eight stone of potatoes. They hold them up until evening, and then dispose of them at a higher rate to those persons who are not able to come in the morning early to buy from the farmers. They pledge their bed-clothes with us for 3s. 11d.; they are going as close as they can upon the 4s.†; for which they only pay us in the evening a half-penny. They invariably release the articles in the evening, and support their families upon the profit of what they have borrowed in the day."

"There is probably no country in the world in which the pawning and borrowing of small sums is carried on to as great an extent as in Ireland, or on such disadvantageous terms. For loans of two, three, or four pounds, advanced in the months of May or June, notes of hand will frequently be passed, made payable after harvest, in which the interest is made to amount to half the sum

* Minutes of Evidence, p. 15, Parliamentary Paper 677.

† Beyond which sum the interest would be higher.

borrowed ;* where such a ruinous course is attempted to be avoided, and persons get potatoes or other articles on credit, they seem only to escape Scylla to fall on Charybdis. A witness examined before the same Parliamentary Committee states :

“ ‘ In the case of persons buying potatoes, it is the common habit of farmers to charge them perhaps 8s. a barrel more than the market price, for giving the person time.’

“ He is asked, ‘ What time is usual ? ’ and answers, ‘ Generally from the summer season, when the potatoes become scarce, till harvest, when the potatoes are dug.’

“ *Question.*—‘ Not extending to six months ? ’—‘ Nothing like it.’

“ ‘ Where 8s. more than the market price is charged for a barrel, what would you suppose to be the average price of a barrel at that time ? ’—‘ I suppose a guinea or 22s.’ [*That is, EIGHT shillings interest on ONE guinea principal for twelve months !*]

The statements in this Chapter prove several points ; *first*, the extraordinary augmentation in the population of Ireland *since the Union* ; *second*, the too great density of the inhabitants compared to the arable area ; *third*, the variety in the character and conduct of the people ; and *fourth*, that moral and physical influences, and not governmental acts, are necessary to the well-being, peace, and happiness of Ireland.

* Sessional Paper 677 ; Question 254.

CHAPTER VII.

NATIONAL EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE SINCE THE UNION.

It is a most important branch of the question under consideration to ascertain what has been done by Government and the Legislature since the Union for the education of the people, and to inquire into the *truth* of the following passage of the Repealer's "Address to the inhabitants of the countries subject to the British Crown," dated Dublin, 13th, 1843 (Preface, p. viii.):—

"Another species of tyranny, the basest and most atrocious of all, has been recently put in practice by some of the most cruel and bigoted of our landlords; not content with the dominion of the landlord over the tenure and the rent, they insist upon and exercise a diabolical despotism over the religion and the conscience of their tenants, and require of them to send their children to schools from which the Catholic clergy are excluded, and in which no religion is taught but that which the parents believe to be false. *Thus these landlords usurp a bigoted power over the souls as well as the bodies of their wretched serfs. It is only an Irish landlord who could be guilty of this climax of cruelty.*"

Before investigating this charge, let us see if the "Domestic Parliament of Ireland" made any attempt to educate the people.

After a vain search in the annals of the Irish Parliament, we find no proposition, by public or private endowment, for the education of the people, until the 12th of April, 1786; when Mr. Orde (*an Englishman*), Secretary for Ireland, made a most able speech on the subject (see *Collectanea Politica*, vol. ii., p. 143); in which he feelingly expressed his grief, although a stranger, at the "*long indifference about education.*" After an animated speech, Mr. Orde carried a resolution in the Irish House of Commons—"That the national foundation of one or more public schools, for facilitating and extending to the youth of this kingdom the means of good education, would be of great public utility." It cost the "Domestic Parliament" nothing to agree to Mr. Secretary Orde's resolution, but they did not vote

one shilling to carry it into effect. Next year, Mr. Orde made another attempt to arouse the feelings of the Irish Parliament, by the following resolution:—"That education, at least so far as respects the lower classes of the community, is in so deplorable a condition, that it may be truly said 'for lack of knowledge, the land perisheth.' " Still nothing whatever was done to educate the great mass of the people previous to the Union. But on no subject has there been a greater unanimity of opinion in the "Imperial Legislature" than that every effort should be used to educate all classes in Ireland, however much men might differ as to the means or mode by which this great object was to be accomplished.

Commissioners were appointed, in 1806, under legislative authority, to inquire into the state and condition of education in Ireland. During the six years ending 1812, fourteen Reports on education were presented to Parliament. It appeared that there were then 4,600 schools in Ireland, containing about 200,000 scholars. A Parliamentary Commission on Irish education was issued in 1824, and continued to 1827, which led to voluminous Reports on the subject. The number of schools and scholars had then been doubled.

The interference of the state has not been solely confined to regulation and to inquiry: Parliamentary grants have been at various times most liberally made for the purposes of education. The amount of the expenditure for several years will appear from the following account:—

Charter Schools . . .	£1,105,869	Belfast Institution . . .	£4,155
Foundling Hospital . . .	820,005	Cork Institution . . .	43,710
Association for discounte-		Hibernian School . . .	240,356
nancing Vice . . .	101,991	Marine Society . . .	64,262
Kildare Place Society . .	170,508	Female Orphan School . .	50,414
Lord Lieutenant's Fund .	40,998		
Maynooth College . . .	271,869	Total . . .	£29,141,137

So far from the Committees of the Imperial Parliament on Education desiring to perpetuate religious dissension, the very reverse has been the case; in evidence of which it will be sufficient to quote the resolutions of the Committee: and let it

be borne in mind that these resolutions were proposed by three prelates of the Established Church,—by the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and by several ecclesiastical, as well as lay members of the Protestant community.

1. “ That this Committee, with reference to the opinions above recorded, consider that no system of education can be expedient, which may be calculated to ‘ influence or disturb the peculiar religious tenets of any sect or denomination of Christians.’

2. “ That it is of the utmost importance to bring together children of the different religious persuasions in Ireland, for the purpose of instructing them in the general subjects of moral and literary knowledge, and providing facilities for their religious instruction *separately*, when differences of creed render it impracticable for them to receive religious instruction together.

3. “ That the selection of teachers in the schools of general education should be made *without religious distinction*.

4. “ That for the purpose of carrying into effect the combined literary and the *separate religious education* of the scholars, the course of study for four fixed days of the week should be exclusively moral and literary; and that of the two remaining days, the one be appropriated solely to the separate religious instruction of the Protestant children, the other for the separate religious instruction of the Roman Catholic children. In each case no literary instruction to be given, or interference allowed on the part of the teacher, but the whole of this separate religious instruction to be placed under the *exclusive superintendence* of the clergy of the respective communions.

5. “ That copies of the New Testament, and of such other religious books as may be printed in the manner hereinafter mentioned, should be provided for the use of the children, to be read in school at such times of *separate* instruction only, and under the direction of the attending clergyman; the established version for the use of the Protestant scholars, and the version published with the approval of the Roman Catholic bishops for the children of that communion.

6. "That it be the invariable rule in each of such schools of general instruction, that the scholars shall attend on Sunday at their *respective places* of worship, unless prevented by some sufficient excuse."

The system of National Education adopted by the British Government for Ireland will be seen in the following letter of the Right Hon. E. G. Stanley, (now Lord Stanley, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies,) Chief Secretary to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, addressed to His Grace the Duke of Leinster :—

"Irish Office, London, October, 1831.

"MY LORD,—His Majesty's Government having come to the determination of empowering the Lord Lieutenant to constitute a Board for the Superintendence of a System of National Education in Ireland, and Parliament having so far sanctioned the arrangement, as to appropriate a sum of money in the present year, as an experiment of the probable success of the proposed system, I am directed by his Excellency to acquaint your Grace, that it is his intention, with your consent, to constitute you the President of the new Board : and I have it further in command to lay before your Grace the motives of the Government in constituting this Board, the powers which it is intended to confer upon it, and the objects which it is expected that it will bear in view, and carry into effect.

"The Commissioners, in 1812, recommended the appointment of a Board of this description, to superintend a system of education, from which should be banished even the suspicion of proselytism, and which, admitting children of all religious persuasions, should not interfere with the peculiar tenets of any. The Government of the day imagined that they had found a superintending body, acting upon a system such as was recommended, and intrusted the distribution of the national grants to the care of the Kildare-street Society. His Majesty's present Government are of opinion, that no private society deriving a part, however small, of their annual income from private sources, and only made the channel of the munificence of the Legislature, without being subject to any direct responsibility, could adequately and satisfactorily accomplish the end proposed ; and while they do full justice to the liberal views with which that society was originally instituted, as well as to the fairness with which they have, in most instances, endeavoured to carry their views into effect, they cannot but be sensible that one of the leading principles of that society was calculated to defeat its avowed objects, as experience has subsequently proved that it has. The determination to enforce in all their schools the reading of the Holy Scriptures without note or comment, was undoubtedly taken with the purest motives ; with the wish at once to connect religious with moral and literary education, and, at the same time, not to run the risk of wounding the peculiar feelings of any sect by catechetical instruction, or comments which might tend to subjects of polemical controversy. But it seems to have been overlooked, that the principles of the Roman Catholic Church (to which, in any system intended for general diffusion throughout Ireland, the bulk of the pupils must necessarily belong), were totally at variance with this principle ; and that the reading of the Holy Scriptures without note or comment, by children, must be peculiarly obnoxious

to a Church which denies even to adults the right of unaided private interpretation of the Sacred Volume in articles of religious belief.

"Shortly after its institution, although the Society prospered and extended its operations under the fostering care of the Legislature, this vital defect began to be noticed, and the Roman Catholic Clergy began to exert themselves with energy and success against a system to which they were in principle opposed, and which they feared might lead in its results to proselytism, even although no such object were contemplated by its promoters. When this opposition arose, founded on such grounds, it soon became manifest that the system could not become one of national education.

"The Commissioners of Education, in 1824-5, sensible of the defects of the system, and of the ground, as well as the strength of the objection taken, recommended the appointment of two teachers in every school, one Protestant and the other Roman Catholic, to superintend separately the religious education of the children ; and they hoped to have been able to agree upon a selection from the Scriptures which might have been generally acquiesced in by both persuasions. But it was soon found that these schemes were impracticable ; and, in 1828, a Committee of the House of Commons, to which were referred the various Reports of the Commissioners of Education, recommended a system to be adopted, which should afford, if possible, a combined literary and a separate religious education, and should be capable of being so far adapted to the views of the religious persuasions which divide Ireland, as to render it, in truth, a system of national education for the lower classes of the community.

"For the success of the undertaking, much must depend upon the character of the individuals who compose the Board ; and upon the security thereby afforded to the country, that while the interests of religion are not overlooked, the most scrupulous care should be taken not to interfere with the peculiar tenets of any description of Christian pupils.

"To attain the first object, it appears essential that a portion of the Board should be composed of men of high personal character, and of exalted station in the Church ; for the latter, that it should consist, in part, of persons professing different religious opinions.

"It is the intention of the Government that the Board should exercise a complete control over the various schools which may be erected under its auspices, or which, having been already established, may hereafter place themselves under its management, and submit to its regulations. Subject to these, applications for aid will be admissible from Christians of all denominations : but as one of the main objects must be to unite in one system children of different creeds, and as much must depend upon the co-operation of the resident Clergy, the Board will probably look with peculiar favour upon applications proceeding either from—

"1st. The Protestant and Roman Catholic Clergy of the parish ; or

"2nd. One of the clergymen, and a certain number of parishioners professing the opposite creed ; or

"3rd. Parishioners of both denominations.

"Where the application proceeds exclusively from Protestants, or exclusively from Roman Catholics, it will be proper for the Board to make inquiry as to the circumstances which lead to the absence of any names of the persuasion which does not appear.

"The Board will note all applications for aid, whether granted or refused, with

the grounds of the decision, and annually submit to Parliament a report of their proceedings.

"They will invariably require, as a condition not to be departed from, that local funds shall be raised, upon which any aid from the public will be dependent.

"They will refuse all applications in which the following objects are not locally provided for :—

"1st. A fund sufficient for the annual repairs of the school-house and furniture.

"2nd. A permanent salary for the master, not less than pounds.

"3rd. A sum sufficient to purchase books and school requisites at half-price, and books of separate religious instruction at prime cost.

"4th. Where aid is required from the Commissioners for building a school-house, it is required that at least one-third of the estimated expense be subscribed ; a site for building, to be approved of by the Commissioners, be granted to them ; and the school-house, when finished, be vested in them.

"They will require that the Schools be kept open for a certain number of hours, on four or five days of the week, at the discretion of the Commissioners, for moral and literary education only ; and that the remaining one or two days in the week to be set apart for giving, separately, such religious education to the children, as may be approved of by the clergy of their respective persuasions.

"They will also permit and encourage the clergy to give religious instruction to the children of their respective persuasions, either before or after the ordinary school hours, on the other days of the week.

"They will exercise the most entire control over all books to be used in the Schools, whether in the combined literary, or separate religious instruction ; none to be employed in the first, except under the sanction of the Board, nor in the latter, but with the approbation of the members of the board of the persuasion of those for whom they are intended.

"They will require that a register shall be kept in the Schools, in which shall be entered the attendance or non-attendance of each child on Divine worship on Sundays.

"They will, at various times, either by themselves, or by their inspectors, visit and examine into the state of each School, and report their observations to the Board.

"They will allow to the individuals or bodies applying for aid, the appointment of their own teacher, subject to the following restrictions and regulations :—

"1st. He (or she) shall be liable to be fined, suspended, or removed altogether, by the authority of the Commissioners, who shall, however, record their reasons.

"2nd. He shall have received previous instruction in a Model School to be established in Dublin.

"N.B.—It is not intended that this regulation should apply to prevent the admission of masters or mistresses of schools already established, who may be approved of by the Commissioners, nor of such as the Board may think fit to appoint, before the proposed Model School may come into full operation.

"3rd. He shall have received testimonials of good conduct, and of general fitness for the situation, from the Board, or the persons employed by them to conduct the Model School.

"The Board will be entrusted with the absolute control over the funds which may be annually voted by Parliament, which they shall apply to the following purposes :—

- "1st. Granting aid for the erection of Schools, subject to the conditions herein before specified.
- "2nd. Paying Inspectors for visiting and reporting upon Schools.
- "3rd. Gratuities to teachers of Schools, conducted under the rules laid down, not exceeding pounds each.
- "4th. Establishing and maintaining a Model School in Dublin, and in training teachers for country Schools.
- "5th. Editing and printing such books of moral and literary education as may be approved of for the use of the Schools, and supplying them and school necessities, at not lower than half-price.

"I have thus stated the objects which his Majesty's Government have in view, and the principal regulations by which they think those objects may be most effectually promoted : and I am directed by the Lord Lieutenant to express his Excellency's earnest wish that the one and the other may be found such as to procure for the Board the sanction of your Grace's name, and the benefit of your Grace's attendance.

"A full power will of course be given to the Board, to make such regulations upon matters of detail, not inconsistent with the spirit of these instructions, as they may judge best qualified to carry into effect the intentions of the Government and of the Legislature. Parliament has already placed at his Excellency's disposal a sum which may be available even in the course of the present year ; and as soon as the Board can be formed, it will be highly desirable that no time should be lost, with a view to the estimates of the ensuing year, in enabling such Schools, already established, as are willing to subscribe to the conditions imposed, to put in their claims for protection and assistance ; and in receiving applications from parties desirous to avail themselves of the munificence of the Legislature, in founding new Schools under your regulations.

"I have the honour to be, my Lord,

"Your Grace's most obedient servant,

"E. G. STANLEY,"

"To his Grace the Duke of Leinster, &c. &c."

The Statistical Chart accompanying this work shows the actual number of male and female children attending school in each county during the week preceding the day of enumeration, (Sunday, 6th June, 1841). Their numbers were 502,950, whereas in 1821 they were but 394,813, showing an increase of 208,137 ; and with a far superior system of education and class of instructors.

The *National Schools*, for the support of which Parliament annually votes 50,000*l.*, are now extended all over Ireland. Model or Agricultural Schools are conjoined ; and the advance of the children in every elementary branch of education, is most surprising.

The Board of National Education consists of nine Commissioners, chosen from the Roman Catholic as well as Protestant gentry; the Roman Catholic as well as Protestant Archbishop being members of the Board.

The following Table, from the 9th Report of the Commissioners for National Education shows the progressive increase in the National Schools, and in the number of children in attendance upon them, from the date of the first Report of the Commissioners to the 31st December, 1842.

No. and Date of Report.	No. of Schools in actual operation.	No. of Children on the Rolls.
No. 1, 31st December, 1833	789	107,042
No. 2, 31st March, 1835	1,106	145,521
No. 3, do. 1836	1,181	153,707
No. 4, do. 1837	1,300	166,929
No. 5, do. 1838	1,384	169,548
No. 6, 31st December, 1839	1,581	192,971
No. 7, do. 1840	1,978	232,560
No. 8, do. 1841	2,337	281,849
No. 9, do. 1842	2,721	319,792

MAURICE CROSS, } *Secretaries.*
JAMES KELLY, }

In the Ninth Report of the Commissioners, dated Dublin, 21st March, 1843, the following gratifying facts are stated as to the progress of Education.

At the commencement of the last year 2,337 schools were in operation, attended by 281,849 children; the number of schools has since increased to 2,721, and the number of children to 319,792. Grants have been made towards the building of 200 schools, which have not been as yet completed, but which, when completed, it is estimated will be attended by 25,793 children, which would thus give 2,921 schools, with an attendance upon them of 345,585.

During the last year 136 male and 63 female teachers have been trained, making a total of 199. Altogether 980 teachers have been trained, and the accounts received of them continue to be very satisfactory.

The schools in connexion with the National Education, include those which have been established in the workhouses of 68 Poor Law Unions. The following is a list of the Unions, the schools

of which have been placed under the National Education Commissioners.

ULSTER PROVINCE. — Ballycastle, Banbridge, Belfast, Bailieborough, Castleblayney, Castlederg, Cavan, Coleraine, Cootehill, Larne, Monaghan, Newry, Newtownards.

MUNSTER PROVINCE. — Cashel, Clonmel, Carrick-on-Suir, Clogheen, Cork, Dunmanway, Ennis, Ennistymon, Fermoy, Kilmallock, Kiltrush, Lismore, Mallow, Middleton, Nenagh, Newcastle, Rathkeale, Roscrea, Scariff, Skibbereen, Tipperary, Thurles, Waterford.

LEINSTER PROVINCE. — Ardee, Athlone, Abbeyleix, Balrothery, Callan, Dublin North, Dublin South, Dunshaughlin, Drogheda, Dundalk, Edenderry, Granard, Kilkenny, Kells, Longford, Mullingar, Navan, Newross, Naas, Oldcastle, Rathdrum, Rathdown, Tullamore, Trim, Wexford.

CONNAUGHT PROVINCE. — Boyle, Carrick-on-Shannon, Galway, Loughrea, Mohil, Sligo.

SUMMARY IN PROVINCES. — Ulster, 13 ; Munster, 23 ; Leinster, 25 ; Connaught, 7. Total, 68.*

The Boards of Guardians of the different Unions comprise Protestants and Roman Catholics, and have amongst them men of the highest rank and station ; the schools are attended by Protestants and Roman Catholics indiscriminately ; and the duty of giving religious instruction to those of each creed belongs to a Chaplain of their own communion.

The Commissioners show the propriety of giving agricultural instruction, and several of the Patrons of the National School have determined to make agricultural instruction part of the education which it affords, and are taking measures for allotting small portions of land to their schools for the purpose. The Commissioners are doing all in their power to aid their efforts, by having teachers taught the principles and practice of improved agriculture during their training course, and by receiving agricultural pupils at a model farm at Glasnevin. They also intend in the ensuing year to publish an agricultural lesson-book for the use of the National Schools.

The number of male scholars on the 30th Sept. 1842, was 179,331 ; of females, 140,461 : total 319,792. The number of male teachers was 2134 ; of females 849 : total 2983. The amount of salaries paid in 1842, 29,411*l*. The cost of school

* Schools of this class receive a first supply of books and school requisites gratis, with the privilege of purchasing more at any subsequent time, when required at a reduced price. The only conditions upon which such aid is given, are, that the Schools receiving it shall be subject to inspection by the officers of the National Education, and that the provisions of the Poor Law Act, in reference to religious instruction, *all of which are in strict accordance with the fundamental regulations*, shall be faithfully followed.

requisites supplied at half-price was 3,782*l*. The free stock, 3,105*l*. The funds supplied in aid of building schools were 14,217*l*, of which 4,670*l*. was for fitting up 59 new schools.

Most meritorious efforts for educating the poor have also been made by a Dublin Institution, called after the name of the street in which its offices are situate (Kildare-street). Its place is now, to a great extent, supplied by the National Schools, but with the limited income for 1843 of 3,381*l*.; the society still endeavours to do good, its main object being the education of the people in Protestant principles. The following shows the progressive state of the Kildare-place Society, in all its Branches, for each year, from 1814 to 1842, inclusive :—

Years.	Schools.	Scholars.	Average Number of Scholars per School each year.	Total Number of Masters trained from the commencement.	Total Number of Female Teachers trained from the commencement.	Total Number of Cheap Books issued from the commencement.	* Separate Lending Libraries formed from the commencement.
1814	—	—	—	16	—	—	—
1815	—	—	—	33	—	—	—
1816	8	557	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	46	—	—	—
1817	65	4,527	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	99	—	11,812	—
1818	133	9,263	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	138	—	92,922	—
1819	241	16,786	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	193	—	217,409	—
1820	381	26,474	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	279	—	371,304	—
1821	513	36,657	71	356	—	556,522	—
1822	727	51,637	71	483	—	662,752	46
1823	1122	79,287	70 $\frac{1}{2}$	633	—	784,640	143
1824	1490	100,000	67	840	23	957,457	276
1825	1395	102,380	73	1040	131	1,089,933	403
1826	1477	102,064	69	1172	199	1,152,194	544
1827	1467	98,063	66 $\frac{3}{4}$	1329	268	1,224,792	723
1828	1497	106,839	71	1473	313	1,281,884	847
1829	1553	124,449	80	1610	363	1,341,347	938
1830	1634	132,530	81	1760	424	1,406,990	1067
1831	1621	137,639	84 $\frac{1}{2}$	1908	482	1,464,817	1131
1832	1508	—	—	1930	499	1,493,316	—
1833	1443	—	—	1942	511	1,511,421	—
1834	1000	—	—	1954	540	1,543,076	1176
1835	1000	—	—	1966	559	1,577,454	1242
1836	1000	—	—	1975	597	1,601,068	1281
1837	1091	—	—	1979	648	1,617,791	1325
1838	1097	—	—	1997	693	1,636,025	1364
1839	1077	—	—	2015	710	1,661,613	1419
1840	—	—	—	2022	719	1,676,898	1452
1841	—	—	—	2029	735	1,686,019	1484
1842	—	—	—	2033	749	1,698,062	1503

* Besides these, a Lending Library was attached to each School.

Commission of Inquiry established.

The efforts now making for the general education of all classes in Ireland probably are greater than in any part of the United Kingdom.

Mr. James Stuart, the Government Inspector of Factories in Ireland and in Scotland, in his official quarterly report, dated 10th of October, 1840, states as follows, with reference to the education of the poorest classes :—

“ A careful examination has convinced me that education, so far as respects reading and writing, is now far more universal in Ireland, at least in those parts of Ireland where the factories (this included a circuit of inspection of 13,000 miles in extent), than it is in the manufacturing part of Scotland. This striking improvement of the children and young persons in Ireland, in point of education, is, I am also happy to state, not more remarkable than that of their parents ; generally those of mature age, that is, above eighteen years of age, employed in the factories, so far as respect habits of temperance and orderly conduct.”

The impartial judge will, from the facts in this Chapter, determine what degree of veracity is to be attached to the assertion of a “ *diabolical despotism over the souls as well as the bodies* ” of the children of the people of Ireland.

CHAPTER VIII.

Institutions for the Relief of the Sick, Aged, and Indigent ;—Poor Laws, and Number of Persons Relieved in the Union Workhouses, and Expenditure ;—Lunacy, and Crime.

CONNECTED with the subjects detailed in the preceding Chapters relative to the number of the people, and the state of their education, we may now proceed to inquire what has been done for the relief of human suffering ; and whether it be true, "*Grievances such as the Irish pauper endures, no other country has ever suffered ; insults, such as were offered, were never inflicted on any other.*" [See Preface, page ix.] There is no feature more marked in the history of Ireland for the last forty years than the efforts that have been made by the Legislature to assuage the suffering incident to the state of the Poor in Ireland, even previous to the recent introduction of Poor Laws. We therefore entreat the attention of the reader to the following unavoidable detail, in refutation of the above-named calumny. Commissioners were appointed by his Majesty in 1836, to inquire into the condition of the poorer classes of his Majesty's subjects in Ireland ; into the various institutions established by law for their relief ; and also whether any and what further remedial measures appeared to be requisite to ameliorate the condition of the Irish poor, or any portion of them. The Commissioners reported on that part of the inquiry which respects "the various institutions at present established by law for the relief of the poor," in voluminous detail, showing that the Imperial Parliament has sedulously attended to the condition of the Irish poor.

The establishments for their relief were—1. Medical Institutions ; 2. Houses of Industry ; 3. Foundling Hospitals ; 4. Provision for Officers of Health, and the Support of Deserted Children.

The most numerous are the Medical Charities, which include, —1. Infirmaries; 2. Dispensaries; 3. Fever Hospitals; 4. Lunatic Asylums.

The government of the Infirmaries is vested in a corporation consisting of the Archbishop and Bishop of the diocese, the Rector or Vicar of the parish wherein each is situated, together with donors of twenty guineas, and annual subscribers of three guineas. This corporation of governors appoints the medical officers, regulates the admission of patients, enacts by-laws, and has the entire control of the institution.

To establish an Infirmary, 500*l.* must be raised by voluntary contributions; the Lord Lieutenant may then direct the Treasury to grant a sum not exceeding 1,500*l.* provided the proposed Infirmary is to be erected at a distance of not less than ten miles from any previously existing Infirmary. There is no power to raise money by rate on the county for building an Infirmary, but the funds for its support are provided by annual presentments of the grand jury to an amount not exceeding 600*l.*, exclusive of 100*l.*, late Irish currency, issued from the Treasury as part of the salary of the surgeon.

The following is a List of Infirmaries and their Revenues.

AMOUNT and SOURCES of FUNDS for the Support of COUNTY INFIRMARIES, FEVER HOSPITALS, and DISPENSARIES in IRELAND, for the Year 1833.

County Infirmaries 31 | Fever Hospitals 28
 City and Town Infirmaries 5 | Dispensaries 452
 Fever Hospitals and Dispensaries united 42

Province and Population.	Grand Jury Presentments.	Subscriptions.	Parliamentary Grants.	Petty Session Fines.*	Miscellaneous Funds.†	Total.	Cases relieved.‡	
	£	£	£	£	£	£	Intern.	Extern.
Connaught } 1,343,914	6,361	3,319	311	368	287	10,649	1,887	117,378
Leinster } 1,909,713	19,601	11,105	5,139	692	2,672	39,211	15,245	442,269
Munster } 2,227,152	18,097	15,291	671	848	2,738	37,648	9,883	432,909
Ulster } 2,286,622	11,003	7,844	538	700	1,457	21,544	3,619	250,758
Total .	55,062	37,559	6,659	2,608	7,154	109,052	30,634	1,243,314

AMOUNT and SOURCES of FUNDS for the Support of INFIRMARIES in IRELAND, for the Year, 1833.

Province and Population.	No. of Infirmaries.	Grand Jury Presentments.	Subscriptions.	Parliamentary Grants	Petty Session Fines.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
		£	£	£	£	£	£
Connaught } 1,343,914	5	2,592	103	311	111	287	3,404
Leinster } 1,909,713	14	6,779	1,105	1,339	349	1,848	11,420
Munster } 2,227,152	8	3,089	3,285	582	241	1,124	8,321
Ulster } 2,286,622	9	4,485	719	538	236	1,036	7,014
Total .	36	16,945	5,212	2,770	937	4,295	30,159

* The number of Petty Session Courts, in 1831, was—

In Connaught	91	Returns received from	28
In Leinster	145	"	80
In Munster	141	"	76
In Ulster	137	"	78

Total amount of Fines specified in returns from 262 Courts 1833.
 Calculated amount received by Charitable Institutions from total number, } £1,343
 514 Courts } 2,609

† Under the head "Miscellaneous Funds" are included Donations, Bequests, Interest on Stock, Rents, Debentures, &c., Proceeds of Articles sold at the Institutions, &c. &c.

‡ No returns have been received of the number of cases relieved, from—

8 Dispensaries, 1 Fever Hospital, and 1 Infirmary in Connaught	
27 " 11 " 1 " in Leinster	
21 " 12 " " in Munster	
19 " " 1 " in Ulster.	
75	24

3—Total, 102.

Dispensaries were first established by an Act of 45 Geo. III., for the purpose of affording medical relief to poor persons who, from the distance of their places of residence from the county Infirmaries, could not avail themselves of the medical assistance and advice these institutions were intended to supply.

The government of the Dispensaries is vested in the Infirmary Corporation above mentioned, together with the subscribers of not less than one guinea annually. These governors appoint the medical officers, and regulate all the affairs of the establishment.

The support is derived from voluntary contributions, together with grand jury presentments for an amount not exceeding that of the annual subscriptions.

The Acts for the establishment and regulation of Dispensaries have been carried very extensively into effect. The following is a List of the Dispensaries and their Revenues, &c.

AMOUNT and SOURCES of FUNDS for the Support of DISPENSARIES in IRELAND for the Year 1833.

Province and Population.	Number of Dispensaries.	Grand Jury Presentments	Subscriptions.	Total.
		£	£	£
Connaught, 1,343,914 .	50	2,982	3,215	6,198
Leinster, 1,909,713 . .	150	8,509	8,495	17,005
Munster, 2,227,152 . .	181	7,957	7,230	15,117
Ulster, 2,286,622 . . .	121	5,400	5,862	11,262
Total . . .	502	24,848	24,802	49,582

The extent to which fevers have frequently prevailed in Ireland has led to the establishment of Hospitals for the special reception of poor persons suffering under that disease. It is stated in the Report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons in the year 1830, that "in 1817, on a moderate calculation, 1,500,000 persons suffered from fever, of which number at least 65,000 died."

For the establishment of Fever Hospitals, grand juries are authorised to present sums not exceeding *double* the amount of private subscriptions, and their erection is facilitated by permitting advances to be made from the Government, to be repaid by instalments.

The following is a List of the Fever Hospitals and the Income for their Support:—

AMOUNT and SOURCES of FUNDS for the Support of FEVER HOSPITALS in IRELAND for the Year 1833.

Province and Population.	Number of Fever Hospitals.	Grand Jury Presentments.	Subscriptions.	Parliamentary Grants.	Petty Session Fines.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
Connaught, 1,343,914	3	£ 786	None.	None.	None.	None.	£ 786
Leinster, 1,909,713	29*	4,312	1,504	3,800	11	823	10,451
Munster, 2,227,152	31†	7,051	4,775	89	25	1,613	13,555
Ulster, 2,286,622	7‡	1,117	1,263	None.	None.	420	2,801
Total .	70	13,266	7,542	3,889	36	2,856	27,593

FOUNDLING HOSPITALS.

Cities and Towns.	Total.	Number on the Books.	Observations.
Cork	£ 6,566	1,329	These sums are derived from a tax on coals.
Dublin§ . . . . .	—	|| 8	
Galway	62		

There are two Foundling Hospitals in Ireland, one in Dublin and one in Cork.

There have been no admissions into the Dublin Foundling Hospital for some time past.

* Of this number 19 have Dispensaries attached to them.

† do. 19 do. do.
‡ do. 4 do. do.

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§ Estimate proposed by Commissioners of Poor Inquiry for year ending 31st March, 1836 :—

For Establishment, &c.	£ 14,509	s. 18	d. 11
Retiring Allowances {	Gratuities £164	9	4
{	Annuities 1,076	3	4
		£15,750	11 7

|| Externs { 4,000 Apprentices.
2,500 Children.
293 Invalids.
6,793 Total.

The Cork Foundling Hospital is still continued, though under a somewhat restricted system of management. Its annual income is derived principally from a tax upon coals.

There was, in 1834, a small Hospital for Foundlings in the town of Galway, supported by a vestry cess of 62*l.* 10*s.*; but there have been no admissions during the last seven years.

Among the provisions made by law for the relief of the poorer classes in Ireland, we must not omit to notice the appointment of Boards and Officers of Health; nor secondly, the parochial assessments for the maintenance and education of deserted children.

The former of these, although created for the ostensible as well as real purpose of providing against the introduction and checking the progress of contagious disorders, does yet partake of the nature of a Poor Law, in so far as local administrations are thereby created, and paid for by rate, authorised to inquire into the condition of the most destitute, and in some cases to afford relief at the public expense. The first of these acts (58 Geo. III. c. 47, s. 102), makes provision for the appointment of a *Board of Health* whenever a fever or contagious disorder shall appear or be known to exist among the poor inhabitants of a city, town, or district, and authorises such Board to give all directions necessary for preventing communication of contagion, "*and for restoring the sick to health,*" in which definition it would appear that more than mere medical aid may and must, in many instances be contemplated. An Act of the following year (c. 41, s. 100) refers to the appointment of *Officers of Health*, whose duties are, however, limited to sanatory measures—cleansing houses, streets and lanes, sewers, &c. These acts indeed appear to have been but partially acted on; *Boards of Health* having never, we believe, been established, except on occasions of emergency—such as the late visitation of cholera—and *Officers of Health*, though in some instances named at the annual vestries held for the appointment of parish officers, seeming, for the most part, to consider themselves as only kept in readiness to meet such contingencies as that of an epidemic; and not, as

we conceive they should be, vigilant and ever active conservators of public health and cleanliness.

A Corporation was formed in every county of a city and county of a town in Ireland, for the purpose "of giving countenance and assistance to those poor who are found disabled by old age and infirmities to earn their living, and to restrain and punish those who may be able to support themselves by labour and industry, and yet may choose to live in idleness by begging.

These Corporations were empowered to establish "Hospitals or Workhouses," to be divided into four parts:—

"1st. For poor helpless men deemed worthy of admission.—2d. For poor helpless women.—3d. For the reception of men committed as vagrants and beggars.—4th. For such idle, strolling, or disorderly women as shall be committed and found able to labour;" and grand juries are authorised to make presentments for the support of these establishments as follows: that is to say, as to counties, to the amount of 400*l.*; and as to counties of cities and counties of towns, to the amount of 200*l.* In the year 1806 (46 Geo. III. c. 95) the power of making presentments was enlarged, so as to allow of the granting of 700*l.* for counties at large, and 500*l.* in counties of cities and of towns. By the 58 Geo. III. (1818) c. 47, grand juries both of counties at large and of counties of cities and of towns, are authorised to give a yet further sum of 500*l.* for the same purpose.

By the Report of the Commissioners in 1836, it appeared that there were then in Ireland but nine Houses of Industry, *viz.*, those of—1. Belfast; 2. Clonmel; 3. Cork; 4. Dublin; 5. Ennis; 6. Kilkenny; 7. Limerick; 8. Waterford; 9. Wexford.

Of the Limerick House of Industry in the year 1830 it was stated that, as constituted for several years past, it comprised no less than eight distinct establishments, *viz.*:—1. An asylum for lunatics and idiots.—2. A nursery for deserted infants.—3. A workhouse for the healthy poor.—4, 5. Two schools for the education of children of both sexes.—

6. A house of correction for vagrants and prostitutes.—7. A retreat for incurables from the hospitals and convalescents from fever.—8. A house of refuge for the infirm and sick poor.

The Waterford House of Industry consisted of four departments:—1st. Asylum for lunatics and idiots.—2d. A department for the correction of vagrant and sturdy beggars.—3d. A department for the correction of prostitutes.—4th. Asylum for the aged and infirm poor.

The first was an hospital,—the second and third, houses of correction or prisons,—the fourth, an institution for the relief of the poor.

The Clonmel House of Industry contained in 1834 three classes of inmates:—1st. Old and infirm; of whom the number was limited to 90 men and women jointly.—2d. Lunatics, in number 39.—3d. Prostitutes, vagrants, &c., committed to confinement and hard labour for petty crimes; their number 70 women and 4 men.

The establishment in Dublin differed from the other Houses of Industry in deriving its whole support from funds supplied by Parliament, without any aid from the county or city presentments.

It consisted of—1st. An extensive building for the reception of aged and infirm men.—2. A similar building for the reception of aged and infirm women.—3d. An asylum for lunatics and idiots.—4th. An hospital called the Richmond Surgical Hospital.—5th. The Wellesley Fever Hospital.—6th. The Whitworth Fever Hospital.—7th. The Hardwick Fever Hospital.—8th. The Hardwick Supplementary Hospital.—9th and 10th. Two Dispensaries—the North-West and the Talbot Dispensary.—11th. Cells for the reception of disorderly vagrants committed by the magistrates.

All these various establishments were placed under the management of a resident Governor, and the expenses supplied from a common fund. Hence it is difficult to ascertain what was the daily cost of any one description of the inmates, or to judge of the economy with which any particular department is conducted.

requisites supplied at half-price was 3,782*l*. The free stock, 3,105*l*. The funds supplied in aid of building schools were 14,217*l*., of which 4,670*l*. was for fitting up 59 new schools.

Most meritorious efforts for educating the poor have also been made by a Dublin Institution, called after the name of the street in which its offices are situate (Kildare-street). Its place is now, to a great extent, supplied by the National Schools, but with the limited income for 1843 of 3,381*l*.; the society still endeavours to do good, its main object being the education of the people in Protestant principles. The following shows the progressive state of the Kildare-place Society, in all its Branches, for each year, from 1814 to 1842, inclusive:—

Years.	Schools.	Scholars.	Average Number of Scholars per School each year.	Total Number of Masters trained from the commencement.	Total Number of Female Teachers trained from the commencement.	Total Number of Cheap Books issued from the commencement.	* Separate Lending Libraries formed from the commencement.
1814	—	—	—	16	—	—	—
1815	—	—	—	33	—	—	—
1816	8	557	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	46	—	—	—
1817	65	4,527	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	99	—	11,812	—
1818	133	9,263	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	138	—	92,922	—
1819	241	16,786	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	193	—	217,409	—
1820	381	26,474	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	279	—	371,304	—
1821	513	36,657	71	356	—	556,522	—
1822	727	51,637	71	483	—	662,752	46
1823	1122	79,287	70 $\frac{1}{2}$	633	—	784,640	143
1824	1490	100,000	67	840	23	957,457	276
1825	1395	102,380	73	1040	131	1,089,933	403
1826	1477	102,064	69	1172	199	1,152,194	544
1827	1467	98,063	66 $\frac{3}{4}$	1329	268	1,224,792	723
1828	1497	106,839	71	1473	313	1,281,884	847
1829	1553	124,449	80	1610	363	1,341,347	938
1830	1634	132,530	81	1760	424	1,406,990	1067
1831	1621	137,639	84 $\frac{1}{2}$	1908	482	1,464,817	1131
1832	1508	—	—	1930	499	1,493,316	—
1833	1443	—	—	1942	511	1,511,421	—
1834	1000	—	—	1954	540	1,543,076	1176
1835	1000	—	—	1966	559	1,577,454	1242
1836	1000	—	—	1975	597	1,601,068	1281
1837	1091	—	—	1979	648	1,617,791	1325
1838	1097	—	—	1997	693	1,636,025	1364
1839	1077	—	—	2015	710	1,661,613	1419
1840	—	—	—	2022	719	1,676,898	1452
1841	—	—	—	2029	735	1,686,019	1484
1842	—	—	—	2033	749	1,698,062	1503

* Besides these, a Lending Library was attached to each School.

Commission of Inquiry established.

The efforts now making for the general education of all classes in Ireland probably are greater than in any part of the United Kingdom.

Mr. James Stuart, the Government Inspector of Factories in Ireland and in Scotland, in his official quarterly report, dated 10th of October, 1840, states as follows, with reference to the education of the poorest classes :—

“ A careful examination has convinced me that education, so far as respects reading and writing, is now far more universal in Ireland, at least in those parts of Ireland where the factories (this included a circuit of inspection of 13,000 miles in extent), than it is in the manufacturing part of Scotland. This striking improvement of the children and young persons in Ireland, in point of education, is, I am also happy to state, not more remarkable than that of their parents ; generally those of mature age, that is, above eighteen years of age, employed in the factories, so far as respect habits of temperance and orderly conduct.”

The impartial judge will, from the facts in this Chapter, determine what degree of veracity is to be attached to the assertion of a “ *diabolical despotism over the souls as well as the bodies* ” of the children of the people of Ireland.

CHAPTER VIII.

Institutions for the Relief of the Sick, Aged, and Indigent ;—Poor Laws, and Number of Persons Relieved in the Union Workhouses, and Expenditure ;—Lunacy, and Crime.

CONNECTED with the subjects detailed in the preceding Chapters relative to the number of the people, and the state of their education, we may now proceed to inquire what has been done for the relief of human suffering ; and whether it be true, "*Grievances such as the Irish pauper endures, no other country has ever suffered : insults, such as were offered, were never inflicted on any other.*" [See Preface, page ix.] There is no feature more marked in the history of Ireland for the last forty years than the efforts that have been made by the Legislature to assuage the suffering incident to the state of the Poor in Ireland, even previous to the recent introduction of Poor Laws. We therefore entreat the attention of the reader to the following unavoidable detail, in refutation of the above-named calumny. Commissioners were appointed by his Majesty in 1836, to inquire into the condition of the poorer classes of his Majesty's subjects in Ireland ; into the various institutions established by law for their relief ; and also whether any and what further remedial measures appeared to be requisite to ameliorate the condition of the Irish poor, or any portion of them. The Commissioners reported on that part of the inquiry which respects "the various institutions at present established by law for the relief of the poor," in voluminous detail, showing that the Imperial Parliament has sedulously attended to the condition of the Irish poor.

The establishments for their relief were—1. Medical Institutions ; 2. Houses of Industry ; 3. Foundling Hospitals ; 4. Provision for Officers of Health, and the Support of Deserted Children.

The most numerous are the Medical Charities, which include, —1. Infirmaries; 2. Dispensaries; 3. Fever Hospitals; 4. Lunatic Asylums.

The government of the Infirmaries is vested in a corporation consisting of the Archbishop and Bishop of the diocese, the Rector or Vicar of the parish wherein each is situated, together with donors of twenty guineas, and annual subscribers of three guineas. This corporation of governors appoints the medical officers, regulates the admission of patients, enacts by-laws, and has the entire control of the institution.

To establish an Infirmary, 500*l.* must be raised by voluntary contributions; the Lord Lieutenant may then direct the Treasury to grant a sum not exceeding 1,500*l.* provided the proposed Infirmary is to be erected at a distance of not less than ten miles from any previously existing Infirmary. There is no power to raise money by rate on the county for building an Infirmary, but the funds for its support are provided by annual presentments of the grand jury to an amount not exceeding 600*l.*, exclusive of 100*l.*, late Irish currency, issued from the Treasury as part of the salary of the surgeon.

To the legislation of the Imperial Parliament, Ireland is indebted for a most efficient establishment of Lunatic Asylums, whose number and expense is thus shown in March 1843:—

Name of District Asylum.	Number of Patients.	Sums charged to each County.	Total Expenditure.	Name of District Asylum.	Number of Patients.	Sums charged to each County.	Total Expenditure.
		£	£			£	£
Armagh	51	878	2,163	Brought forward	1,266	16,592	18,630
Monaghan . . .	31	535		Londonderry . .	67	1,001	3,126
Fermanagh . . .	20	346		Donegal	84	1,277	
Cavan	19	334		Tyrone	60	978	
Antrim	118	1,882	3,720	King's County . .	47	754	2,665
Down	132	1,863		Queen's County.	51	802	
Carrickfergus . .	2	44		Westmeath . . .	46	744	
Carlow	40	581		Longford	23	417	4,867
Kildare	52	678	City of Dublin . .	159	2,846		
Wexford	39	637	County of Dublin	47	839		
Kilkenny	23	329	Meath	29½	541		
City of Kilkenny	10	126	1,868	Wicklow	25½	414	2,172
Clonmel	100			Louth	23	409	
Galway	71	981		County of the	5	94	
Mayo	72	928		Town of Drogheda		5,014	
Roscommon . . .	49	507	3,570	County of Waterford	77		1,371
Leitrim	33	339		City of ditto . . .	38		780
Sligo	44	585		County of Cork . .	297		3,738
Town of Galway .	13	160	4,921	City of ditto . . .	133		1,850
City of Limerick	29	440					
County of Limerick	101	1,418					
Clare	115	1,606					
Kerry	102	1,395					
Carry forward	1,266	16,592	18,630	Total	2,478	35,447	36,474

Upwards of 200,000*l.* have been expended on the District Lunatic Asylums of Ireland since the Union, and the annual expense at present is over 31,000*l.*

The only extensive establishments for the reception of lunatics (not being district asylums) are those of the Houses of Industry in Dublin and in the city of Cork, and St. Patrick's Hospital in Dublin. The county and city of Cork are the only parts of Ireland unconnected with the system of district lunatic asylums. The Prison Commissioners report, that much to the credit of that great county and city, an asylum has been kept up for a long series of years, on a more extensive scale than any district asylum within their inspection, and which not only receives those patients who are the proper objects of a district asylum, but also provides for incurable lunatics, epileptic cases, and idiots,—the number of inmates amounting to 400. It is

wholly a pauper institution, and is placed under the direction of the Board of Superintendence appointed by the grand jury, under the immediate care of Dr. Osburne, a physician of much experience and knowledge in that department of his profession, with the aid of a highly qualified moral manager and matron. It is conducted on the best principles, and will bear comparison with any of the district asylums. The institution is supported by grand jury presentments of the county and city.

The Lunatic Wards in the House of Industry in Dublin, (but which in 1840 were about to be removed under the Commissioners of the Poor Laws to Island Bridge), contain nearly 500 patients, consisting of incurable lunatics, epileptics, and idiots—no provision being made for curable lunatics. The inmates of this institution have always been treated with much care and humanity, and the wards exhibit a scene of tranquillity, order, and cleanliness, which, under the great disadvantages of the particular class of inmates, their number, and the want of room, reflects the greatest credit on the Governor of the House of Industry, to which it is attached, and to the officers belonging particularly to this department.

The Asylum called St. Patrick's Hospital is an institution founded by Dr. Jonathan Swift, (Dean of St. Patrick's), in Dublin. It is under the care of Governors appointed by Charter. It consists of patients received for payment in different classes, with a department for pauper patients. The highest rate of payment entitles the inmate to a separate sitting-room and bedroom, with the exclusive attendance of a servant; the lower rates of payment allowing of a less extensive provision for their accommodation, while every essential comfort is afforded to each class of patients. The institution has undergone a great change for the better within these few years. On the retirement of the late manager, the Governors appointed an experienced manager and matron, (Mr. and Mrs. Cumming), who had the care of the district asylum at Belfast, and since their appointment the system has gradually advanced to a high state of order and good management; large day apartments have been provided for the patients of the higher classes, in which they are provided

with every means of rational employment and recreation, on both the male and female sides of the establishment; and nothing, the Commissioners state, can be more gratifying, than to contrast the present appearance of these classes with the scenes which they presented on our first acquaintance with the asylum. The numbers vary from 150 to 200.

The private establishments for the reception of patients in the higher ranks of life, are principally situated in the vicinity of Dublin and Cork. Four asylums of this class are at Finglass, and near to it, and are under the care of Medical gentlemen of respectability and professional character. Two institutions near the city of Cork are of the same description. In all these asylums suitable arrangements are made for affording to the patients every personal accommodation suitable to the payment received, and every aid of medical and moral treatment which can contribute to their recovery. The asylums not conducted by physicians, are the Retreat near Donnybrook, under the Society of Friends, and which is a very respectable establishment; a small asylum at Rathfarnham; and the Retreat near to the city of Armagh, kept by Mr. Allen, established on more reduced rates of payment than the asylums near Dublin and Cork. The remainder of the lunatics under care in Ireland, are distributed through the gaols and small asylums in the county towns, and consist of those who are not proper objects for admission into the district asylums, or detained under 1st Vict. c. 27.

On the 1st of January, 1843, there were in the District and other Insane Asylums in Ireland 3,096 patients; of these 348 were idiots; 236 epileptic; 900 *curable* mania; and 1,612 *incurable* mania. The number of district asylums was ten, with 2,061 patients; the number in other establishments, (including 9 private institutions, and 33 gaols and penitentiaries), was 1,035. From these returns, it cannot be said that insanity or idiocy extensively prevails in Ireland. The proportion to the population is less than in England or Scotland.

For the proper care of Lunatics, under an Act of 59 Geo. III. c. 106, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland may direct any number of Asylums to be erected which he may consider necessary, and

grand jury presentments for their maintenance are made mandatory, and not optional.

The Lunatic Asylums and their Expenditure is thus shown:—

DISTRICT LUNATIC ASYLUMS established in Ireland, under the Commissioners for General Control.

Name of the District Asylum.	Year opened.	No. of Patients intended for.	Land purchased (English).	Price per Acre (English).	Amount of Purchase Money.	Amount of Building.	Furniture, Bedding, and other Contingencies.	Total.
			A. R. P.	£	£	£	£	£
Armagh . .	1825	104	*8 0 23	81	1,090	18,094	1,715	20,899
Limerick . .	1827	150	11 3 12	259	3,840	24,120	1,896	29,856
Belfast . . .	1829	104	21 1 11	77	2,070	21,838	1,411	25,319
Derry . . .	1829	104	12 5 2	76	752	23,507	1,417	25,676
Carlow . . .	1831	104	15 0 39	152	2,289	18,474	1,789	22,552
Maryborough .	1833	104	22 2 17	50	1,140	21,511	1,513	24,164
Connaught . .	1833	150	22 2 28	69	1,582	23,581	1,965	27,128
Waterford . .	1835	100	15 2 12	85	1,262	14,313	1,311	16,886
Clonmel . . .	1835	60	11 1 14	119	1,347	14,019	1,220	16,586
Total .	980				Total Expenditure .			209,066

Cork provides an asylum for its own lunatics.

CRIME.—Before closing this Chapter, a brief examination of the moral results deducible from the character and education of the people may be useful.

An abstract of the official returns of crime in Ireland, for 1842, is as follows:—Number of criminals tried at Assizes and Quarter Sessions in every county, 21,352; of summary convictions at Petty Sessions, and cases brought before Magistrates, 17,099. Number committed for drunkenness, under 6 & 7 Will. IV. c. 38, to county gaols, 10,098; to Bridewells, 7,298. Total for drunkenness, 17,396.

The total number of offenders returned by the Clerks of the Crown and Peace, is 21,186; of whom 15,770 are males, and 5,416 females; of these 4,926 males and 625 females could read and write; 2,212 males and 1,074 females could read only; 4,306 males and 2,695 females could neither read nor write; and 4,343 males and 1,014 females instruction could not be ascertained. *Of the total number of offenders*, 189 were for murder; 69 for shooting at, &c. with intent to murder; 83 assault, with intent

* Armagh rents five acres exclusive of the above.

to murder; 21 conspiring to murder; 120 manslaughter; 4,342 assaults; 19 rape and attempt; 32 abduction; 18 bigamy; 103 child-stealing or desertion; 32 concealing birth of infants. Total of offences against the person 5,191.

Among the list of *offences against property, committed with violence*, there are 159 burglary; 15 housebreaking; 71 robbery; 6 mail robbery; 30 robbery of arms; 20 demanding property with menaces; 12 sending menacing letters to extort money; 815 taking and holding forcible possession. The total of these and others is 1,150. *The number of offences against property, without violence*, is 8,402; of these simple larceny constitute 6,646; receiving stolen goods, 416; larceny from the person, 359; sheep-stealing, 205; cattle-stealing, 189; horse-stealing, 70; pig-stealing, 48; frauds and attempted stealing, 117. *The malicious offences against property* are 253; of which 91 are arson; attacking and injuring dwelling-houses, lands, &c. 73; riot and feloniously demolishing buildings, machinery, &c. 128; killing and maiming cattle, 25. *Forgery and offences against the currency*, the number is 137; of which 80 are uttering, procuring, or counterfeiting base coin; forgery of bank notes, 10; other forged instruments, 33. The total of *offences not included in the above classes* is 6,052; of which 2,890 are riots; 1,729 rescue; 960 misdemeanors; assembling armed, 207; 273 vagrancy.

The total number convicted, of the 21,186 offenders, is 9,874; of whom 4 were executed (out of 11 convictions for murder); 17 transported; 18 imprisoned above one year; 7 imprisoned above six months; 19 six months and under; 27 were found to be insane; and 11 received free pardon. [For full details, see Appendix.] From this it cannot be said that the British Legislature and Jurisprudence deals harshly or unmercifully to crime in Ireland.

The points to be noticed in this Part are the increasing numbers of the people; their density in proportion to the arable surface; compared with the natural condition of the country; the extensive system of national education, including all sects, now in operation; the noble institutions for the relief of the sick, indigent, and lunatic; the provision for the old and young infirm and destitute poor; lastly, the merciful administration of the law. On all these important points, I respectfully assert the Union has been an incalculable blessing to Ireland.

PART V.

FINANCIAL AND BANKING STATE OF IRELAND. — PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION.—MUNICIPALITIES, AND ABSENTEEISM.

CHAPTER IX.

Financial Exposition of Ireland Before and After the Union ;—Amount Levied Per Head in Ireland, Scotland, and in Foreign Countries ;—Taxes Reduced or Repealed Since the Union ;—Proportion of Irish to British Taxation ;—Large Amount of Exemption *in Favour of Ireland* ;—Advances from the Imperial Revenue for Various Purposes in Ireland ;—Inadequacy of Irish Taxation to Contribute a Fair Quota towards the Imperial Expenditure.

THERE are two allegations connected with the Financial state of Ireland which demand consideration.

The *first* is as follows : “ *Under the protection of the Irish Parliament Ireland was the least taxed country in Europe ; whilst under the iron rule of the British Legislature it is a universally admitted fact that Ireland is, in proportion to her means, the most heavily taxed country on the face of the globe.*” *

The *second* refers to what is termed the “*financial robbery of Ireland*” by the violation of the 7th Article of the Union, which provided for the proportion of taxation that Ireland was to contribute to the British revenue for twenty years after the Union, and subsequently.†

The first assertion will, to a great extent, be answered by a brief examination of the amount of taxation levied in

* Address to the Inhabitants of the Countries subject to the British Crown, 13th September, 1843. See Preface, page 5.

† See Articles of Union, in APPENDIX.

Ireland at the time of the Union, and at the present period ; thus—

In 1800* . . . £4,387,096	In 1840 . . . £4,102,385
1800, Population . No. 4,000,000	1840, Population, No. 8,000,000
1800, Taxation per head . 21s. 6d.	In 1840, per head, 10s.

The State taxation levied in England is about *fifty* shillings a-head ; in Scotland it is *forty* shillings ; in Ireland only *ten* shillings.

The population at the time of the Union was not more than half the present number, 8,200,000 ; and yet the amount of taxation levied is positively less than it was forty years ago.

Let us view England, Scotland, and Ireland, as regards the pressure of taxation at the present period, and at the time of the Union, using round numbers for simplification.

	1800.	1840.
England	£35,000,000	£42,000,000
Scotland	2,000,000	5,000,000
Ireland	4,300,000	4,100,000

Thus, while the pressure on England has been largely increased, and in Scotland more than doubled, in Ireland it has been positively and relatively diminished.

The REVENUE collected in the year (1832) in ENGLAND, WALES, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND, respectively ; distinguishing the CUSTOMS, EXCISE, STAMPS, and ASSESSED TAXES. Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, 27th February, 1832, was in

	Customs.	Excise.	Stamps.	Land and Assessed Taxes.	Post Office.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£	
England	16,515,911	14,147,252	6,410,573	4,804,829	1,031,715	42,910,280
Wales	26,139	176,046	†	105,530	40,995	348,710
Scotland	1,478,231	2,576,965	534,985	318,578	204,593	5,113,353
Ireland	1,463,624	2,193,079	482,040	—	253,356	4,392,101
Total .	19,483,905	19,093,342	7,427,598	5,228,937	1,530,659	52,764,444

From this it will be seen that Scotland is positively and relatively heavier taxed than Ireland.

The following Parliamentary document, (No. 273,) moved for by Mr. John O'Connell, M.P., and printed by the House of Commons on the 28th April, 1841, may be here inserted, as it

* See *Liber Hiberniæ*, Part vii., page 338.

† The accounts of the STAMP department do not afford the means of distinguishing the Amount of Revenue received in Wales.

completely refutes both the first and second allegation, namely, as regards the onerous taxation levied on Ireland by the Imperial Legislature; and also the violation of the Act of Union, by the unfair proportion of taxes demanded from Ireland.

AN ACCOUNT of the gross RECEIPTS of REVENUE within the Year, after deducting Re-payments, Allowances, Discounts, Drawbacks, and Bounties in the nature of Drawbacks, for GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, for each Year, from 1801 to 1841; and a STATEMENT of the Proportion that IRISH PAYMENTS bore to ENGLISH, calculated in Periods of Five Years each.—Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, April 27, 1841.

In the Years	Gross Payments of ordinary Revenues into the Exchequer, as stated in the Returns laid before the Select Committee on the Public Income and Expenditure in 1828, and in the Annual Finance Accounts.		Proportion of Irish Payments to British, calculated in Periods of Five Years.	In the Years	Gross Payments of ordinary Revenues into the Exchequer, as stated in the Returns laid before the Select Committee on the Public Income and Expenditure in 1828, and in the Annual Finance Accounts.		Proportion of Irish Payments to British, calculated in Periods of Five Years.
	In Great Britain.	In Ireland.			In Great Britain.	In Ireland.	
	£	£			£	£	
1802	36,924,627	3,545,631	(Total in the four years from 1802 to 1805, 185,675,416 <i>l.</i> ; of which the proportion of Irish Revenue was about one-thirteenth.	1821	56,607,179	5,039,719	(Total in the five years from 1821 to 1825, 292,576,901 <i>l.</i> ; of which the proportion of Irish Revenue was about one-thirteenth.
1803	38,231,619	3,158,237		1822	54,374,638	4,662,933	
1804	45,867,417	3,822,960		1823	52,957,690	4,114,006	
1805	50,500,144	3,624,781		1824	53,270,027	4,265,738	
	171,523,807	14,151,609		1825	52,829,274	4,455,697	
					270,038,808	22,538,093	
1806	54,167,615	4,087,561	(Total in the five years from 1806 to 1810, 329,761,042 <i>l.</i> ; of which the proportion of Irish Revenue was about one-fourteenth.	1826	50,526,152	4,313,534	(Total in the five years from 1826 to 1830, 292,905,432 <i>l.</i> ; of which the proportion of Irish Revenue was about one-thirteenth.
1807	58,720,880	4,862,960		1827	53,928,220	4,489,509	
1808	62,697,886	4,907,828		1828	56,406,443	4,734,292	
1809	63,831,453	4,804,803		1829	54,902,200	4,462,831	
1810	67,417,777	4,262,279		1830	54,844,096	4,298,155	
	306,835,611	22,925,431			270,607,111	22,298,321	
1811	65,300,063	4,893,150	(Total in the five years from 1811 to 1815, 366,803,151 <i>l.</i> ; of which the proportion of Irish Revenue was about one-thirteenth.	1831	49,836,355	4,414,085	(Total in the five years from 1831 to 1835, 266,171,354 <i>l.</i> ; of which the proportion of Irish Revenue was about one-twelfth.
1812	63,705,323	5,531,533		1832	49,571,460	4,435,098	
1813	67,600,314	5,775,640		1833	48,410,467	4,160,649	
1814	70,320,017	6,219,169		1834	48,307,792	4,445,455	
1815	70,953,122	6,504,820		1835	47,948,282	4,641,711	
	337,878,839	28,924,312			244,074,356	22,096,998	
1816	61,973,894	4,529,150	(Total in the five years from 1816 to 1820, 297,800,244 <i>l.</i> ; of which the proportion of Irish Revenue was about one-twelfth.	1836	50,174,896	4,798,781	(Total in the five years from 1836 to 1840, 265,090,658 <i>l.</i> ; of which the proportion of Irish Revenue was about one-twelfth.
1817	51,614,484	5,285,654		1837	47,768,044	4,519,693	
1818	52,964,366	5,392,774		1838	48,308,547	4,670,690	
1819	51,829,694	5,064,730		1839	48,768,850	4,576,649	
1820	54,553,672	4,591,826		1840	47,402,223	4,102,285	
	272,936,110	24,864,134			242,422,560	22,668,098	

This is a very remarkable document. For forty years Ireland, with an increasing population, has only been taxed to the extent of one-thirteenth or one-twelfth the amount levied in Great Britain; and now only contributes in the proportion of four to forty-seven millions, although possessing more than half as many inhabitants as England and Wales. During the recent Repeal debate in the Dublin Corporation on the 28th February, 1843, Mr. Town Councillor Staunton, who is the chief opponent of the Union, on the ground of the "unjust and unfair proportion of Irish to English taxation," made the following remarks on the preceding document:—"The paper which shows the relative amounts of British and Irish revenue for forty years since the Union, shows this striking fact, that *during the whole time, England and Ireland were in exactly the same, or nearly the same relative position as to revenue.*" This unavoidable admission of a truth settles the whole question of a breach of the Seventh Article of the Union.

Let us now ascertain the correctness of the allegation of Ireland being more heavily taxed than other countries. This assertion is at once answered by the following detail of taxation in several foreign countries, merely premising that in Ireland the imperial taxes are not *ten* shillings a-head per annum; that the local taxes, (namely, 1,200,000*l.* county cess, 500,000*l.* tithes, 300,000*l.* poor-rates, and other interior taxes), amount to about *five* shillings a-head yearly. In England the imperial taxation alone is *fifty* shillings a-head per annum; and the local taxes at least twenty-five shillings a-head per annum. In Scotland, the imperial taxation is nearly *forty* shillings a-head per annum; the local taxation about *ten* shillings a head per annum.

In the Statistical Companion to the Pocket-Book for 1843, prepared by Mr. C. R. Weld, Assistant-Secretary to the Statistical Society of London, the following data will be found.

	Population.	Revenue.	£	s.	d.	
France	34,000,000*	£40,000,000*	1	3	6½	17
Spain	12,000,000	10,000,000	0	16	8	
Papal States	2,700,000	3,000,000	1	2	2½	8

* Round numbers are given for easier reckoning and remembrance.—R. M. M.

	Population.	Revenue.	£	s.	d.	
Holland	2,800,000	5,000,000	1	15	8½	⁹⁄₁₆
Belgium	4,200,000	4,000,000	0	19	0½	⁹⁄₁₆
Egypt	2,000,000	3,000,000	1	10	0	
Greece	600,000	2,500,000	2	15	6½	⁹⁄₁₆
Hanover	1,800,000	1,300,000	0	14	5½	⁹⁄₁₆
Saxony	1,600,000	1,100,000	0	13	9	

As the entire question of the taxation of Ireland, whether positively, or relative to Great Britain, has been long and elaborately dwelt on by the advocates of Repeal, it is necessary, even at the risk of being deemed too minute, to reply in the fullest manner to the allegations that have been, from time to time, and with such an assumed accuracy, promulgated.

We will first proceed to show in detail the nature and amount of the several taxes reduced in Ireland since the Union; and then demonstrate the extraordinarily large remissions of taxation which Ireland has experienced since 1840, out of so small a revenue. Unfortunately these returns do not come down later than 1833, otherwise the facts would be even still more convincing of the leniency with which Ireland has been treated.

The nature and amount of all taxes remitted or repealed in Ireland since the 1st of January, 1814, with the date of every such remission or repeal, I extract from the Parliamentary Paper, No. 190, dated 14th April, 1834.

The Custom-duties first claim attention. Under this head the taxes wholly repealed were as follow:—

In 1814 : the War Duties on Exports, estimated amount of duty repealed	£12,164
1815 : War Duty on Cotton Wool, imported in British Ships, do. . .	8,099
1821 : Duty on Cotton Wool of the British Plantations in America, do.	484
1823, 1824, and 1825 : Union Duties on British manufactured Goods imported into Ireland do.	do. . . 153,769
1825 : Duty on Salt imported do.	do. . . 12,411
1831 : Duty on Coals brought Coastways do.	do. . . 67,807
Total of Taxes (Customs) wholly repealed	£233,987

The taxes *partially* repealed were as follows:—

ESTIMATED AMOUNT OF DUTY REPEALED. — In the year 1819, Cotton Wool, 7,113*l.*; 1823, Barilla, 16,455*l.*; 1824, Raw, Waste, and Thrown Silk, 3,786*l.*; Rum, 1,613*l.*; Sheep's Wool, 37*l.*; 1825, Wine, 60,904*l.*; Coffee and Cocoa, 4,343*l.*; Cambrics, —; Cotton Manufactures, —; Iron, unwrought, 2,020*l.*; Sheep's Wool, 125*l.*; Tobacco, 187,484*l.*; Hemp, 3,056*l.*; Pearl and Pot Ashes, 939*l.*; Flax, Indigo, Madder, Lamb Skins, Kid Skins, Olive Oil, Cochineal, Rags, Small

Nuts, Elephants' Teeth, Valonia, Train Oil, Books, Ostrich Feathers, Pimento, Bottles, and Tar, 2,854*l.*; Quicksilver, 138*l.*; Thrown Silk, 1,316*l.*; 1826, Rum, 1,203*l.*; Pepper, 5,043*l.*; Smalts, 142*l.*; Flax Seed and Linseed, 6,597*l.*; Raw and Waste Silk, —; Mahogany, 605*l.*; Oranges and Lemons, 909*l.*; Rape Seed, —; 1828, Rice, 114*l.*; 1829, Barilla, 7,024*l.*; Raisins, 4*l.*; Thrown and Waste Silk, 220*l.*; Silk Manufactures, —; 1830, Barilla, 6,311*l.*; Sugar, 49,331*l.*; Molasses, 67*l.*; 1831, Coals exported, 88*l.*; French Wine, 3,693*l.*; 1832, Almonds, 472*l.*; Cocoa Nuts and Shells, 1,426*l.*; Gums, 5*l.*; Hemp, 3,944*l.*; deduct bounty on Cordage exported, discontinued, 443*l.*—3,501*l.*; Mahogany, 530*l.*; 1833, Cotton Wool, 466*l.*; Madder and Madder Root, 296*l.*; Shumac, 236*l.* Total amount of Customs partially repealed from 1819 to 1833 was upwards of 384,853*l.*

The foregoing statement exhibits every instance of a reduction or repeal of duties, by which the collective revenue of Great Britain and Ireland was effected to the extent of 5,000*l.* or upwards. The insertion of the minor articles would have extended the return very materially, without sensibly altering the result.

The Excise:—Taxes remitted or repealed in Ireland from 1814 to 1833, were

AMOUNT RECEIVED FOR EACH OF THE FIVE YEARS NEXT PRECEDING THE REMISSION OR REPEAL.—Hides and Skins (Duty and Licences)—In 1825, 30,549*l.*; 1826, 56,414*l.*; 1827, 48,742*l.*; 1828, 53,223*l.*; 1821, 51,630*l.*—Total, 240,558*l.*

The Excise:—Taxes *partially* remitted or repealed during the same period, were—

In 1816: Malt, reduced 2*s.* per bushel, (*viz.* from 4*s.* 5*d.* to 2*s.* 5*d.* per bushel). Yielding from three to six hundred thousand per annum.

In 1816: Spirits for consumption in Ireland, reduced 9*d.* per gallon, (*viz.*, from 6*s.* 1*d.* to 5*s.* 7*d.* per gallon). Yielding upwards of one million three hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum.

In 1822: Malt, reduced 1*s.* per bushel, (*viz.*, from 3*s.* 7*d.* to 2*s.* 7*d.* per bushel).

In 1823: Spirits for consumption in Ireland, reduced 3*s.* 2*d.* per gallon, (*viz.* from 5*s.* 7*d.* to 2*s.* 5*d.* per gallon).

In 1825: Licences reduced (various rates). Yielding about one hundred and eighty thousand pounds per annum.

The Stamp-duties * remitted or repealed, were—

In 1816: Marriage licence, 10*s.*; Receipts by the Receiver-General of Stamp Duties, and Collectors of Taxes; Answer, Bill, &c., filed by an Attorney in his own behalf, 2*s.* 6*d.*†

In 1819: Requisition or Request Note for any Permit, 2*s.*; estimated amount 24,000*l.*

In 1821: Postea, 10*s.* †; Handbill, $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* †

In 1824: Certain Duties on Law Proceedings; estimated amount, 98,000*l.*

In 1825: Conveyance on the Sale or Assignment of any ship or vessel. †

In 1827: Certificate to authorise any person (not being a gamekeeper) to kill game in Ireland, (exempt from duty where certificate is obtained in England).†

* The amounts of the duties thus marked (†) cannot be stated, because there were not separate or distinct dies or other means provided by the Stamp Act, from which they could be ascertained.

In 1832: Bill of Costs taxed by any taxing officer; estimated amount, 1,300*l.* Writ after Judgment, estimated amount, 4,800*l.*

In 1833: Receipts for any sum under 5*l.*, 1½*d.* Pamphlet, 2*s.* per sheet. Insurance of Farming Stock, 2*s.* 6*d.* per cent.† Application and Affidavit for grounding Presentments, 2*s.* 3*s.* 4*s.* 5*s.* 6*s.*†

The Stamp-duties *partially* remitted or repealed, were—

In 1816: Admission of Proctors to certain Courts, reduced from 20*l.* to 10*l.*† Certain Articles of Apprenticeship, reduced from 50*l.* and 15*l.* to 5*l.*†; Bond given as Security for Money to be thereafter lent, &c., reduced from 12*l.* 10*s.* to 10*l.*†; Copy of certain Searches, reduced from 5*s.* to 3*s.*†; Letter of Licence, reduced from 1*l.* to 10*s.*†; Exemplification of any Record (in Ecclesiastical Court) reduced from 15*s.* to 10*s.*†; Inhibition (in same Court) reduced from 1*l.* to 10*s.*†

In 1822: Certain Duties on Transfer of Mortgages, reduced from 2*l.* 10*s.* to 1*l.*†; Bankers' Notes under 5*l.* Irish, reduced from 3*d.* to 1½*d.* 10,652*l.*

In 1825: Bond in respect of Duties of Customs and Excise, reduced from 10*s.* to 5*s.*; estimated amount, 16,000*l.*; Certificate entitling Persons to Drawbacks, reduced from 3*l.* 15*s.* and 1*l.* 10*s.* to 5*s.*†

In 1827: Agreement between a Master and Mariner of any Ship for Wages, reduced from 1*l.* to 2*s.*†

In 1828: Playing cards, reduced from 2*s.* per pack to 1*s.*, 1,670*l.*; Protest of any Bill of Exchange or Promissory Note, reduced from 5*s.*, 6*s.*, and 10*s.*, to 2*s.*, 3*s.*, 5*s.*, and 10*s.*, 7,755*l.*

In 1832: Admission into any Corporation claimed as of right, by virtue of being engaged in any trade, &c., reduced from 3*l.* to 1*l.*†

In 1833: Advertisements, reduced from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.*, 15,532*l.*; Sea Insurances on Foreign Voyages, reduced where the Premium does not exceed 15*s.* per cent. from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 3*d.*—where it exceeds 15*s.* and not 30*s.*, from 5*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Post Office:—Taxes remitted or repealed, were—

In 1827: The separate and distinct Rates of Postage in Ireland on Letters from Great Britain repealed, such Letters being charged as if conveyed the like distance in Great Britain only, 8,198*l.*; the separate Rates on Merchants' Accounts, Bills of Exchange, Invoices, &c., on the same sheet with a Letter, repealed, 5,000*l.*

The Tax Department:—Taxes remitted or repealed, were—

In 1816: House Tax repealed—average receipt 20,000*l.* a year; Hearth Tax on Houses having two or three Hearths, repealed—average 14,000*l.* a year.

In 1823: Hearth Tax on Houses having four or more Hearths, repealed—averaging 35,000*l.* a year; Window Tax repealed—averaging 200,000*l.* a year; Carriage Duty repealed—averaging 50,000*l.* a year; Servant Duty repealed—averaging 33,000*l.*; Horse Duty repealed—averaging 50,000*l.* a year.

This shows a large remission of taxation, long before there was any remission on the same items in Great Britain.

The taxes *partially* remitted or repealed in the same department as the preceding, were—

In 1818: Window Tax reduced (a reduction of 25 per cent. on the former rates)—the average receipt was 300,000*l.* a year; Carriage Duty reduced (ditto)—

average receipt 90,000*l.* a year; Servant Duty reduced (ditto)—average receipt 50,000*l.* a year; Horse Duty reduced (ditto)—average receipt 90,000*l.* a year.

Ireland has obtained the benefit of all the reductions of taxes that have taken place in Great Britain since 1834; and she has had no new taxes imposed, and has even been exempted from the INCOME-TAX, which England, Wales, and Scotland pay.

The effect of these reductions is shown in the following abstract, which indicates what additional amount of Customs revenue would have accrued 'in Ireland in each year since the Union, if rates equal to those chargeable in Great Britain had in all cases been levied upon the quantities of the various articles subject to Customs duties, which were actually entered for consumption in the respective years.

Principal articles upon which a difference existed between the British and Irish Rates of Duty.	Amount received in Ireland at the Rates of Duty actually chargeable on the respective Articles in that Country.	Estimated amount which would have been received upon an equal Consumption, if the Rates of Duty had been the same as in Great Britain.	Excess of Revenue beyond the amount actually collected, which would have accrued if the British Rates had been paid upon the Quantities consumed in Ireland
	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>
Barilla and Ashes . .	5,549	507,122	501,573
Iron, Bar	138,597	435,057	296,460
Salt, Foreign . . .	501,923	5,880,248	5,378,325
Spirits, Foreign . .	2,654,558	3,590,117	935,559
Sugar	961,525	1,009,725	48,200
Tea	5,531,777	6,514,980	983,203
Tobacco	4,004,303	6,038,620	2,034,317
Wine	3,961,517	6,242,864	2,281,347
Wood	1,563,006	4,527,189	2,964,183
Salt, British . . .	2,406,776	21,215,755	18,808,979
Coals	1,651,749	4,092,328	2,440,579
Other Articles . . .	798,051	4,061,967	3,263,916
Total	24,179,331	64,115,972	39,936,641

Thus, while the Imperial Parliament levied 64,115,972*l.* taxes on twelve articles in Great Britain, on the *same* articles during the same period, the taxation levied was, in Ireland, only 24,179,331*l.*, making a difference *in favour of Ireland* of nearly *forty millions sterling*! Is this "FINANCIAL ROBBERY" of Ireland?

But it is not merely a difference of taxation in favour of Ireland in 33 years to the extent of nearly forty millions sterling; we proceed to show the amount of taxes raised in Great Britain from 1800 to 1833, on articles not subject to duty in Ireland.

On Beer, 91,252,592*l.*; Bricks and Tiles, 10,854,967*l.*; Candles, 11,891,684*l.*; Cyder and Perry, 821,212*l.*; Glass (exclusive of Glass Bottles), 14,623,952*l.*; Hops, 7,146,479; Printed Calicoes, &c., 40,358,465*l.*; Salt, 33,173,631*l.*; Soap, 32,441,797*l.*; Starch, 2,210,779*l.*; Stone Bottles, 67,131*l.*; Wire, 267,419*l.*—Total, 245,110,108*l.*

Thus 245,110,108*l.* sterling was raised in Great Britain on twelve articles, which in Ireland were *free of duty* during those thirty-three years since the Union.

The excess of taxes paid in Great Britain since 1800, upon articles subject to duty in both countries, above the amount which would have been paid had the rates in Great Britain been the same as in Ireland, was—

On Auctions, 1,603,640*l.*; Glass Bottles, 2,390,366*l.*; Hides and Skins (estimate), 3,869,611*l.*; Licences —; Malt, 29,251,946*l.*; Paper, 627,165*l.*; Spirits, Vinegar, 726,624*l.*—81,367,047*l.*; showing a total excess or difference of Taxation in Great Britain *in favour of Ireland* of 326,477,155*l.*

These official statements, which demonstrate so completely the exceeding favour with which Ireland has been treated by the Imperial Parliament, may be briefly explained by the following—

ESTIMATE OF THE EXCESS OF TAXATION IN GREAT BRITAIN, AS COMPARED WITH IRELAND, FROM THE PERIOD OF THE UNION TO 1833.

The Total Amount of Taxes raised in Great Britain since the Year	£
1800, of which no similar Duties have been imposed in Ireland, is*	201,106,403
The excess of the Assessed Taxes raised in Great Britain beyond the amount which would have been raised had the rates of Duty been similar to those paid in Ireland from 1800 to 1822, when the Assessed Taxes in Ireland ceased, is, at a rough estimate, about	80,237,406
Amount of Assessed Taxes raised in Great Britain, since the repeal of the Assessed Taxes in Ireland	45,133,544
Total Excess of Taxation in Great Britain	326,477,353
As a set-off against the above excess, may be mentioned the Hearth Tax in Ireland, which has produced, during the same period, the sum of	1,160,492
Net Excess	325,316,861

Tax-Office, 11th April, 1834.

BENJAMIN SAYER,
Comptroller of Accounts.

The difference in the rates and amount of Stamp Duties in

* Land Tax, 43,497,297*l.*; Income Tax, 9,613,991*l.*; Aid and Contribution, 67,892*l.*; Property Tax, 145,833,019*l.*; 1*s.* 6*d.* and 4*s.* Duties, 2,094,204*l.* Total, 201,106,403*l.*

Great Britain and in Ireland, from the year 1800 to 1833, is thus shown :—

The total amount of Stamp Duties raised in England since 1800, is 181,232,000*l.* in Scotland, 13,461,000*l.* ; in Ireland, 13,897,000*l.*

In England and Scotland, the Duty on Deeds and other written Instruments is 80*l.* per cent. higher than in Ireland ; on Legacies, 100*l.* ditto ; on Probates, 50*l.* ditto ; on Administrations, 120*l.* ditto ; on Receipts, 65*l.* ditto ; on Newspapers, 100*l.* ditto ; on Almanacks, 60*l.* ditto ; on Fire Insurances, 20*l.* ditto ; on Advertisements, 50*l.*

In Ireland there are no Duties, or ever have been, on Patent Medicines, on Stage Coaches, on Post Horses, on Race Horses, or on Hackney Coaches.

The gross amount of Stamp Duties raised in England since the year 1800, of which no similar Duties have been imposed in Ireland, is about 20,000,000*l.* ; and in Scotland, 600,000*l.*

If England and Scotland had been taxed at the same rates of Stamp Duty as Ireland, there would have been raised in England since 1800 (according to the best estimate that can be formed) about the sum of 81,697,000*l.* less than has been paid ; and in Scotland, 4,941,000*l.* less.

And if Ireland had paid the same rates of Duty as England, an additional sum of 9,565,000*l.* would have been paid by that country since 1800, beyond that which has been raised thereon.

Now, what are the inferences to be drawn from these important facts relating to Scotland ? Ireland, with a population of more than one-half that of England and Wales, does not contribute *one-twelfth* of the taxes of the empire ; and Scotland, with a population about *one-third* that of Ireland, contributes a greater quota to the support of the Government. The disproportion between Scotland and Ireland in the shape of revenue is not owing to the former country deriving any undue advantages over the latter. In fact, Scotland labours under a taxation on industry, and has an annual drain of capital, far greater than Ireland. This was clearly shown in a valuable little work published in Dublin in 1832.

“ The credited taxes in Scotland, in 1829, amounted to 220,000*l.* more than those of Ireland ; and she paid uncredited tea duties, &c., like Ireland, and contributed *through her absentees*, like Ireland. Besides, she is liable to assessed taxes, from which Ireland is exempt. These, in 1829, amounted to 291,635*l.* She is also liable to soap and candle taxes, unknown to Ireland, and her rates of stamp duties are much higher than the Irish rates : in some instances they are double, in many treble, the amount of Irish rates. On a newspaper, she pays 4*d.* ; Ireland, 2*d.* : on an advertisement, 3*s.* 6*d.* (without an exemption for charities) ; Ireland, 2*s.* 6*d.*, with an exemption for charities. Her deed duties are double ; her probate duties are in no instance less than double, and in some instances treble, those of Ireland ;

her legacy duties are double ; and a tenth of all her charitable bequests goes to the exchequer, while in Ireland such bequests are untaxed. She is also liable to a tax on persons travelling by the stage-coaches, and a mile tax on posting, neither of which is payable in Ireland.

"Some of the Scotch excise revenue is, no doubt, paid by both England and Ireland, with as much of her custom duties as are paid on the sugar which she refines and exports to them. But suppose these to be, for both countries, half a million, look at the amount of revenue that still remains, *and bear in mind that it is raised by a population less than a third of the population of Ireland.*

"There is another circumstance connected with the Scotch revenue which renders her position far more unfavourable than that of Ireland : more than three-fourths of her revenue are remitted to London. By returns relating to the remittance of revenue, which were presented to Parliament in 1830, it appears that Scotland's revenue charges of management, and charges of civil government, &c., were, in 1829, less than a million ; and after making this deduction, *she remitted more than three millions and a half to the British exchequer.* Here is a drain of capital nearly as great as the drain from Ireland, by absentees, emigrants, insurance agents, and money-dealers. And Scotland has, besides, her absentees and emigrants, and her dealers in the English funds, as well as Ireland."—*Facts on Ireland.* Milliken, Dublin.

The whole of the revenue raised in Ireland is spent in Ireland ; but Scotland contributes annually more than three and-a-half millions sterling in revenue alone to the British exchequer !

In regard to reduction of taxation, Ireland has received since the close of the war a far greater remission than England or Scotland ; and while England and Scotland have recently been subjected to an Income-tax, Ireland has been exempted from its operation.

With respect to the unfounded allegation of the agreement at the Union being broken, and the Irish debt augmented, it may be sufficient to inquire, whether England and Scotland were to pay the whole expenses of the war waged, not for ambition, but for self-preservation ; and whether, since the close of that war, as well as since 1800, Ireland was to contribute nothing to the naval, consular, regal, diplomatic, and various other necessary charges of the empire ?

But if the taxation of Ireland be positively and relatively small, the Imperial Parliament has not been niggard in the advance of money for the improvement of Ireland, as shown in Part III. page 158.

The advances made on three items are thus summarily shown in Parliamentary Return, No. 194, of 18th April, 1834.

	From January 1801 to January 1817.	From January 1817 to January 1833.	Totals.
	£	£	£
Charitable and Literary Institutions	1,995,128	2,230,622	4,225,750
Encouragement of Agriculture and Manufacture	868,174	472,247	1,340,421
Public Works and Employment of the Poor	1,535,336	1,536,824	3,072,160
Total	4,398,638	4,239,693	8,638,331

From 1819 to 1830, the Bounties and other expenses of the Irish Fisheries establishment amounted to 259,358*l*.

The grants of money made by the Irish and by the Imperial Parliaments are also in favour of the liberality and munificence of the latter :—

The average grants by the Irish Parliament, for six years previous to the Union, were 79,314*l*. Ditto by the Imperial Parliament for four years previous to 1817, 369,864*l*.

Independent of heavy charges for the administration of Justice, for Police, Coast Guard Service, and other public purposes, and irrespective of the cost of various Civil establishments of the Army in Ireland, and of a charge for Naval defence, of Colonial establishments, or Diplomacy, the following statement shows the money voted by the Imperial Parliament, during the three years ending 1843, for the undermentioned purposes in Ireland :—

The Parliamentary grants for Public Education in Ireland, were	£150,000	Public Offices, late Linen Board, about	40,000
Roman Catholic College, Ireland	25,774	Late Treasury and Irish Annuity Office, ditto	10,000
Belfast Academical Society	5,850	Various Dublin Hospitals	101,594
Royal Dublin Society	16,000	Non-conforming and other Ministers	105,867
Royal Irish and Hibernian Academies	1,800	Concordatum Fund and other Allowances	22,476
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	60,000	Townland Survey of Ireland	17,000
Household of ditto	19,762	Shannon Navigation	19,330
Secretary's and Privy Council Office	67,424	Poor Law Commission	60,000
Commissioners of Public Works	7,200	Stationery, Printing, and Binding	30,000
Printing Proclamations	17,282	Disembodied Militia, 346 officers and 326 staff	100,000
Public Buildings, &c.	59,919		
Kingstown Harbour	30,000		
			£967,278

In order that it may be fully seen that the revenue raised in Ireland is inadequate to the direct as well as to the indirect expenditure which is incurred by the Imperial Treasury for the expenses of the Crown, of the Navy, of the head departments of the State, of the Colonies, the Diplomatic Service, Packets and Post Office, and various other large items, it may be sufficient to observe that the expenditure in Ireland, for the year ending January 5th, 1842, was, for the Army, 946,000*l.*; the Ordnance, 110,420*l.*; the Miscellaneous 331,738*l.*; payment for interest and management of the National Debt, 1,186,983*l.*; and 575,981*l.* other permanent charges on the Consolidated Fund;—total, 3,151,123*l.*, out of a revenue of only 4,100,000*l.* If Ireland were required to pay taxes in proportion to Scotland, or to area and population, it would be necessary to treble her taxation, in order to contribute rateably to the Imperial expenditure.

Without dwelling further on this branch of the subject, it may be assumed that the whole taxation of Ireland does not afford a sufficient sum to pay a fair quota of the expenses incurred on behalf of Ireland by the Imperial Treasury.

The assertions demonstrated by facts in this Chapter to be true are—*first*, that Ireland is *now* one of the least taxed countries in Europe; *second*, that the amount of taxes levied *per head* in Ireland is now only *one-half* the amount levied at the period of the Union; *third*, that the taxes levied in Ireland are only one-fifth *per head* the amount levied in England, and one-third the amount levied in Scotland; *fourth*, that in thirty-three years the difference of taxation between Great Britain and Ireland is more than *three hundred million sterling* in favour of Ireland; and *fifth*, that there has been no violation of the Act of Union.

CHAPTER X.

State of Banking in Ireland ;—Defects of the System ;—History of Each Public Bank ;—Conduct of the Bank of Ireland ;—History of Loan Funds.

THE Banking Establishments of a country are intimately identified with its prosperity or adversity ; and affect materially its public and private finances.

A brief exposition of the state of Banking in Ireland, before and after the Union, may here be introduced, in illustration of one of the great evils under which Ireland now labours ; and which it is of vital consequence to the country should be early and effectively rectified.

The Bank of Ireland was brought into operation in 1783, with a capital of 600,000*l.* Irish currency, under a complete monopoly charter from the Irish Parliament. From 1784 to 1799, the dividend paid was 5 to 6 per cent. In 1800, the dividend on 1,500,000*l.* capital was 7 per cent. In 1809, capital 2,500,000*l.*, and dividend, up to 1814, was $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In 1821, a bonus of 500,000*l.* was added to the original capital ; and on the 3,000,000*l.* capital, 10 per cent. was paid to 1829 ; and thence, to 1835, 9 per cent. dividend was paid. From 1802 to 1822, *one million one hundred thousand pounds* sterling was added from profits to the capital of the Bank, independent of annual dividends of 7 to 10 per cent. This statement shows that banking as well as commercial profits increased from the time of the Union.

Ireland has, however, materially suffered from want of a sound and expansive banking system. In England, many private bankers have failed since 1800, and their place is as yet imperfectly supplied by public banks. In 1800 (March 25) the number of bankers issuing notes in Ireland was 11 ; in January, 1801, No. 23 ; in 1802, No. 29 ; in 1803, No. 30 ; in 1804, No. 40.

The number of notes paying duty, in the like period, was—

Years.	1 st d.	3 ^d .	4 ^d .
1800 . .	148,112 . .	198,361 . .	104,248
1801 . .	245,673 . .	147,211 . .	65,201
1802 . .	941,894 . .	196,108 . .	95,600
1803 . .	823,673 . .	204,940 . .	67,594
1804 . .	1,110,217 . .	256,801 . .	90,265

This extensive issue of paper money, consequent on the restriction of cash payments, led, finally, to the most disastrous failures among the private bankers, to whom it is alleged no aid whatever was afforded by the Bank of Ireland; that establishment, on the contrary—under the monopoly of its charter, it is further alleged—made every effort to prevent the formation of any other public bank, to fill the place, as in England, of the defunct private banks.

In 1820, no less than eleven banks, some of them of considerable influence and extensive credit, broke in rapid succession; and, with the exception of two firms in Mallow and Wexford, there was not, excepting those in Dublin, Cork, and Belfast, a solvent bank remaining.

Mr. George Lewis Smyth, in his work on “Banking in Ireland,”* makes the following statement on this subject, and which will fully explain the reason why Ireland has so long been deprived of an efficient banking system and monetary circulation, which is as essential to the body politic as a due circulation of blood is to the body corporate.

“In this extremity, and not before, the Government of Lord Liverpool found it necessary to interpose, and place some check upon the career of the Bank of Ireland, by opening out facilities for conducting a better description of Banking business than had hitherto been practised,—it was determined to try the experiment of Joint Stock Banks in Ireland, as well as in England; and the Bank of Ireland, upon being allowed to add half a million to its capital, parted with so much of its monopoly as enabled Banking Companies, with more than six partners, to carry on the business of Banking at a distance of fifty Irish miles from Dublin. This was effected by the 1st and 2d Geo. IV. c. 72. The reluctance with which this agreement was entered into, on the part of the Bank, may be inferred from some circumstances which immediately ensued. Early doubts were raised, and legal opinions taken, upon the construction of the Act of Parliament, which marred its practical utility. From what quarter, at whose instigation, and at whose cost these doubts were raised, canvassed, and enforced, it is hardly necessary to indicate. In the end it was successfully maintained, that every partner in an Irish Joint Stock Bank

* Published by Hooper, Pall Mall, London, 1840.

ought to be a resident in Ireland; and thus the Irish were suddenly cut off from the co-operation of the English capitalists, without whose assistance they were themselves wholly to encounter the competition of the Bank of Ireland. So far, the Bank broke faith with Parliament and the public: it had obtained a certain boon, half a million of money, as the price of a fixed concession, and having secured its own share of the terms, it turned boldly round to pick holes in the Act of Parliament, by which the agreement was regulated, and sought to prevent the improvement which the national interests so urgently demanded.

"It took four years to effect a redress of this artful piece of injustice. Right, however, ultimately prevailed, and the Provincial Bank of Ireland was established by a Proprietary of the highest respectability and ample wealth; as might have been foreseen, the difficulties offered to the success of the Provincial Bank by the Directors of the Bank of Ireland, were numerous and severe. Several heavy and keenly-timed runs upon the Provincial took place, of which, as no accurate or authentic account has been given, we are not, perhaps, formally warranted in laying to the charge of the Bank of Ireland.

"The Provincial Bank of Ireland, as already stated, was founded in 1824, and before 1826 the Bank of Ireland was at open war with it. The first step taken in the very unbecoming course of opposition upon which the Bank of Ireland now entered, was to set up Branch Banks of its own, in the towns in which the Provincial Bank proposed to carry on business; the next was, to resist, with all its most active weight and energetic influence, the 6th of Geo. IV. c. 42, which was about to pass for the sole purpose of simplifying and explaining the preceding Act of Parliament upon the same subject.

"This was a course not ungracious only, but most vexatiously inconsistent. From the year 1783 to the year 1824, the terms of the monopoly enjoyed by the Bank of Ireland forbade the establishment of a second Joint Stock Bank in Ireland; the Bank of Ireland had not Dublin alone, with its circle of fifty miles, exclusively to itself, but it reigned paramount over the whole island also. Nevertheless, during that long series of years, it never once extended itself into the Provinces—it set up not a single Branch Bank; it left the country entirely dependent upon the circulation of Private Banks; the great majority of those concerns were well known to possess no adequate means; the failures that ultimately took place amongst them, entailed on the public losses estimated at the amount of twenty millions sterling; and yet, during this long interval, in the presence of these heavy sufferings, the Bank of Ireland confined its operations to Dublin. But the moment the urgency of the circumstances invited others into the field—as soon as London capitalists published a prospectus, in which they promised to afford certain towns in the country parts of Ireland that accommodation which the Bank of Ireland had so long denied them, the Bank at once set up a determined opposition in those very towns, and resorted to every means within its reach to embarrass and defeat the new adventurer. It thus not only refused to do the good required, when it alone had the power, but it laboured to deter others from rendering it, even when the Legislature had specifically interfered for the purpose. With a view of driving the young rival out of the field, it was resolved not to recognise it in any transaction, not to exchange notes with it, to insist upon cash payments for its notes at the branches, and to refuse to pay gold in the very same places for its own. Perhaps the worst feature in this vexatious act, is to be found in the fact that the Bank of Ireland had, just before, been in the habit of paying gold for its paper throughout the country, and that it now inconvenienced the public by denying gold for its

issues everywhere but in Dublin, for the sole purpose of damaging the business of the Provincial Bank. The genuine bitterness of civil strife and mercenary collision could not have been more inveterately displayed than it was in all these wild measures.

"The next litigation got up by the Bank of Ireland with the Provincial, was a *qui tam* action for paying (not issuing) notes in Dublin. After this suit had been decided against them in the Irish Courts, they brought it to the House of Lords as an appeal; and had not Messrs. Spring Rice and Dawson, together with other official men, been on the direction of the Provincial Bank, it is hard to say what the result might have been, or to what extremities the monopolists might have proceeded. Fortunately for the country, the interposition of the gentlemen just named was successful; the suit was compromised, and an Act passed expressly to allow the Joint Stock Banks an agency in Dublin, for the purpose of paying there, and within fifty miles, notes issued in the country. The Act (6 Geo. IV. c. 42), however, hardly comes up to the intention of the Legislature. It is so vaguely worded, and so imperfectly drawn, that litigious or dishonest parties, residing within fifty miles of Dublin, who may have obtained discount accommodation from the branch of a Joint Stock Bank fifty miles beyond Dublin, may question the legal right of such Joint Stock Bank to recover from them a just debt, because the party accommodated with the discount resided WITHIN the Bank of Ireland monopoly.

"It is impossible for any serious mind to suppose, that a country, like Ireland, could have continued to sustain the shocks produced by such a series of Bank failures as those which took place from the establishment of the Bank of Ireland to the introduction of the Joint Stock Banking System, which may be truly said to have saved the country. During the fifty years it has held the fortunes of the island in its grasp, it has vivified no branch of the national industry, it has promoted no manufactures, it has created no new trade, and saved no old one from decay. It has evidently had but one rule of action—to make money—to run no risks—to let others lose, as often and deeply as might be—but never to neglect the profit which its monopoly insured, of gaining by whatever business happened to be carried on. All argument, we think, upon this head is superseded by the one strong fact—that the sum total of its bad debts, since the day of its creation, amounts to only £338,500. It had upwards of a million of disposable surplus capital in 1836; and it is in evidence, before a Committee of the House of Commons, that it would not lend the moderate sum of 20,000*l.* to the Agricultural Bank, though bills to the amount of 60,000*l.*, and the personal guarantee of the Directors, were offered as a security for the loan; and every man of sense was struck with alarm, at the apparently inevitable consequences of a general stoppage upon the part of all the Joint Stock Banks in Ireland."

Another step taken by the Bank of Ireland to preserve a monopoly of the paper circulation was to refuse Bank of England notes, which were actually at a discount, the Bank of Ireland charging half per cent. on them, even to bankers. Consequent upon the failure of the Private Banks, in 1820, some of whom stopped payment for very large sums (Colelough's, in the small town of New Ross, with about 4,000 inhabitants, for 200,000*l.*;

Cottar & Kellar, of Cork, for 420,000*l.*; Williams & Finn, of Dublin, for 300,000*l.*, "*without ever having been worth a shilling*);"* Messrs. Alexander & Co. stopped in Dublin, with issues and liabilities to the extent of half a million. In June, 1813, Messrs. Stephen & James Roche, bankers in Cork, owed to the public 376,166*l.* Irish currency. Now, when we consider the rapid growth of so many unsound banks, their failure need not surprise.

Mr. G. L. Smyth says:—

"Previously to the year 1783, the standard grievances with all Irish writers on Political Economy, were two in number,—that there were none but private Bankers in Ireland, who issued notes without restraint or responsibility,—and that the disparity of exchanges with England involved ruinous losses to Irish commerce. To these causes, by common consent, were the great runs upon the Banks, and the failures of 1720, 1745, 1760, and 1770, ascribed. We have, therefore, during the first stage, the fixed producing causes, and the sum of the consequent evils, in four panics, during a term of sixty-three years, and the failure of some seven or eight Banks. In the second stage, comprising a term of forty years, we have the same complaints of excessive paper money, and still more adverse exchanges; and a series of panics which left only four Banks out of fifty, not bankrupt, or averse from business. Instead of mitigating, therefore, the monopoly of the Bank of Ireland increased and aggravated the mercantile convulsions of the country. Strange and improbable as the principal incidents in the history of Banking in Ireland must appear, antecedent to the chartering of the national establishment in 1783, they are infinitely surpassed in wildness and inconsistency by the chance-medley produced by subsequent events. Not only before the Bank was chartered, but even before the suspension of cash payments, the business of Banking in Ireland was principally confined to Dublin. There were not, in 1797, more than half-a-dozen Banks† in the south of Ireland, and none in the north or west; but after that year almost every place had its Bank, and every conceivable mode and device for circulating money was resorted to. For instance, Wexford, a small town, which, even in 1821, had a population of only 8,326 inhabitants, and a proportionately limited trade, had, between the years 1800 and 1804, no less than seven Banks. The fate of such commercial establishments will be conjectured at once:—five failed rather quickly, and one gave up business. Two new ones immediately started, to fill the vacuum thus created, which soon after shared the fate of their predecessors. Of the whole number, only one, that of the Messrs. Redmond, conducted business with honour and profit. It was the earliest of the Wexford Banks, and about the last private Bank that existed in Ireland.

New Ross, again, a smaller town than Wexford, and more than twenty miles from it, had four Banks, only one of which was standing in 1812, and even that

* Sir J. Newport's Evidence before the Lords' Committee, in 1826.

† Namely, three in Dublin, three in Cork, one in Clonmel, one in Limerick, and one in Waterford.—*Lords' Committee on Circulation*, &c. 1826, Evidence of J. Roche, Esq., p. 52.

afterwards gave way. Similar instances, in abundance, are to be cited in various other places, but the repetition would be tiresome. The wild growth of these mushroom establishments has been already given in detail from the Commons' Report of 1804, which shows that eleven Banks, in 1800, had become twenty-three in 1801; twenty-nine, in 1802; thirty, in 1803; and fifty, in 1804. In 1812, Mr. Wakefield published his *Political Survey of Ireland*, and stated that, of the fifty Banks in 1804, there then remained only nineteen extant. One adverse circumstance or other had swept away the rest. Notwithstanding this sharp warning, new speculators had rushed into the field with as little prudence as fear, so that, notwithstanding the failure of thirty-one out of fifty Banks, between 1804 and 1812, only six years, there were still thirty-three Banks open in 1812.

"These adventurers resorted to expedients of all kinds for the purpose of forcing a trade. They supplied small traders with their notes, and used to pay a premium to get them into circulation. The Bankers themselves were in the habit of attending markets and fairs like so many hucksters, each putting off his own commodity as best he might. Their favourite issue was not promissory notes, but post bills, at ten days' sight, which, being generally unaccepted, were paid, if at all, at convenience. But the mischief did not rest with the multitude of Bankers. Besides the fifty private firms already spoken of, there were as many as 295 petty dealers and chapmen, grocers, spirit-dealers, apothecaries, and shopkeepers of all sorts, inundating the country with a species of I. O. U., called silver money, which was a direct violation of the law, and ranged, in nominal amount, from threepence-halfpenny to ten shillings. This fraudulent paper was principally spread over the south and south-west of Ireland, which further suffered under an enormous distribution of forged notes, the unlettered population being, in that respect, easily imposed upon. In 1810 the circulation of the Bank of Ireland rose to more than 3,000,000*l.*, and there was a panic; in 1820 it exceeded 5,000,000*l.*, and there was another panic. Then began an accumulative series of those rapid failures which seem to be known to no other country, and which spread indescribable calamity and consternation over the whole surface of the island. In the month of June the Banking firm of Roche and Co., of Cork, failed; and, on the same morning, that of Leslie and Co. suspended payment in the same city. By the next Saturday, Messrs. Maunsell, of Limerick, had closed their doors. These embarrassments were quickly followed by the stoppage of Messrs. Riall, at Clonmel; Sause, at Carrick-on-Suir; Newport, at Waterford; Loughnan, at Kilkenny; Alexander, at Dublin; until, within a single month, eleven Banks had broken, and in the whole south of Ireland, there remained open only two houses—Messrs. Delacour, at Mallow, and Redmond, at Wexford."

Let us now examine what was the state of the Bank of Ireland during these failures. In 1797, the circulation of the Bank of Ireland was 621,917*l.* In 1808, 2,827,000*l.* In 1809, 3,068,100*l.* In 1810, 3,157,300*l.* In 1813, 4,212,600*l.* In 1821, 5,182,600*l.* In 1825, 6,309,300*l.* During the whole of these periods numerous private banks were in operation, all large issuers of their own notes. Mark now the contrast. In 1843, the whole circulation of the Bank of Ireland, with branch

banks of its own in every large town, is only 3,100,000*l.*; and this, added to the circulation of the few existing joint stock *public* (there being only two *private* banks remaining in Ireland) banks, namely 1,900,000*l.*, gives at present only 5,000,000*l.* for the whole kingdom !

Mr. G. L. Smyth, in a valuable exposition of the question on the last proposition for renewing the Bank of Ireland charter ; and, after an analysis of the evidence before Parliament on the subject, thus sums up his remarks ; and in so doing, aids me in demonstrating that *one of the chief grievances of Ireland is her banking system ; and that to its imperfections and errors we may ascribe why Ireland has not yet derived the full benefits of her legislative and commercial Union with England.*

“Such, in its main outlines, is the history of the Bank of Ireland. However viewed, and whenever examined, its character, we apprehend, will be found one and the same, and its conduct, under every circumstance, viciously consistent in misdeeds. The law of the land, well-meaning, we admit, but certainly injudicious and mistaken, has authorised it to erect itself into a condition of paramount ascendancy, equally odious and opulent ; and a sheer sordid, un-Irish prudence has infelicitously distinguished all its transactions. In the midst of general impoverishment, public debility, and national depression, we find it enriched, strengthened, and exalted ; often as discontent and insubordination have agitated and vexed the island, the Bank has always stood hale and pursy : the rebellion of 1798 ; the insurrection of 1800 ; the panics of 1810, 1820, 1825, and 1836 ; the famines, too numerous to be recounted, and too horrid to be described, have encountered it, swept by it, and left it stronger in resources, grosser in wealth, and more formidable in power than they found it. Crisis after crisis, convulsion upon convulsion, came upon the devoted country, but the Bank has never once been moved,—never swerved in the slightest degree from its selfish centre. Indifferent alike to the public prosperity or distress, and equally insensible to pity or generosity, it never gave nor lent its still accumulating funds to diminish the wrongs and losses it had itself to a great extent produced, but coolly turned over the victims of its base monopoly to Government and the empire, for that relief to which all feeling minds admitted they had irresistible claims. Its story is nothing but a gross sum of addition, and its charter is the abstract and concentration of all our Irish riches, sucking in the nutritive qualities of the soil, and the productive energies of the people, and leaving all around exhaustion and barrenness. It has been the vampire of the national prosperity, and, had it not been seized and checked in 1825 by its authors, the Government, it would have absorbed and dried up the last resources of the country.

We shall now examine the condition of each Public Bank.

The Reports of the House of Commons contain various interesting details of the present state of banking in Ireland :—

The first joint-stock banking company established in Ireland, after the passing of the 6 Geo. IV. c. 42, was in Belfast, where the Northern Banking Company, founded upon a private bank of the same name, commenced business January 1, 1825. Its establishment, in 1836, stood thus :—it had ten branches, varying in distance from six to sixty miles from the central office. Its nominal capital was 500,000*l.*, in 5,000 shares of 100*l.* each ; all of which had been subscribed for, though only 4,889 had been allotted. The paid-up capital was 122,275*l.*, produced by three calls, amounting to 27*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* Irish, or 25*l.* British. No shares had been forfeited. There had been five per cent. dividend paid yearly until 1835, when six per cent. was divided ; seven per cent. in 1836, and eight per cent. in 1837 ; besides a bonus of 2*l.* 19*s.* 1½*d.* per share, in September, 1827 ; and another, of two pounds a share, in September, 1832. The deed of settlement, dated 1st of August, 1824, had been signed by 264 persons. Its promissory notes are made payable only where issued ; but, in point of fact, are paid at the head bank, and all its branches. No post bills are issued. Interest is allowed on accounts current, at the rate of two and a half per cent. ; on deposits remaining three months, and not six, two and a half per cent. ; and if they remain six months, or upwards, three per cent. These rates commenced in August, 1835 ; prior to which no interest had been allowed on accounts current, and only two and a half per cent. on deposits. The dividends of this bank are paid half-yearly, in March and September.*

The published reports and stated accounts of this company, from 1836 to the present date, exhibit a healthy condition of still growing strength and prosperity, notwithstanding the intervening difficulties under which the commercial world in general has laboured. At the end of 1836, the dividend was seven per cent., and the undivided profits 49,590*l.* 0*s.* 3*d.* In 1837, the dividend was fixed at the increased rate of eight per cent. ; and there was a net surplus on the year of 4,176*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.*, in addition to the amount of undivided profits just stated. In 1838, the dividend rose to nine per cent., and the surplus on the year's trade was 1,929*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* In September, 1839, the surplus remaining, after the usual deductions, having amounted to 53,326*l.* 11*s.* 2*d.*, the dividend was increased to ten per cent., and, at the same time, a bonus of five pounds per share was declared, being twenty per cent. on the paid-up capital. This left the balance of undivided profits, 28,871*l.* 11*s.* 2*d.*, and the business of the company still increasing.

The Hibernian Joint Stock Loan and Banking Company ranks, in point of seniority, as the second establishment of its class in Ireland, having begun business in June, 1825, under a special Act of Parliament. It has no branches ; its capital is 1,000,000*l.*, in 10,000 shares, of 100*l.* each ; the whole of which were issued : 250,000*l.* have been paid up, in calls of—15*l.* per share, 15th July, 1824 ; 10*l.* per share, 30th August, 1824 ; and, December 27, 1825, eight and one-third on the above, to assimilate the currency. No shares have been forfeited, and the dividend had been four per cent. per annum, without variation, up to 1836. The deed of settlement, dated 11th April, 1825, bore 1,063 signatures, being all the original proprietors : a copy of the deed was furnished to the Committee of the House of Commons. The accounts are submitted to a board of management, who appoint a committee, of their own body, to compare them with the books, and audit and examine them. They are presented to and received by the proprietary, vouched by the signatures of a sub-committee. It issues no promissory notes, or bank post

* Commons' Report, 1837, Appendix I. pp. 55, 56.

bills, allows no interest on balances, but pays two and a half per cent. on deposits remaining three months.*

At the last half-yearly meeting, December 2nd, 1839, a satisfactory report proposed to raise the dividend, for the first time, from four to five per cent. out of clear profits, and exhibited the condition of the Company as follows:—

ABSTRACT of the Affairs to 1st November, 1839, pursuant to the Deed of Settlement.

Assets of the Company	£435,774	15	0
Due to the Public	145,813	12	4

£289,961 2 8

Capital of the Company £1,000,000; 25 per cent. paid .	£250,000	0	0
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Balance to Credit of Profit and Loss, in favour of the

Company	£39,961	2	8
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The Provincial Bank of Ireland began to form its establishment at the end of 1824, and opened its first branch at Cork, in September, 1825. In 1836 it had thirty-three branches, but no central office in Ireland, the seat of its management being in London. Its nominal capital is 2,000,000*l.*, in 20,000 shares, of 100*l.* each, the whole of which have been issued. 25*l.* have been paid up on each.

The first dividend, declared in Midsummer, 1826, was four per cent., which continued at the same rate until Midsummer, 1831, when it was raised to five per cent.; in 1833, to six; in 1834, to seven; and, in 1835, to eight per cent. The deed of settlement bears date 1st August, 1825, and was signed by 692 shareholders. The accounts are made up annually, audited, and examined by the Directors, who also prepare the reports from such accounts for publication. These documents are generally well written, and full of information respecting the monetary and Banking affairs of Ireland. It has no post bills, and its promissory notes are all payable at the respective places of issue. The interest on balances or deposits varies according to agreement, from one to two-and-a-half per cent.†

The general sense entertained of the want of such a Bank; the large sum of ready money, 300,000*l.*, which was increased to half a million in the course of two years, with which the Directors presented themselves to the Irish public; the rank and reputation of the members of the Board, which included several first-rate London Bankers, some members of the Administration of the day,‡ and members of Parliament, distinguished for their abilities and knowledge of Irish affairs; the politic exhibition of eminent men of different political opinions, co-operating cordially for commercial purposes,—all these rare and happy coincidences gave a high value to the Provincial Bank in the eyes of the agricultural and trading interests of Ireland, and drew a proportionate extent of excellent business, which the consistent manner in which its operations have been conducted has preserved to the present day. In 1827, a very favourable privilege was conceded to it by Government, the revenue of the Irish Excise, Stamps, and Post Office, being ordered to be paid into its branches,

* Commons' Report, 1837, Appendix I. p. 55.

† Report, 1837, Appendix I. p. 83.

‡ The change of Ministry, in 1830, instead of diminishing, increased the reputation of the Provincial Bank in this respect, for in 1836 it ranked amongst its Directors two Cabinet Ministers—the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the President of the Board of Trade.

and that beyond the circle of fifty miles round Dublin, reserved to the Bank of Ireland. In return for this concession, the Directors undertook to keep at their branches, at all times, a specific proportion of gold, according to their circulation : confidential returns of this fund being made, from week to week, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time being.

The Bank has a head agency in Dublin, and a deputation of Directors is in the habit of visiting the branches throughout the country occasionally. The Secretary generally goes through them once a-year. The Directors are allowed 5,000*l.* a-year under the deed of settlement, but they have never drawn more than 4,000*l.* a-year, and they observe an arrangement by which no single Director can receive more than 250*l.* in one year. The Bank has distinguished itself by the spirit and effect with which it has resisted repeated runs upon its branches, particularly in the years 1828, 1830 (twice), 1831, 1833, and 1836. The severest of these was that in 1828, when the Directors sent no less a sum than 500,000*l.* to Ireland in gold. They give cash credits on the Scotch system, and have discounted bills for sums so small as ten pounds, and five pounds ; though the practice is one they would not encourage.* In 1836, 4,000 shares, of ten pounds each, were distributed amongst the Proprietors, out of the reserved profits ; and, at the same time, the Directors took power of issuing 16,000 shares, of ten pounds, in the event of their seeing fit to increase the capital of the Company. The rate at which the business and profits of this Company have prospered, may be inferred from the gradual increase of the amount of undivided profits, which, according to the annual reports, stood, in 1828, at 16,900*l.* ; in 1829, at 19,500*l.* ; in 1833, at 50,198*l.* ; and, in 1836, at 124,855*l.*

The Report, dated May 16, 1839, gave the following state of accounts :—

Paid-up Capital, 540,000 <i>l.</i> , Dividend eight per cent., Branches thirty-six.	
Rest, or undivided Profits, March 31, 1838 . . .	£92,873 12 6
Less Dividends, at Midsummer and Christmas, 1838 . . .	43,200 0 0
	<hr/>
	49,673 12 6
Add Net Profits for year ending March, 1839, all expenses, and bad and doubtful debts deducted . . .	56,773 18 9
	<hr/>
Rest, or undivided Profits, March 30, 1839 . . .	£106,447 11 3

This report was accompanied by an announcement that the Directors found themselves fully able to keep up the dividend of eight per cent., and pay besides, in July following, a bonus, or extra dividend, of the like amount.

The Belfast Banking Company commenced business 1st August, 1827 ; and in 1837, had twenty branches, situate from seven to ninety-six miles distant from the head-office. Its capital is 500,000*l.*, in 5,000 shares, of 100*l.* each, all of which have been issued : 125,000*l.* were paid up, in three calls, making twenty-five pounds per share paid up. No shares had been forfeited. Besides a bonus of 20,000*l.*, there had been the following dividends :—

5 per cent. per annum, from 1st August, 1827, till 1st February, 1835.	
6 " " " 1st February, 1835, till 1st February, 1836.	
7 " " " 1st February, 1836, till 1st February, 1837.	

The deed of settlement was dated 2nd July, 1827, and signed by 337 persons. It was printed and published immediately after being perfected, in 1827. The notes are payable at the place of issue, but are freely paid, in gold, at the branches, head-

* Joint Stock Banks Report, 1837, p. 290.

office, and at Dublin. No post bills are issued; two and a half and three per cent interest is allowed on deposits, and two and three per cent. on balances.

The *National Bank of Ireland* commenced at Carrick-on-Suir, January 28, 1835, and, in 1836, had fourteen branches, twenty sub-branches, and eight agencies. Its capital is 1,000,000*l.* English, and 818,900*l.* Irish, in 20,000 English shares, of fifty pounds; and 81,890 Irish, of ten pounds. Of the English shares 19,999 were issued, and of the Irish 66,506; the English capital paid up amounts to 245,575*l.* 10*s.*, and Irish, to 166,262*l.* The calls were, English, deposit five pounds, and two calls, of five pounds and 2*l.* 10*s.*=45,585*l.* 10*s.*; the Irish, fifty shillings a share, 166,262*l.* Fifty English shares had been forfeited, and the dividend had been uniformly five per cent., except at Cork, where it reached six per cent. in 1836. The English deed, dated 6th January, 1835, signed by 277 persons, has neither been printed nor published. The accounts are examined and agreed to by the Directors, before the annual meetings. Among the branches there were held:—

330 by Waterford, in its own right	. . . . .	£825	0	0
15 by Carrick-on-Suir, as security	. . . . .	37	10	0
70 by Limerick, ditto	. . . . .	175	0	0
8 by Sligo, ditto	. . . . .	20	0	0
350 by Wexford, ditto	. . . . .	875	0	0
		£1107	10	0

The notes are only made payable where issued; no post bills are issued: the interest on deposits varies from two to three per cent., and on current accounts, from one to two per cent.; two and a half was the maximum rate, until November, 1836, after which it rose to three per cent.*

The account of the *National Bank of Ireland*, dated May 22, 1839, gave the following results:—

Undivided Profits, December 31, 1837	. . . . .	£405	18	0
Net Profit for the year ending December, 1838	. . . . .	22,796	11	6
		£23,202	9	6
Deduct half year's dividend at Midsummer, 1838, and Christmas, 1838	. . . . .	17,500	0	0
Leaving undivided Profit, December, 1838	. . . . .	£5,702	9	6

THE *ROYAL BANK OF IRELAND* commenced business 26th September, 1836, as a Bank of discount and deposit only, in Dublin. It has no branches; its capital is 1,500,000*l.*, in 30,000 shares, of fifty pounds each; 20,930 of these have been issued, upon which the paid-up capital, in 1837, was 199,275*l.*, in two calls. No dividend had been declared in 1837, when the Committee on Joint Stock Banks was sitting. The deed of settlement, dated 1st September, 1836, was signed by 306 persons, and sent to the Committee, but not printed. It empowers the proprietors to appoint three auditors to examine the accounts, and gives the Bank a primary lien on its shares, in cases of debts being due by its shareholders. The Bank does not hold any shares on its own account, and issues neither promissory notes nor bank-post bills. It allows interest at two per cent. on running accounts, and two and a half and three per cent. on permanent deposits.†

* Commons' Report, 1837, Appendix I. p. 99.

† Commons' Report, 1837, Appendix, pp. 95 and 96.

The subsequent progress of this Company has been very satisfactory. It dis-
counted, in 1839, to the amount of more than a million and a half, and incurred no
greater loss on the whole, by bad debts, than 252*l*. The last report, dated Novem-
ber 13, 1839, correctly describes the affairs of the Bank as being in a healthy and
progressively improving condition : the accounts then promulgated were as follow :—

The paid-up Capital on the 31st August, 1839, was	£208,850	0	0*
The Net Profits of the year ended at the above date, after pay- ment of the ordinary expenses, and deducting all bad and doubtful debts, amounted to	13,864	19	9
Out of which the shareholders have received two half-yearly dividends, at the rate of five per cent. per annum	£10,440		
And there has been allocated towards the reduction of the original outlay for Bank premises, and good- will of Sir Robert Shaw and Co.'s business	500	10,940	0 0
Leaving a surplus, on the year, of	£2,924	19	9
The reserve fund, as stated at the last annual meeting, was	£7,771	9	0
Deduct sum then voted to Directors, as remuneration for their services	1,000	0	0
	£6,771	9	0
Add surplus on the present year, as per preceding statement	2,924	19	9
Making a reserve fund, at this date, of	£9,696	8	9

THE ULSTER BANKING COMPANY, which commenced business July 1, 1837,
and had eleven branches, distant from six to seventy miles from the central office at
Belfast ; its capital is 1,000,000*l*. , in 100,000 shares of ten pounds each ; of which
81,850 were issued, producing a paid-up capital, in two calls, amounting to 204,325*l*.
No shares had been forfeited, or dividend due, when the Joint Stock Banks Com-
mittee reported. The deed of settlement, dated April 1, 1836, signed by 802 per-
sons, and sent to the Committee, directs the accounts to be audited by seven
proprietors of 200 shares, who are chosen annually for that purpose. No shares
are held by the Bank, but 18,150 shares were then unissued. The notes are payable
at each branch where issued ; and there are no post bills : three per cent. interest is
paid on deposits, and two per cent. on balances.†

The *London and Dublin Bank* was formed in 1842 by Mr.
Medley, to whose energy, enterprise, intelligence, and patriotism
Ireland is indebted for the introduction of the *Provincial Bank
of Ireland*, and its careful superintendence for twelve years : it
has a nominal capital of 1,000,000*l*. , and commenced business
this year within the monopoly circle of the Bank of Ireland. It

* It appears that 60,000*l*. of this sum belong to English shareholders, and the
remainder to Irish.

† Commons' Report, 1837, Appendix, p. 76.

does not issue notes. A Joint Stock Bank has been recently formed in Tipperary, which issues Bank of Ireland notes. It is stated to be doing extremely well. The name and capital of the Irish Banks are thus given :—

IRISH PUBLIC BANKS.

Name of Company.	When Instituted.	No. of Partners.	Capital, £
Bank of Ireland	1783		3,000,000
Hibernian Joint Stock Bank	1824	225	1,000,000
Northern Banking Company	1824	208	500,000
Provincial Bank of Ireland	1825	644	2,000,000
Belfast Banking Company	1826	292	500,000
National Bank of Ireland	1835	250	1,000,000
The Limerick National Bank of Ireland	1835	523	
Ulster Banking Company	1836	117	
Royal Bank of Ireland			
Tipperary Banking Company			
London and Dublin Bank	1843		1,000,000

The following Return shows the amount of the circulation of Unstamped Promissory Notes, on which Composition in lieu of Stamp Duty has been paid, by the several Banking Establishments in Ireland, for the Half-year ended 31st December, 1836 :—

BANKING ESTABLISHMENTS.		Amount of circulation.
The National Bank of Ireland		£241,100
Limerick ditto		56,200
Clonmel ditto		54,700
Carrick-on-Suir ditto		30,400
Waterford ditto		69,300
Wexford and Enniscorthy ditto		31,300
Tipperary ditto		72,500
Tralee ditto		28,200
Total of the National Bank of Ireland		£583,700
The Agricultural and Commercial Bank of Ireland		£341,400
Belfast Banking Company		249,000
Northern ditto of Belfast		175,700
Ulster ditto ditto		106,200
Provincial Bank of Ireland		769,600
Total of the Joint Stock Banks		£1,641,900*

The following are the Returns to an order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 31st May, 1836 :—for,

* Commons' Report 1835, Appendix IV. p. 168.

1.—A Return of all Banking Establishments in Ireland, with all Branch Banks and places where established, in the year ending January, 1826, with the Amount of Notes in circulation.

BANKING ESTABLISHMENTS.—The Bank of Ireland Dublin; branch banks—Belfast, Clonmel, Cork, Londonderry, Newry, Waterford, Westport. Messrs. La Touche & Co., Dublin, four partners. Messrs. Finlay & Co., Dublin, three partners. Sir Robert Shaw & Co., Dublin, three partners. Messrs. Ball and Co., Dublin, four partners. Joseph Pike, Cork, one partner. C. H. and J. Leslie, Cork, two partners. Messrs. Batt & Co., Belfast, three partners. Messrs. Tennant & Co., Belfast, five partners. Robert Delacour, Mallow, one partner. T. & W. Roche, Limerick, two partners. Messrs. Scott & Co., Waterford, four partners. Messrs. Redmond & Co., Wexford, two partners. The Hibernian Joint Stock Company, Dublin. The Provincial Bank of Ireland; branch banks—Clonmel, Cork, Londonderry, Limerick. The Northern Banking Company, Belfast; branch banks—Armagh, Ballymena, Banbridge, Coleraine, Downpatrick, Dungannon, Londonderry, Lurgan, Magherafelt, Monaghan, Newry, Tanderagee.

The amount of notes in circulation in January 1826.

As the Bank of Ireland pays a commuted sum, agreed upon annually between the Bank and the Treasury, in lieu of stamp duty on their notes, there is no record in the books of this department, from which the amount of their notes in circulation in January 1826 can be obtained.

No record of the amount of any of the other bankers' notes in circulation was made in this office until 1828, when the Act 9 Geo. 4, c. 80, empowered Irish bankers to compound for the duties on their notes. The accounts of all previous years show only the number of notes stamped and the amount of duties received on them; but these data would not show the amount of circulation in any year, and those for the year ended January 1826, would be particularly deceptive as to the circulation of that year, the bankers having then supplied themselves with stamped notes of the imperial currency to replace those of Irish currency in actual circulation, or lying in the hands of individuals, and these forming their own reserve.

2.—Similar Return for the year ending January 1836.

BANKING ESTABLISHMENTS.—The Bank of Ireland, Dublin; branch banks—Armagh, Belfast, Carlow, Clonmel, Cork, Drogheda, Galway, Kilkenny, Limerick, Londonderry, Longford, Mountmellick, Newry, Sligo, Tralee, Waterford, Westport, Wexford, Youghal. Messrs. La Touche & Co., Dublin, four partners. Sir Robert Shaw, Bart., and Co., Dublin, three partners. Messrs. Ball & Co., Dublin three partners. Messrs. Boyle & Co., Dublin, five partners. Messrs. Guinness & Co., Dublin, four partners. The Hibernian Joint Stock Company, Dublin. The Provincial Bank of Ireland; branch banks—Armagh, Athlone, Banbridge, Bandon, Ballina, Ballymena, Ballyshannon, Belfast, Cavan, Clonmel, Coleraine, Cork, Downpatrick, Dungannon, Dungarvan, Ennis, Enniskillen, Galway, Kilkenny, Limerick, Londonderry, Lurgan, Mallow, Monaghan, Money more, Omagh, Parsonstown, Strabane, Sligo, Tralee, Waterford, Wexford, Youghal. The Northern Banking Company, Belfast; branch banks—Ballymena, Coleraine, Downpatrick, Lisburn, Londonderry, Lurgan, Magherafelt, Newtown, Limavady. The Belfast Banking Company, Belfast; branch banks—Armagh, Ballymena, Ballymoney, Banbridge, Coleraine, Cookstown, Dungannon, Londonderry, Lurgan, Monaghan, Magherafelt, Newtown Limavady, Strabane, Tanderagee. The Agricultural and Commercial

Bank of Ireland ; branch banks—Bandon, Castlebar, Ennis, Enniscorthy, Limerick, Nenagh, New Ross, Tuam. The National Bank of Ireland ; branch banks—Clonmel, Cork, Carrick-on-Suir, Dungarvan, Enniscorthy, Fermoy, Galway, Kilkenny, Limerick, New Ross, Roscrea, Tipperary, Tralee, Waterford. The Limerick National Bank of Ireland, Limerick ; branch banks—Charleville, Kilrush, Rathkeale.

The amount of notes in circulation in January, 1836.

As the Bank of Ireland pays a commuted sum, agreed upon annually between the bank and the treasury, in lieu of stamp duty on their notes, there is no record in the Books of this department, from which the amount of their notes in circulation in January 1836 can be obtained.

The amount of the notes of the joint-stock and private banking companies in Ireland, in January 1836, (as shown by their accounts of unstamped notes in circulation, in the half-year ended December 1835) was 1,713,900*l*.

The Average Amount of the Unstamped Promissory Notes, on which Composition, in lieu of Stamp Duty, has been paid to the several Banking Establishments in Ireland, for the half-year ended 31st December, 1837, was—

The Bank of Ireland, supposed to be	£3,200,000
„ Provincial Bank of Ireland	688,000
„ National Bank of Ireland	£157,600
„ Limerick do.	66,300
„ Clonmel do.	70,600
„ Carrick-on-Suir do.	32,600
„ Waterford do.	80,500
„ Wexford and Enniscorthy, do.	31,100
„ Tipperary do.	79,800
„ Tralee do.	28,700
„ Cork do.	85,000
„ Kilkenny do.	28,100
	<hr/>
	660,300
The Belfast Banking Company	167,400
„ Northern do. of Belfast	136,600
„ Ulster do. of do.	133,400
„ Agricultural and Commercial Bank of Ireland	18,300
„ Provident Bank of Ireland	6,000
Messrs. Ball and Co., of Dublin	16,500
	<hr/>
Total	£5,036,500

An Estimate of the Proportions in which the total amount of Bankers' Notes in Ireland circulate in each of the Four Provinces.

Assuming the amount of Notes circulated in Ireland to be 5,000,000*l*.

The Province of Leinster may be considered to have	£1,700,000
„ Ulster „	1,400,000
„ Munster „	1,300,000
„ Connaught „	600,000
	<hr/>
Total	£5,000,000

These statements clearly show how small the money circulation of Ireland compared with England or Scotland ; it is not

probable that the circulation has increased since the Union, although the population has been doubled, and the trade trebled, and indeed in several branches quadrupled.

The following official document shows the state of the paper circulation up to the 29th April, 1843, which is the period of the year when most money is required for trade and agriculture.

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.	
England—Bank of	£20,329,000
Ditto Private Banks	4,990,000
Ditto Joint Stock Banks	3,111,446
Scotland Private and Joint Stock Banks	2,487,311
Totals England and Scotland	£30,917,757
IRELAND.	
Joint Stock Banks	£1,971,759
Bank of Ireland	3,153,350
Total Ireland	£5,125,109
Total United Kingdom	£36,042,866

Thus we perceive that out of *thirty-six million* bank note circulation, Ireland has no more than *five million*. But this is not the only defect in the circulation. The number of bills of exchange circulated is exceedingly small compared with Great Britain; and although number is on the increase, yet their amount is still very limited. Thus, where the stamps on the bills of exchange in Great Britain represent *four hundred million* sterling (as in the year 1839),* in Ireland they only represent *fifty five million* sterling. In 1826-7 the stamps for bills of exchange in Ireland are stated, by Mr. Leatham, the banker, to have been only 34,557,833, which shows an increase of twenty millions sterling, in favour of the year 1839 over 1826-7; but still the amount is small compared with Great Britain.

There are thirty public banks in Scotland, with upwards of three hundred branch banks. The enormous sum of money under the control of these banks will be seen when it is stated that only *seven* of these banks represent sums varying from *three* to *seven* millions sterling; or, taking the medium sum at 4,500,000*l.* (which is below the reality), it shows a banking power of 31,500,000*l.* for *seven* out of thirty banks in Scotland. The value

* 394,203,000*l.* Great Britain. 55,615,722*l.* Ireland. 75,479,120*l.* Foreign bills.

of these banks will be further seen when we reflect that the inhabitants of the comparatively insignificant town of Dumfries contribute a permanent deposit fund to the banks having offices there, exceeding a million sterling.*

Now, if *seven* out of thirty public banks in Scotland have a monied power of 31,000,000*l.* it is not unreasonable to allow 9,000,000*l.* monied power for the remaining twenty-three banks, which would give Scotland, for less than three millions of inhabitants, a banking, or monied power, of *forty million sterling*, while Ireland, with more than eight million inhabitants, and a superior soil, climate, and geographical position to Scotland, has not a monied, or banking power, exceeding *sixteen million sterling*, including the chartered "Bank of Ireland," whose whole capital of 3,000,000*l.* is lent to government, and, therefore, utterly valueless to the commercial operations of Ireland.

The total Bank-note circulation of Ireland is about 5,000,000*l.*; and the Coin circulation is probably not more than 5,000,000*l.*, making 10,000,000*l.* for more than eight million people. By contrasting that country with England, where *sixteen million* people have upwards of five hundred Banks and Branch Banks; a metallic circulation in gold and silver coin of about 30,000,000*l.* sterling; a bank-note circulation belonging to the *Bank of England* and Private and Joint Stock Banks in England and Wales of 28,000,000*l.* sterling, exclusive of bills of exchange and promissory notes to the annual amount of more than 200,000,000*l.*; of exchequer bills to the average amount of 10,000,000*l.* sterling, and of various stocks, bonds, and cheques all available to a certain extent for circulation, and affording a representative for the transfer of property; we shall thus more clearly perceive the absolute necessity of conferring on Ireland an abundant and expansive currency.

The deposits in the Scotch Banks are computed at 35,000,000*l.* sterling; and these, together with the paid-up capital of those

* See that valuable publication the *Bankers' Circular*, edited by Henry Burgess, the secretary to the country bankers, for much useful information and philosophic remarks on this vital subject.

Banks, the notes and short-dated bills constantly in circulation, show a constantly available banking capital of 50,000,000*l.* sterling for less than three million inhabitants. In Glasgow alone the annual discounts exceed, it is said, 50,000,000*l.* per annum; the Banks, therefore, always hold more than 12,000,000*l.* bills averaging three months' date. This will demonstrate how defective Ireland still is in banking facilities.

LOAN FUNDS.—Before closing this chapter, reference should be made to a system of Loan Funds, which are in extensive operation in Ireland, indicating the necessity of supplying a sound banking system. It is said, that the charges of the Loan Funds amount to *thirteen* per cent. The ordinary rate of interest in Ireland is six per cent.

The progress of the Loan Funds and Monts de Piété in Ireland is thus shown since 1838 :—

		No. of Societies	No. of Loans and Pledges.	Total Circulation.
1838	No distinction between	50	148,528	£180,526
1839	Loan Funds and Monts	157	352,469	816,473
1840	de Piété	215	463,751	1,164,046
1841	Loan Funds	268	762,711	1,500,553
	Monts de Piété	8		
1842	Loan Funds	300	782,067	1,738,067
	Monts de Piété	7		

The following abstract from the First Annual Report of the Commissioners of the Central Loan Fund Board of Ireland, (pursuant to the Act 1 and 2 Vict. c. 78), ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 27th August, 1839, will explain the nature of these institutions :—

“During the last thirty years, various associations have been formed in London, with the view of improving the condition of the Irish peasantry. Some of these associations bestowed pecuniary grants to encourage the Straw Hat Manufacture; and others to improve the Fisheries, or the state of Agriculture, either by small loans of money, or by grants of fishing-tackle, or of farming or manufacturing implements. These transactions were carried on through the medium of local committees, who corresponded with the parent associations in London. The English subscriptions towards relieving the famine of 1822 having exceeded the expenditure, the surplus was fortunately entrusted to a few eminent bankers and merchants in London, who allocated it among ten of the most distressed counties, as a permanent fund (now called the Irish Reproductive Loan Fund), for organising Loan Societies; and a large portion of the surplus was accordingly transferred to county trustees, who have established a number of branch offices in their respective counties.

“The beneficial effects of all these institutions being generally acknowledged, it

was deemed advisable to introduce a bill for their further encouragement. This Bill (which passed in May, 1823) enacted, that any number of persons, desirous of forming a Charitable Loan Society, either by lending small sums of money, or implements of industry, should lodge with the clerk of the peace a copy of their rules; that loans not exceeding 10*l.* in any one year might be made to any person upon notes of hand, which would be free of stamp duty; that these loans would be recoverable by the treasurer of the society; that legal interest only would be chargeable; that none of the trustees or managers were to receive any remuneration, but clerks were to be paid such salaries, or other necessary expenses, as the rules of each society sanctioned. Any looms, wheels, or other implements, lent out by a society, were, before delivery, to be stamped, and were to be saved from distress for rent, or debt.

"A few years' additional experience demonstrated that many abuses were creeping in under the Act of 1823, and that the beneficial principles of the Loan Fund system could not be worked out, without an alteration in the law. For although the trustees and directors of Loan Societies were personally excluded from all remuneration, yet by the sweeping language 'of all necessary expenses to be paid to clerks,' without any limit, members of the families of directors were in some instances largely remunerated, and little or no profit was realised. Some of the London Associations issued their grants also to the local committees free of interest; and as many of these committees charged the borrowers six per cent., a large profit arose, which was however swallowed up by expensive and irresponsible management.

"To meet these circumstances, an Act passed in 1836, authorising the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to appoint a Central Board of Commissioners, with power to them to inspect the books of all Loan Societies established under the Act. The rules also were to be examined and certified by a revising barrister, before being lodged with the clerk of the peace; and any society violating the rules was liable to suspension by the Board. The loans were to be repayable by instalments, and interest, not exceeding the rate of 6*d.* in the pound, of twenty weeks, was chargeable to the borrower; while all profits over and above the limited expense of management, were to be appropriated to local charitable purposes, such as maintaining an hospital or schools, or aiding in the purchase of clothing or fuel for the poor, &c. And each society was also to send up to the Board a yearly account of its proceedings. In 1838 an amendment of the Act passed, giving the Board power to reduce prospectively the salaries to clerks, if they were out of proportion to the extent of business; and every treasurer was imperatively required to find security. The Board were also directed to report annually to Parliament.

"With these preliminary explanations the Board have now the honour to state, that 201 Loan Societies have been registered under the Acts of 1836 and 1838. The Act of 1836 having allowed all previously existing societies to continue undisturbed, this was corrected by the Act of 1838, which after twelve months repealed the Act of 1823, saving as to the societies formed by the London Reproductive Loan Fund.

"Not a few of the old Loan Societies have been acting on the mistaken principle of giving out their loans, in some cases, free of interest, and in many cases at rates below the legal amount.

"Loans on such terms were granted and received too much under the humiliating impression of being charitable donations, whereby great injury was done to the character and feelings of the people. The most prosperous societies

are those where the borrowers are charged the full rate of interest, and where they are also moderately fined, unless the weekly instalments be regularly paid up.

"No loan is made except to industrious men of certified good conduct. By the weekly instalments, habits of punctuality are formed, and the people taught to value their time; while the moral benefit from these regulations oftentimes exceeds the pecuniary advantages to the individual.

"Each borrower, by attending for twenty weeks with his instalments, is kept under the notice of the committee; he knows well that failure in punctuality or misconduct will deprive him of all further aid, and he is thus excited and encouraged to sobriety and industry.

"No funds having yet been placed at the disposal of the Board, these institutions have hitherto traded on donations and deposits.

"Debentures are granted to depositors, bearing interest not exceeding six per cent. When a loan is made, the whole interest is generally at once deducted from it; but the loan being usually repayable by twenty weekly instalments, the society has every week a large sum returned to it, which is again issued in new loans, thereby making interest upon interest. In this manner, and by the imposition of small fines, the profits of a loan society are very considerable.

"It does not come within the terms of the Report, required by the Act of Parliament, to enumerate the many instances known to the Board of poor men being elevated into comfortable farmers and shopkeepers by aid from Loan Societies, of dissolute characters being reformed by the refusal to grant them loans, and of those who were at one time sluggish and inactive becoming enterprising dealers in consequence of the judicious application of a small loan.

"It is the intention of the Board to submit a detailed statement on these points to the Lord Lieutenant; but they cannot refrain from observing that Loan Societies are admirably calculated to advance the middle and humbler classes of society, and that they are unobtrusively doing so in every quarter of Ireland, to a very great extent.

"(Signed) CLONCURRY, C. FITZSIMON,
WM. HODGES, THOMAS HUTTON."
JAMES JOHN BAGOT,

"The following is a list of Loan Societies in the Provinces of Munster and Connaught, which are established by, or are in connection with, the London Charitable Association, commonly called the Irish Reproductive Loan Institution, the Rules and Regulations of which have been duly enrolled under Acts 4th and 10th of his late Majesty George the Fourth:—

"*County of Clare*.—Ennis, Kilrush, Knock, Kilmaly, Inch, Newmarket, Rahaline, Killilagh, Kilshanny, Scattery Island, Newgrove, Mount Shannon, Clonlea.

"*Cork*.—Bantry, Rosscarbery, Ballinspittle, Templetrine, Dunmanway, Glenrille, Timoleague, Donoughmore, Magourney, Glanmire, Dripsey, Mitchelstown, Kildinan and Rathgormick, Kilmalooda, Cloyne, Mallow, Leddington and Macrone, Clonakilty, Lisle, Courtmarsherry, Dunbullogue, Rathbarry, Ballymurphy and Inniskean, Cork City.

"*Galway*.—Ballinasloe, Albert, Ardskea, Gardenfield, Ballymoe, Dunamon, Dunmore, Ballygar and Athleague, Headfort, Mount Talbot, Silane, Loughrea, Tuam, Mount Shannon, Ahascragh, Castlehacket, Cloverfield, Ballybanagher, Ballindery, Corofin, Outerard, Woodford, Kileonickney, Anna, Galway Town.

"*Kerry*.—Valentia, Tralee, Killarney, Tannavalla, Ballyheigue and Banna, Can-negh, Ardferit, Chutehall, Pyrmont, Bawneloun, Kilcolman, Shannonview, Duagh Glebe, Cahirciveen, Killury Glebe, Mount Eagle, Dromin, Bahoss, Kenmare, Sneem.

"*Leitrim*.—Annaduff, Aughavass, Carrick-on-Shannon, Clooneumber, Drumod, Drumsambo Glebe, Kiltubride, Manorhamilton, Mohill.

"*Limerick*.—Chapel Russell, Grange, Knocklong, Iveross, Limerick City.

"*Mayo*.—Castlebar, Castlemacgarret, Aghlish, Ballyhean, Foxford, Woodville, Belcarra, Lagaturn, Turlogh, Toomore, Ballinrobe, Hollymount, Westport, Newport, Ballinahaglish, Kilmelfad, Dunfeeny, Killeconduff, Addergoole, Attymas, Rathrea, Claremorris, Rathgranaher, Greenhill, Cloonane, Breafty, Kilticommogue, Carramore, Cong, Erris, Islandeady, Burrishoole, Ballina.

"*Roscommon*.—Castlereagh, Fuerty, Elphin, Ballymoe and Dunamon, Knockadoe, Knockgrohery, Kiltoom, Frenchpark, Cappagh, Kilmore, Athlone, Strokestown, Mount-Talbot, Aughnasurn, Aughran.

"*Sligo*.—Sligo Town, Calry, Collooney, Chaffpool, Banada, Doo, Temple-house, Skreen.

"*Tipperary*.—Feathard, Cahir, Roscrea, Thurles, Finnoe, Cashel, Tipperary, Borris-a-Kane, Nenagh.

"The above list is furnished from the returns made to the London Board by the Trustees acting for the several counties above named.

"Signed by order and on behalf of the Directors of the London Board,

"WILLIAM BELL, Chairman,

"W. H. HYETT, Secretary and Manager.

"London, 17th January, 1839."

The fall of prices after the war, and the adoption of a gold standard of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* an ounce, affected Ireland as well as other parts of the United Kingdom; but the reduction in the wages of labour was the more seriously manifested in Ireland, by reason of the imperfect banking system, and very limited circulation of paper and metallic money. In England and Scotland the effects of the transition from war to peace, and the restoration of cash payments, at the rate of the old standard in Queen Elizabeth's reign, aided also by the extensive employment of machinery, were in some degree counteracted by an extended banking system. But Ireland had no such mitigation.

The extraordinary reduction of wages in Ireland will be seen by the following statement from the Irish Hand-loom Weavers' Commission:—

In the septennial period from 1792 to 1799, the weavers' weekly average earnings at the before-mentioned fabric would be 2*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

	£	s.	d.
From 1799 to 1806	1	18	4
From 1806 to 1813	1	11	8
Average price per ell, 1 <i>s.</i> 7 <i>d.</i>			

1*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* would, at the then price of potatoes, purchase 1,284 lbs. at 2*s.* 9*d.* per 112 lbs., or 192 lbs. of oatmeal at 18*s.* 6*d.* per 112 lbs. Divide each of them by 2, and it will show the command his wages gave him over each of these two necessaries of life.

From 1813 to 1820 £1. 1*s.* 8*d.*

Average price per ell, 1*s.* 1*d.*

This would purchase 939 lbs. of potatoes at 2*s.* 7*d.* per 112 lbs., or 132 lbs. of oatmeal at 18*s.* 4*d.*, showing a decline of 203 lbs. of food between the two periods last named.

From 1820 to 1827 12*s.* 6*d.*

Average price per ell, 7½*d.*

This would purchase 600 lbs. of potatoes at 2*s.* 4*d.*, or 104 lbs. of oatmeal at 13*s.* 3*d.*, shewing a command of 352 lbs. of food.

From 1827 to 1834 6*s.* 8*d.*

Average price per ell, 4*d.*

This would purchase 448 lbs. of potatoes at 1*s.* 8*d.*, or 59 lbs. of oatmeal at 12*s.* 7*d.* per 112 lbs., showing an average command of 253 lbs. of food.

From 1834 to 1838 6*s.* 3*d.*

Average price per ell, 3¾*d.*

This would purchase 400 lbs. of potatoes at 1*s.* 9*d.*, per hundred, or 69 lbs. of oatmeal at 11*s.* 5*d.*, showing an average command of 234½ lbs. of food.

The average prices of oatmeal and potatoes, above given, are taken from the books at the poor-house, taken on the 1st January each year. The weavers have to buy from the retailer, and pay from 4*d.* to 7*d.* for the hundred above the current price of the market. The poor-house contract for their potatoes and meal, and get each at the cheapest period of the year, and at the best market. The weavers buy usually upon credit, from week to week, and generally only from half a stone to a whole stone.

From 1800 to 1816 the rents of houses increased considerably. A house capable of containing three looms would be almost six guineas a year; latterly they have declined, and now perhaps would be 5*l.* or 5*l.* 10*s.* a year.

James Parke, another witness, says, on the subject of weavers' earnings—

In 1791 a man could earn, by a fair day's weaving, about 4*s.* a day.

In 1800, from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* a day.

In 1810, from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a day.

In 1820, about 1*s.* 6*d.* a day.

In 1830

In 1838, at the present time, they could not earn more than from 10*d.* to 1*s.*

It is correctly observed by the author of a recent pamphlet entitled "*The South of Ireland and her Poor*," p. 123,* that "*In Ireland people are in want, not from a scarcity—not from an extraordinary rise in the price of provisions owing to bad years, and FROM A WANT OF MONEY.*"

It is for this reason that an efficient banking system is so

* Published by Saunders and Ottley, London, 1843.

essentially requisite; and pending its formation, the promotion of public works would be very advantageous. The author of the present work, desirous of seeing a railroad constructed between Dublin and Cork, laid before Her Majesty's Government, nine months ago, propositions, of which the following are an abstract; but for the insane Repeal agitation, that railroad would most probably have now been in course of formation, and twenty thousand men employed at each end of the line: the outlay required being about two millions sterling. The saving to Government by closing the Post-office Packet-stations at Waterford and Milford, and by conveying the Mails and troops throughout the South of Ireland, would be about 40,000*l.* a year.

POINTS FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF SIR ROBERT PEEL, AND HER
MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

March, 1843.

1st.—That Government should bring in a Public Bill for the construction of a Railway from Dublin to Cork, with power, if expedient, to extend branches to Limerick and Waterford.

2nd.—That the working of the Bill, and the management of the Railway, be vested in twenty-four Directors, chosen by the Proprietors of the Stock: Directors to be subject, in certain cases, to the control of the Railway department of the Board of Trade.

3rd.—Company to have a right to enter on, and purchase, or acquire lands for the purpose of the Railway; disputes as to the value of lands to be referred to two arbitrators; one to be chosen by each party, with power to call in an umpire whose decision shall be final.

Proprietors of lands to be paid in shares, whose responsibility will cease on official notice of their transfer being given to the Directors.

4th.—Government to guarantee to the holders of the Debentures of the Company, interest at the rate of three per cent. per annum, for seven years, from 1st January, 1845, on the instalments paid up; interest to accrue from the same date. The Government guarantee to be fulfilled only in the event of the receipts of the Railway being insufficient to meet the expenditure, and to pay three per cent. to the Proprietors.

5th.—In order that no time be lost in commencing the works, Government to advance 500,000*l.* Exchequer bills, to be issued from time to time as the works require; the money to be advanced on the security of the Railway at the rate of two per cent. per annum, and to be repaid within twenty years.

In consideration of this Loan and Guarantee, the Company to convey her Majesty's mails on the Line of Railway at one-half the present cost; her Majesty's troops and military stores and baggage to be also conveyed at one half of the usual charge.

[It is to be hoped that this important undertaking will soon be commenced.]

R. M. MARTIN.

CHAPTER XI.

Representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament ;—Extent of Irish Business in Parliament ;—Municipal Corporations ;—Absenteeism investigated ;—Irish Constabulary ;—Improved Prison Discipline.

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION. — Among other alleged grievances, the assertion that “ *the representation of Ireland is most unjustly and unfairly disproportioned to the population and resources of Ireland* ” stands prominent ; and it is contended “ *she ought to have got by the Reform Bill at least from 70 to 100 additional members.* ” This “ political injury ” as it is termed, (see Preface, page iv.) is set forth with a minuteness of detail in which the actual truth is carefully suppressed, and the principle of Universal Suffrage set forth, as if population constituted the sole qualification for Parliamentary representation.

Previous to the Legislative Union, Parliamentary reform had been frequently discussed in the British Legislature, and in Ireland, where it took precedence of Catholic Emancipation ; indeed, in England it formed the annual topic of the Session until on the 18th April, 1784, Mr. Pitt, then Prime Minister, after a speech of considerable length, moved “ that leave be given to bring in a bill to amend the representation of the people of England in Parliament.” By this bill Mr. Pitt proposed, 1st, To transfer the right of choosing representatives from 36 of such boroughs, as had already or were falling into decay, to the counties, and to such chief towns and cities as were then unrepresented. 2nd, That a fund should be provided for the purpose of giving to the owners and holders of such boroughs disfranchised an appreciated compensation for their property. The motion was lost by 248 to 174. When the measure of a Legislative Union was proposed between Great Britain and Ireland, Mr. Pitt

deemed that period a good opportunity to effect the long-desired reform in the Parliamentary representation of Ireland, particularly as, out of 300 members in the Irish House of Commons, 200 were stated by Mr. Grattan, in 1793, to be the nominees of private individuals; and from 40 to 50 members were returned, it is said, by constituencies of not more than ten electors.

It was therefore resolved, and agreed to by the Irish Parliament, to abolish *eighty-three nomination boroughs*, and to pay the proprietor of each borough 15,000*l.*, for which purpose the sum of 1,245,000*l.* was voted and paid by the Irish parliament. (See names of boroughs in Appendix.) This was in unison with Mr. Pitt's proposition for Parliamentary reform in England, and which the French revolution, by alarming the minds of many persons, alone prevented being adopted for Great Britain. This fact, it may be here remarked, is the grand charge against Mr. Pitt and his ministry, of having carried the Union with Ireland by fraud and corruption.

When Parliamentary reform took place in England in 1832, *fifty-five* boroughs, returning two members each, were *totally* disfranchised; and *thirty* boroughs were half disfranchised, *i. e.* they were only to return *one* member instead of two. Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, and other large towns were empowered to return representatives to the Imperial Parliament; and the changes in the number of members of Parliament are thus shown:—

No. of Members <i>before</i> Reform Bill.		No. of Members <i>after</i> Reform Bill.	
England and Wales	513	England and Wales	500
Ireland	100	Ireland	105
Scotland	45	Scotland	53
Total	658	Total	658

Thus it appears that by the Reform Bill of 1832, England *lost* thirteen members, and Ireland *gained* five; and yet we are told by the Peelers of "*the complicated enormity of this injustice!*"

We come now to consider the second part of the assertion, namely, that Ireland ought to have obtained the power to return *one hundred additional members* in the Imperial Parliament at the

time of the Reform Bill. No person who understood or appreciated the British Constitution, could *honestly* make such a proposition. Ireland was neither by population, trade, wealth, or intelligence, entitled *by right* to send one hundred members to the Imperial Legislature in 1801. Neither in England, Ireland, or Scotland, has mere population ever been the test of Parliamentary representation;* and simple justice at the period of the Union would have proportioned the representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament in the same ratio as the *Revenue*, namely, "*in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain, and two parts for Ireland.*" Thus, the utmost number of representatives that Ireland was entitled to at the time of the Union was *seventy-four*: in addition to this twenty-six more members were added, yet this is called "*an iniquity without a single ingredient of reciprocity.*" [See Preface, p. vi.]

How stands the proportion of Parliamentary representation now to the revenue contributed by Ireland? Taking the annual revenue of Great Britain as *ten times* greater than that of Ireland, [see page 231], namely, as *forty millions sterling* to *four millions*,†

* The following abstract shows the total number of members sent to the House of Commons by the several counties, cities, towns, and boroughs, in England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland respectively; with the amount of population, according to the census of 1841; together with the proportion of the number of members returned in respect to the population of the three parts of the United Kingdom:—

GENERAL SUMMARY.

	Number of County Members.	County Population, exclusive of Cities and Boroughs.	Number of Borough Members.	Population of Cities and Boroughs.	Members for Universities.	Total Number of Members.	Total Population.	One Member to each.
England & Wales	159	9,795,758	337	6,110,983	4	500	15,906,741	31,813
Ireland . . .	64	7,370,533	39	804,705	2	105	8,175,238	77,859
Scotland . . .	30	1,657,985	23	962,199	—	53	2,620,184	49,487
Total . .	253	18,824,276	399	7,877,887	6	658	26,702,163	

† REVENUE IN 1832.

	Gross.	Net.
Great Britain . . .	£49,836,355	£43,066,592
Ireland . . .	4,435,098	3,767,204
Difference . . .	£45,401,257	£39,299,388

Thus the "Gross payments of ordinary revenues into the Exchequer" were for

Ireland would only be entitled to send *fifty-five* members to the Imperial Legislature, as the one-tenth proportion of 553 representatives from Great Britain. The facts, therefore, stand thus: at the period of the Union, Ireland obtained in the Imperial Legislature *twenty-six* representatives more than she ought in justice to have received; and at this moment she has *fifty* representatives in the Imperial Parliament more than she is entitled to by her contributions to the Imperial revenue to send to Parliament.

In the words of the address of the Repealers, see Preface, p. ii. "*We leave these facts to fester as they are!*"

Scotland contributes more largely to the Imperial revenue than Ireland, and yet Scotland has but fifty-three, while Ireland has 105 representatives in the Imperial Legislature. It is alleged that Wales, "with a population of 800,000 has 36,000 voters; while Cork county, with 720,000 inhabitants, has only 2,000 voters." But this proves, *if true*, that Wales is wealthier, and its property not subdivided into *one-acre* farms.—The same franchise exists in Ireland as in Great Britain; there is no inequality; and the only point to be regretted on this head is, that the franchise is *too low in Ireland*; that persons little, if at all, removed above the condition of day-labourers, are vested with a high political trust which they are incapable of estimating, and who are unable, by their very position, to understand the great and complex questions which ought to decide an elector in the all-important choice of a representative.

The small number of persons really entitled to the elective franchise for Parliamentary representation, is seen by a return to the House of Commons, of April 27, 1843, No. 235, showing the valuation of every Union in Ireland, including every County. The total number of persons rated in the last rate, in 108 Unions, was 997,434; of these, the number whose valuation was not greater than *one pound* sterling, was 149,962; under 2*l.*, 138,143; 3*98,220*l.; 4*l.*, 75,572; 5*l.*, 63,818. Thus the number of persons whose valuations were not greater than 5*l.* was 525,713, out of a

Great Britain more than *eleven times the amount of those of Ireland*; in such proportion should have been the Parliamentary representation at the period of the Union, and in 1832. (See Revenue Payments.)

total of 997,434, showing more than *one-half* of the valuations less than 5*l.* per annum. How utterly unfit is such a constituency to decide on the great questions of Imperial Legislation !

Democracy has had a most baneful sway, especially for the last few years, in Ireland. A mass of ignorant and excited people have been led or driven to the hustings by a few artful leaders and ambitious demagogues; thus rendering popular representation a curse instead of a blessing, and endangering the constitutional equipoise, so necessary for the preservation of a mixed or Monarchical Government. The conferring of the elective franchise, by the Irish Parliament, on the forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland, has been the fruitful source of many and dire ills; and every effort should be made to expunge from the registry in Ireland all who are not most clearly entitled to a vote. Under the present state of things, those who are the enemies of the Union (and they may also be justly termed the *enemies of Ireland*), are enabled to sit in Parliament to obstruct all useful legislation—but to lend an active hand for the dismemberment of the Empire—the destruction of the Protestant church—and the establishment of Republican principles.

A continuance of the present agitation must inevitably tend to an agrarian war—to a contest between property and population—to a servile strife, which must end in general ruin and desolation. And yet what are the means proposed to arrest this terrible result, by the “*Loyal Repeal Association*”?—A separation of Ireland from England; an “*independent*” Irish Parliament; *universal suffrage*, i. e., “to every male adult, 21 years of age, who has not been convicted of crime or afflicted with mental derangement,” *vote by ballot*; shortening the duration of Parliament; the “equalisation of electoral districts;” and the “abolition of the *absurd* property qualification.”

This, together with what is termed “fixity of tenure”—which means converting the *tenant* into the landlord, the abolition of any support for the Established Church, and the confiscation of the property of the absentees, is the foundation of the political constitution proposed for Ireland by the “*Loyal National Repeal*”

Association." It is painful to reflect that any men whose understanding is raised above the faculties of the savage—and more especially those who have received a tithe of the advantages derived from civilisation and constitutional government—could be induced to tolerate the inculcation and dissemination of doctrines which are utterly incompatible with the existence of civil life, the rights of property, and the preservation of individual or of general freedom. If it be necessary to destroy rapacious animals, and poisonous reptiles—to root out weeds from the soil, and to purify the air from pestiferous effluvia, how much more necessary is it to extirpate sedition, and, in self-defence, to remove those who first corrupt society, and then prey upon its vitals. The law of *self-defence* is equally as applicable to a community as to an individual; and the Government that permits its powers to be usurped by unauthorised individuals, which quietly sanctions the assembling of men in thousands for the purpose of overawing the State, and which silently permits the wide-spread and repeated inculcation of the most treasonable and anarchical doctrines, that Government has abdicated its functions, and deserves punishment. It is thus that nations have perished, and justly perished, since they had no longer the will or the power to uphold the bonds of civil life, to maintain established order, and to protect private rights and public virtue. It was after this manner that Catiline endeavoured to destroy Rome; and it is after the same manner that another Catiline is endeavouring to destroy Britain.

IRISH PARLIAMENTARY BUSINESS.—Another of the allegations of the opponents of the Union is, that "*Irish complaints are unheeded, remonstrances unavailing, application to the Legislature for redress unavailing: and the poor boon of inquiry, conceded to the advocate of the negro and of the hill-coolie, has been denied to the moral, the temperate, the religious, the brave Irish nation.*"—Address of Repealers; see Preface, p. 9.

It might be supposed that the Imperial Parliament paid no attention to Irish business. The Imperial Parliament has ever

lent a willing ear to investigate the real or imaginary grievances of the people of Ireland; this will partly be seen by the various Reports from Commissioners and from Select Committees appointed to consider Irish affairs since the Union. Of these Reports the following is a list :—

	Com- mittees.	Com- mis- sioners.
1801 Committees.—On Orders respecting the Union—On Offices in Ireland, disqualifying persons from Parliament	2	
1802 Committee—Linen Manufacture	1	
Commissioners—Accounts		1
1803 Committee—State of the Poor—Irish Exchanges	2	
Commissioners—Port of Dublin		1
1805 Committee—Grand Canal	1	
1806 Commissioners—Fees and Gratuities—Public Offices—Public Pavement—Accounts		4
1809 Commissioners—Board of Education—Paving (Dublin)—Prisons—Accounts		4
1810 Committees—Bogs	1	
Commissioners—Bogs—Accounts		2
1811 Committees—Bogs—Public Offices—Board of Education	3	
Commissioners—Brewers (Dublin)—Wexford Petition—Public Income and Expenditure		3
1812 Committees—Cork Green-Coat Hospital—Grand Jury Presentment—Grand Canal Company	3	
Commissioners—Public Income—Public Offices—Accounts—Education		4
1813 Committees—Bogs—Irish Currency—Madhouses	3	
Commissioners—Education—Public Offices—Inland Navigation—Accounts—Board of Education		5
1814 Committees—Bogs—Grand Jury Presentments	2	
Commissioners—Royal Canal Company—Bogs—Public Offices—Accounts		4
1815 Committees—Public Income and Expenditure—Grand Jury Presentments—Poor	3	
Commissioners—Education Royal Canal Company—Accounts		3
1816 Committees—Public Income—Grand Jury Presentments—Illicit Distillation.	3	
Commissioners—Education—Public Accounts—Inland Navigation		3
1817 Committee—Lunatics	1	
Commissioners—Education—Courts of Justice		2
1818 Committees—Fever Hospitals—Grand Jury Presentments	2	
Commissioners—Education—Auditing Accounts—Courts of Justice		3
1819 Commissioners.—Prisons—Education—Courts of Justice—Public Accounts		4
1820 Commissioners.—Courts of Justice—Education—House of Industry (Dublin)—Accounts		4
1821 Committees.—To consider Report of Commissioners, on Courts of Justice	1	
Commissioners.—Dunmore Harbour—Fisheries—Courts of Justice—Exchequer—Education		5
1822 Committees.—Dublin Local Taxation—Grand Jury Presentments—Limerick Local Taxation	3	
Commissioners.—Courts of Justice—Education—Fisheries		3
1823 Committees.—Dublin Local Taxation—To consider Reports of Courts of Justice—Labouring Poor	3	
Commissioners.—Public Accounts—Education—Prisons—Fisheries—Employment of Poor		5

	Com- mittees.	Commis- sioners.
1824 Committees.—Dublin Local Taxation—Insurrection Act— Valuation of Land	3	
Commissioners.—Revenue—Courts of Justice—Public Ac- counts—Fisheries—Public Records		5
1825 Committees.—Dublin Local Taxation—Linen Trade—State of Ireland—Petition of Ballinasloe relative to Roman Catholic Association	4	
Commissioners.—Courts of Justice—Fisheries—Education— Revenue		4
1826 Committees.—Butter Trade—Market Tolls—Promissory Notes Commissioners.—Revenue—Dunleary Harbour—Public Ac- counts—Fisheries—Roads and Bridges—Justice (2)	3	7
1827 Committees.—Grand Jury Presentments	1	
Commissioners.—Accounts—Courts of Justice—Roads and Bridges—Prisons—Paving Board—Richmond Peni- tentiary—Fisheries—Schools and Middleton—Educa- tion		9
1828 Committees.—Education—Vagrants	2	
Commissioners.—Public Accounts—Roads and Bridges— Courts of Justice—Prisons—Fisheries—Education— Records		7
1829 Committees.—To consider Eighteenth Report of Judicial In- quiry—Kilrea Petition (forged signatures)—Miscella- neous Estimates	3	
Commissioners.—Post Office Revenue—Public Accounts— Courts of Justice—Roads and Bridges—Prisons— Fisheries		6
1830 Committees.—On Nineteenth Report of Judicial Inquiry—Poor Commissioners.—Roads and Bridges—Courts of Justice—Edu- cation—Records	2	4
1830-31 Commissioners.—Courts of Justice—Prisons—Roads and Bridges		3
1831-32 Committees.—Boundary Commission—Post Office Commu- nication—Tithes—Turnpike Roads—State of Ireland.	5	
Commissioners.—Ecclesiastical Inquiry—Courts of Justice— Education—Public Accounts—Prisons		5
1833 Committees.—Derry Bridge—Dublin and Kingston Ship Canal —Corporations	3	
Commissioners.—Accounts—Prisons—Public Works—Eccle- siastical Inquiry		4
Total	60	114
Total number of Reports of Select Committees	60	
of Commissioners		114
	174	

Thus, in the course of the thirty-two years that elapsed between 1801 and 1833, there have been *sixty* Committees of Inquiry, and 114 Reports of Commissioners, making in the whole 174, all bearing upon Irish interests.

But it has not been merely by Committees and Commissioners that legislation has been carried on for Ireland. The following is a Return of the Number of Acts of Parliament, Public, Local, and Personal, passed from the Year 1800 to the Year 1833, both

inclusive ; distinguishing the Public from the Local and Personal, and showing the number of each class passed in each Year for England, or England and Wales, for Scotland, for Great Britain, for Great Britain and Ireland, and Ireland separately ; together with the Total Number of each for the whole Number of Years. [House of Commons, No. 411, June 25th, 1834.]

YEAR.	PUBLIC ACTS.					TOTAL PUBLIC.	LOCAL & PERSONAL ACTS.					TOTAL LOCAL AND PERSONAL.	GROSS YEARLY TOTAL.
	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Great Britain.	Great Britain and Ireland.	Ireland.		England and Wales.	Scotland.	England and Scotland.	Great Britain and Ireland.	Ireland.		
1800	1	1	5	25	—	32	5	1	—	3	—	9	41
1801	16	2	45	16	30	109	247	6	1	22	1	277	386
1802	7	2	59	30	22	120	201	15	—	18	5	239	359
1803	21	9	89	11	32	162	220	15	—	23	9	267	429
1804	12	4	53	13	28	110	134	10	—	13	4	161	271
1805	6	2	74	14	33	129	176	13	—	33	2	224	353
1806	17	9	84	16	32	158	199	13	—	10	4	226	384
1807	4	—	24	8	20	56	58	5	—	10	—	73	129
2d Sess.	7	—	40	7	24	78	175	10	—	4	6	195	273
1808	15	7 & 1 S. & I.	89	8	32	152	206	13	2	4	9	234	386
1809	11	6	72	7	33	129	161	15	—	11	5	192	321
1810	12	7 & 1 S. & I.	63	7	29	119	177	14	—	17	10	218	337
1811	20	1	66	13	28	128	263	32	—	—	10	295	423
1812	26	4	82	19	34	165	267	7	—	8	7	289	454
1813	23	5	42	51	41	162	264	21	—	1	9	295	457
1814	35	9	52	54	40	190	274	13	—	1	10	298	488
1815	35	10	52	46	53	196	200	8	—	—	4	212	408
1816	30	4	24	61	23	142	140	15	—	2	6	163	305
1817	31	4	14	61	22	132	122	13	—	2	3	140	272
1818	18	1	23	34	25	101	134	10	—	7	2	153	254
1819	33	6	23	56	20	138	189	18	—	10	4	221	359
1820	2	—	6	4	2	14	8	1	—	—	—	9	23
2d Sess.	18	3 & 1 S. & I.	49	25	23	119	132	14	—	7	5	158	277
1821	37	4	24	33	25	123	169	12	1	1	4	187	310
1822	28	10	16	46	27	127	136	14	—	7	4	161	288
1823	12	9 & 1 S. & I.	7	48	23	100	147	10	—	5	5	167	267
1824	37	6	9	42	21	115	178	22	—	1	12	213	328
1825	35	15 & 1 S. & I.	4	61	18	134	251	18	—	6	7	282	416
1826	23	4	5	29	18	79	171	23	—	3	4	201	280
1827	19	3	3	34	16	75	155	18	1	5	5	184	259
1828	22	5	3	49	16	95	150	14	—	5	6	175	270
1829	14	5 & 1 S. & I.	—	29	14	63	166	25	—	7	7	205	268
1830	21	2	4	38	10	75	163	24	—	5	12	204	279
1831	6	1	—	18	2	27	77	2	—	1	—	80	107
2d Sess.	18	2	4	22	14	60	82	18	—	7	7	114	174
1832	30	11 & 1 S. & I.	4	52	29	126	132	14	1	5	5	157	283
1833	37	6	5	48	10	106	141	10	—	10	4	165	271
Totals	749	177	1,218	1,105	869		6,090	506	6	274	197		
Gross Total Public						4,118	Gross Total Local and Personal					7,043	14,116*

* Acts passed since 1800 to 1833, inclusive.

If attention be paid to the number of topics, and to the time they occupy, it will be found that nearly one-half of each Parliamentary Session is occupied with legislation for Ireland; although, frequently, discussion, as in the case of the "Arms Registration Bill," is kept up for mere personal or party purposes, and but few of the Irish Members even attend. During the last Session a furious warfare was carried on against the Irish Church; and, in the midst of an adjourned debate, the House was counted out, there being only *thirty-eight Members* present. Of those present, but *seven* were Irish Members, two of whom were in favour of the Established Church. Again, on Mr. Wm. Smith O'Brien's recent motion on Irish grievances, there were but *forty-two* out of *one hundred and five* Irish Members present; and of those forty-two Members present, one-half—viz., *twenty-one*—voted against Mr. O'Brien's motion—namely, *fifteen* for counties, five for boroughs and one for Dublin University.

Many other instances might be adduced to show the fallacy of the recklessly untrue misrepresentations that have been promulgated on this, as on every other subject relative to the effects of the Union.

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS.—Under this head it is not necessary to show the fallacy of the assertion that the "municipal Reform Bill for Ireland is almost an entire mockery," because by the operation of this very bill the Roman Catholics in religion, and the Radicals and Whigs in politics, have obtained the chief control in almost every corporation in Ireland, not excepting Dublin; what more is required it is difficult to imagine; but it may be advisable to show that Ireland is possessed of extensive and complete municipal institutions in every city or town of magnitude, and therefore is enabled to carry out every useful purpose of local government, without resorting to what is sometimes called a "*Domestic Legislature*" for local purposes. The Irish Corporations were founded by English sovereigns for local and national utility; thus, for instance, as regards the Dublin

Corporation (whose income is now about 30,000*l.* a year), the charter of Henry VI. recites as follows:—

“ We, mindful of the acceptable and laudable services which the citizens of Dublin and their ancestors have manifoldly rendered to us and to our progenitors, to us daily, and especially for the preservation and defence of the city and parts adjacent against the hostile assembly of our Irish enemies, who daily strove to invade our lands, and to plunder and destroy our people, cease not to render at immense expense and labour, exposing their persons and their property to sundry dangers.”

Henry VIII.’s charter recites—

“ For the laudable and praiseworthy services and expenses performed by our trusty and well-beloved subjects, the mayor, bailiffs, commons, and citizens of our city of Dublin in our land of Ireland, by their boldly and manfully defending our city lately against the treasonable attacks and cruel assaults of the most wicked traitor, Thomas Fitzgerald, his cousin and accomplices, as well by famine and watchings as by the effusion of blood of most of the said inhabitants, their bloody wounds and miserable and lamentable destruction, and otherwise heretofore manifoldly and daily suffered for us, We have given,” &c. &c.

Elizabeth’s charter recites as follows:—

“ We, considering the praiseworthy zeal of the lord mayor, &c., and their having often, not without heavy expense, performed services for us and our ancestors, in the safety and defence of our city of Dublin and parts adjacent, against the hostile attacks of our Irish enemies, and exposed themselves to various dangers, do grant,” &c.

All these grants are without limitation or restriction, and specify no particular purpose therein.

It is not improbable that some of the early municipalities were partly ecclesiastical and partly lay corporations, the latter absorbing the power of the former when the influence of the Church began to decline; for instance, Edward VI., in the fifth year of his reign, made the Royal College of St. Nicholas, Galway, an “ Ecclesiastical Corporation.” The greater number of the charters now relied on are those granted by Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., and Charles II. The corporations are very numerous in Ireland. In the County Cork, for instance, there are eight corporate towns; the charter of the oldest—Kinsale—is dated 10th May, 7th of Edward III.; Cork City is 6th James I. and 7th Charles I.; Waterford, 2nd Charles I.; Belfast, 27th April, 1613; Armagh, 26th March, 1613; Londonderry, 18th Charles II. The corporate towns constituted boroughs for regulating the return of Parliamentary representatives, and until the recent Municipal Act,

These numbers are considerably increased by the Irish Municipal Reform Bill—now in full operation.

The amount of property possessed by the Corporations is as follows:—

In 5 boroughs the annual revenue is				under	£20
			above	£20 and not exceeding	
3	"	"			50
5	"	"	"	50	100
10	"	"	"	100	200
3	"	"	"	200	300
2	"	"	"	300	400
1	"	"	"	400	500
2	"	"	"	500	600
1	"	"	"	600	700
1	"	"	"	700	800
1	"	"	"	900	1,000
1	"	"	"	1,000	2,000
1	"	"	"	2,000	3,000
2	"	"	"	4,000	5,000
1	"	"	"	6,000	7,000
1	"	"	"	7,000	8,000
1	"	"	"	20,000	30,000

41

30 there is no revenue.

71

The following is a Tabular View of the INCOME, EXPENDITURE, and DEBT.

Circuits.	Number of Corporations included in the Abstracts.	Number of Corporations having Property.	Income.	Expenditure.	Number in Debt.	Debt.
			£	£		£
Southern . .	9	4	7,833	7,342	4	10,448
Midland . .	22	8	1,144	756	1	73
Western . .	13	5	6,030	3,222	2	Not ascertd.
South Eastern	17	10	10,887	10,002	6	71,247
North Eastern	15	8	5,820	4,967	3	18,537
North Western	18	5	1,601	782	4	34,856
Dublin . . .	1	1	28,077	30,206	1	—
Totals . .	95	41	61,397	57,279	21	

Irrespective of the Corporations, an act was passed in the 9th year of George IV. ch. 82, for enabling Commissioners to be elected in every city and town in Ireland, to light, pave, and cleanse their respective districts; and by a return to the House of Commons, No. 632, dated August 24th, 1843, the names of the Commissioners of each town, and the number and value of

the houses rated since the commencement of the act being brought into operation, are fully detailed. It is gratifying to observe that the act is well executed, and every city and town shows an increase in the valuation of the houses. Thus local reform and domestic improvement is at present within the controul of the Irish, without further legislation, or without shaking the empire to its foundations, by attempting to obtain what is erroneously called a "Domestic Parliament for local objects."

ABSENTEEISM.—Among the other allegations against the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, it is ever loudly asserted, that "*the Union caused Absenteeism;*" and that, if the Union were repealed, absenteeism would no longer exist. The charge is also thus stated in the Repealers' "Address to the Inhabitants of the Countries subject to the British Crown," of 13th of September, 1843 (see Preface, p. vii.):—

"The pecuniary exhaustion occasioned by absenteeism is one of the main-springs of all the evils which Ireland suffers. There is no country on the globe in which anything like one-third of the comparative absenteeism existing in Ireland can be found. It would be as well for Ireland that nine-tenths of the provisions that she exports to England were sunk in the sea, as that they should arrive in safety at the British markets. When sold, no return is made to Ireland either in money or goods. The price goes into the pockets of the absentees, who spend every shilling of it out of Ireland. No country in the world pays such a tribute to another as Ireland thus pays to England—a tribute creating exhaustion, poverty, misery, and destitution in all their frightful forms."

Without reference to the disputed question as to absentee landlords being a great evil to Ireland, let us inquire if absenteeism existed when the Irish Parliament was sitting; if so, there are no grounds for maintaining that the creation of another Irish Legislature would prevent the perpetuation of the alleged evil. Every writer on Ireland, for several centuries, has written forcibly against absenteeism at the very periods when

the Irish Parliament was in its greatest plenitude. Sir William Petty, Prior (or Dobbs) Gee, Spenser, Dean Swift—all wrote against absentees. The Dean said “it perpetually drained the country, and drove half the farmers into beggary and banishment.” In the reign of Richard II., there was a heavy tax imposed on absentees; who were fined two-thirds of their estates. This law was revived in the reign of Henry VIII., for, as the late Mr. Sadler says, “like all others of this nature, the former had been evaded.” Mr. Sadler adds, that “in the time of James I. the entire lands of all absentees were vested in the Crown.” In 1715, the Irish Parliament taxed the pensions, salaries, &c., of all absentees four shillings in the pound, which tax was afterwards repealed. A recent and patriotic Irish writer says—

“Absenteeism existed to a grievous extent even under the *resident* legislature of Ireland, notwithstanding all their exertions to destroy this *plaie politique la plus dévorante*. There were legal enactments against absenteeism from 1377 up to 1753: *they all proved inefficient*. In 1773, Mr. Flood made an attempt to revive the old laws, *but failed*. In 1783, a proposition to the same effect was supported by Mr. Grattan *in vain*. In 1797, Mr. Vandeleur made a motion with the same view, which *proved abortive*.”—BRYAN'S *Practical View of Ireland*, p. 41.

Mr., afterwards Sir John Vandeleur's proposition, in 1797, was to raise an annual revenue of 240,000*l.* by a tax on absentees. *The motion was not supported in the Irish Parliament*. In 1799, he renewed his motion, which met with the same result. Nothing would induce the Irish Parliament to pass an absentee tax, although the Repealers assert that would be one of the first measures to be adopted on the realisation of their views. Mr. Seward, in his “*Collectanea Politica*,” vol. i., p. 114, says, that, at the beginning of the Parliamentary session in Ireland, A.D. 1773, the “offer of an absentee tax was made on the *part of Government*, and, *what may seem extraordinary, it was rejected*. It was proposed that a tax of 2*s.* in the pound should be laid on the net rents and annual profits of all lands, &c., in Ireland, to be paid by all persons who should not actually reside in that Kingdom for the space of six months in each year, from Christmas 1773 to Christmas 1775. The Government offered it for

the approbation of the Irish Parliament, but left all their connections at perfect freedom in deciding upon the question, and accordingly we find that several servants of the Crown voted against it." The motion was lost on a division of 121 to 102.

Thus we perceive that an Irish legislature could not or would not check absenteeism for fourteen centuries; what reason is there to suppose that it could now accomplish what before was found to be impracticable? unless the system now in course of execution in some parts of Ireland were made into a law, *viz.* not to pay any landlord his rent except in person; or unless the proposition of forcing a man who possessed an estate in England and Ireland to sell one or the other,* were carried into effect. Whether either of the despotic acts would be agreeable to the feelings of the majority, is another question; and if the first proposition were made applicable to rent, it ought to be extended to every description of debt. The question as to an Irish Parliament effecting the return of absentees by political attractions or legislative decrees, is thus justly disposed of by another able Irish writer in Dublin:—

"If the parliament of Ireland resumed its sittings in Dublin, it would not thereby compel the great absentees to settle on their Irish estates, as they have estates in Great Britain, are members of either houses of the British Parliament, and are inseparably linked with British society. Neither would an Irish Parliament withdraw from France, Switzerland, and Italy those numerous absentees of the high and middle classes, who now reside in those countries for the sake of climate, society, scenery, or arts, or to obtain a cheap subsistence for their families, or a cheap education for their children. The peers and commoners attending the Irish legislature would merely provide themselves with residences in Dublin, where they would remain during the sitting of parliament, and then return to their country seats in England, to London, or to the watering-places. This assertion is justified by an investigation of the present habits of the Irish gentry who have no parliamentary duties to perform in England, and who therefore sojourn in it, not because of the Legislative Union, but for the purpose of enjoying social recreation, which Ireland does not present. The Irish parliament might pass a law imposing a penal tax on absentees; but that would not avail without the royal assent, which British influence would induce the king to withhold; and then a struggle might ensue which would lead to the dismemberment of the empire."—*Stanley's Commentaries on Ireland*, Dublin 1831, p. 80 and 81.

* This was Napoleon's reply to an Englishman claiming an estate in France; but it must be recollected France and England were at deadly variance with each other.

The number of nobles generally resident in Ireland are—

Duke, 1 ; Marquises, 11 ; Earls, 44 ; Viscounts, 18 ; Barons, 32 ; Bishops, 22 ; Peeresses, 3.—Total, 131.

Some years more, some years less; but this list is considerably greater than the resident nobles in Scotland. Indeed it is a general observation, that as soon as a Scotchman acquires wealth he quits Scotland and travels anywhere except north of the Tweed. Look at the vast estates of the Dukes of Sutherland and Buccleugh, and other great Scottish landlords—all absentees. Yet it is not asserted that the Union between England and Scotland should be repealed in order to compel their constant residence in Scotland.

Of the representative peers, only three out of twenty-eight are *non-resident*, and the majority of baronets and commoners are also residents.

The rent drawn by absentees is proved by Mr. Stanley as probably not exceeding 2,000,000*l.*, and if we take the total annual income of Ireland at 100,000,000*l.*, how can it be said that absenteeism is the grand cause of Irish misery; or that the re-establishment of a separate legislature in Dublin is a necessary step for procuring prosperity in Ireland, when the remittance to absentees in England in 1785 was 1,608,932*l.*, a sum equivalent to 3,000,000*l.* of our present money? (Newenham).

It might be thought that the resident gentry of Ireland were considered by the Repealers of so excellent a description, that it was therefore desirable to add to their numbers by procuring the return of absentees, and that this feeling was totally unconnected with any pecuniary considerations; that such is not their opinion will be seen by the following description of the Irish resident gentry—

“The gentry, or middle-class of Irishmen, are very different from the same class of Englishmen. They are, for the most part, improvident as heads of families, unsafe employers, and inert cultivators of the soil. To them is attributable much that Ireland endures. To their indifference are clearly ascribable the slovenly habits and the ignorance of agriculture, prevailing *even among the peasantry, who have full employment for their industry, and might be comfortable, but do not know how to be so.* And to their harshness as landlords, their predilections as magistrates;

their strong political feeling, and bigoted tendencies, are ascribable those dreadful outrages occasionally perpetrated by unthinking wretches, who, in the madness of despair, combine in murderous and devastating associations. The gentry are inordinately addicted to extravagance, and internally heated by political feelings, the creation of passion, not of reason, which influences them in all their intercourse with society, and even governs their judgment in matters of faith, and when administering justice."—*Stanley*, p. 132.

"The Irish landlords, as a class, are needy, exacting, unremitting, harsh, and without sympathy for their tenantry."—*Bicheno*.

"Landlords in Ireland, amongst the lesser orders, extort exorbitant rents out of the bowels, sweat, and rags of the poor, and then turn them adrift; they are corrupt magistrates and jobbing grand-jurors, oppressing and plundering the miserable people."—*Bryan's View of Ireland*, 1832.

"The Irish country gentleman is we are sorry to say, in general the most incorrigible being that infests the face of the globe. In the name of law, he tramples on justice; boasting superiority of Christian creed, he violates Christian charity, and is mischievous in the name of the Lord. Were the Irish government inclined to govern this country with good policy—which, bless its heart! it is not—the greatest impediment it would find would be in the arrogant, besotted, tyrannical, grasping, rack-renting, spendthrift, poor, proud, profligate, and ignorant country gentlemen (as they are miscalled) of Ireland."—*Dublin Pilot*, 2d January, 1833.

This is a terrible description of the Irish resident gentry; it is not quoted as being consistent with truth; but it is worthy of notice that the last-named testimony asserts, that these very *resident* gentry are the "greatest impediment to the Government, in governing the country with good policy." Thus, on the one hand, absenteeism is deplored as a moral evil; and by the very same parties, the residents are cursed as something as bad, or even worse than demons. The Rev. Mr. Maher, a Roman Catholic clergyman at Carlow, describes as follows the conduct of the resident gentry of Ireland—

"One of the greatest evils of Ireland is a want of sympathy between the higher and lower classes, and the indisposition on the part of the landlords to treat land as a merchandise; to recognise, in the relation between themselves and their tenantry nothing more than between buyer and seller; to regard land solely as a source of profit, and to look to the law, instead of personal and family influence, to exact rents. This is really the root of all our miseries. Parliamentary reform, which establishes the fact that the people can send whom they please to parliament, has shaken this vicious system, and laid the foundation of a better order of things."—*Speech at Carlow Dinner, Rev. Mr. Maher, January 1833, Dublin Freeman's Journal*.

Numerous testimonies show, that the pecuniary condition or moral state of the Irish is not ascribable to the absence of a few landed proprietors; neither are the disturbances of

"White Feet" in the several counties owing to the same oft-lamented national malady, as is demonstrated by the following statement.

"The county of all others in Ireland selected by the late parliament as the one most disorganised and most loudly calling for a commission of inquiry, was the Queen's County—a county chiefly in the hands of resident landlords, some in the possession of large estates, but the majority holding just sufficient to entitle them to seats on petty session benches, or the profitable privilege of being grand-jurors."
—*Dublin Express*, January 3, 1833.

If to this (and much more testimony on the subject might be given) be added the undoubted fact, that the estates of Irish absentees are among the very best managed estates in Ireland, it must be admitted that the idea of repealing the Union, in order to "bring back the absentees," is either a mere popular "clap-trap," or that it is really intended to propose a confiscation.

In the quotation from the Repealers' Address, it is stated that "*nine-tenths of the provisions that Ireland exports to England, might as well be sunk in the sea as that they should arrive in safety at the British markets; when sold no return is made to Ireland, either in money or goods.*" Whoever penned this, must have been utterly ignorant of the subject, or criminally fallacious.

The Railway Commissioners, in their Report, give a detailed statement of the imports and exports at each port of Ireland in 1835, detailing each item and its quantity or value. The total exports for that year (see Part II. of this work, p. 64,) is 17,394,811*l.*, and the total imports 15,337,097*l.*, making a difference of exports over imports of two millions sterling, which is Mr. Stanley's calculation of the absentee rental drawn from Ireland. But it is probable that a part of these two millions is a balance of trade in favour of England. The imports consist of metals, tea, sugar, coffee, wool, cotton, wines, spirits, spices, glass, china, earthenware, silks, hardware, hops, dyes, drugs, seeds, wood, tallow, flax, leather, tobacco, coals, &c.; of coals upwards of one million tons were imported; of cotton manufactures, 14,000,000 yards; tobacco, 4,500,000 lbs.; coffee, 1,200,000 lbs.; tea, nearly 4,000,000 lbs.; woollens, 7,000,000 yards; and

so on throughout the list of *fifteen millions sterling* of imports. Where were the people of Ireland to get these fifteen million pounds' worth of goods, but by exporting fifteen million pounds' worth of their produce? The allegation that *nine-tenths of the price of the exports go into the pockets of the absentees, who spend every shilling of it out of Ireland*, is quite equal in veracity to all the other allegations respecting the Union. The subject may be closed by stating that Scotland—with about *one-third* the population of Ireland—contributes, in her absentee rental and surplus taxation, to England, twice the actual amount of Ireland.

CONSTABULARY, IRELAND.—There is an efficient Police Force now established in every county, city, and town in Ireland, pursuant to Act of Parliament, 6 Will. IV., c.13, s. 57. The men are clothed in the dress of the Rifle Brigade, carry fire-arms constantly, and are in an efficient state of discipline; some are mounted as cavalry; but, whether horse or foot, they are at all times available as a military force. Every village almost has a small force of three or five men, who carry expresses from station to station, escort prisoners, and they promulgate government notices and proclamations. The force is classified as sub-constables, constables, head-constables, sub-inspectors, and county inspectors: each of these are again classified into first, second, or third rates, and promoted from rate to rate, or class to class, according to their good conduct and length of service. The total strength of the constabulary on the 1st of January, 1842, was as follows:—

Inspector-general, 1; Deputy Inspectors-general, 2; Provincial Inspectors, 3; Receiver, 1; Surgeon, 1; Paymasters, 18; County Inspectors, first-rate, 5; ditto, second-rate, 22; ditto, third-rate, 8; Sub-Inspectors, extra-rate, 6; ditto, first-rate, 69; ditto, second-rate, 82; ditto, third-rate, 59; Head-Constables, first-rate, 37; ditto, second-rate, 218; Constables, 1,343; Sub-Constables, first-rate, 5,890; ditto, second-rate, 1,166.—Total, 8931. Horses, 287.

D. M'GREGOR,* Inspector-general.

The whole expenditure upon the constabulary force of Ireland, in each county, county of a city, and county of a town, for the year ended 31st of December, 1841, was as follows:—

* This distinguished officer deserves great credit for the admirable discipline of the force under his command.

Antrim . . .	£ 11,163	Galway, Town . . .	£ 1,815	Monaghan . . .	£ 7,981
Armagh . . .	7,990	Kerry . . .	9,946	Queen's . . .	13,304
Carlow . . .	8,803	Kildare . . .	11,477	Roscommon . . .	12,856
Carrickfergus, Town . . .	161	Kilkenny . . .	17,009	Sligo . . .	9,322
Cavan . . .	9,616	Kilkenny, City . . .	945	Tipperary . . .	37,666
Clare . . .	15,849	King's . . .	12,504	Tyrone . . .	7,596
Cork . . .	25,466	Leitrim . . .	8,187	Waterford . . .	8,531
Cork, City . . .	5,896	Limerick . . .	17,170	Waterford, City . . .	2,291
Donegal . . .	12,448	Limerick, City . . .	3,697	Westmeath . . .	11,875
Down . . .	8,751	Londonderry . . .	5,071	Wexford . . .	12,946
Drogheda, Town . . .	491	Longford . . .	8,506	Wicklow . . .	10,004
Dublin . . .	9,853	Louth . . .	9,432	Reserve . . .	9,195
Fermanagh . . .	6,531	Mayo . . .	13,688		
Galway . . .	23,985	Meath . . .	14,002	Grand Total . . .	421,019

Of this sum, 260,623*l.* was defrayed from the Imperial revenue, and the remainder was borne by the different counties, cities, and towns. Ireland owes the formation of this excellent peace-preservative and crime-detective force to the Imperial Legislature. The Imperial Legislature votes 32,000*l.* a year for the Police of Dublin; and during the past year 61,449*l.* was voted by Parliament for Criminal Prosecutions and Law Charges.

The disembodied Militia of Ireland consists of 346 officers and 326 staff; whose annual cost for 1844 is 33,589*l.* The number of arms now in possession of the Yeomanry of Ireland is—muskets, 25,360; pistols, 30; carbines, 357; spears, 1,398. The Ulster Counties contain the greater part of these arms. These forces, as well as several thousand able-bodied military pensioners, are ready for effective operation at a few days' notice; and would instantly suppress a rebellion, however widely spread, or whencesoever originating.*

* When the Pretender landed in North Britain, the Irish Protestants raised the following corps in the support of the house of Hanover, each corps consisting of eight or nine companies (the Tyrone regiment had sixteen companies), all perfectly armed, equipped, and trained. Leinster raised sixteen regiments of dragoons, and fourteen ditto of foot; Ulster and Munster, forty regiments of dragoons, and twenty-two of foot; Connaught, twelve of dragoons, and three of foot. For King William, and in defence of the Reformation, the Irish Protestants raised 40,000 chosen troops; and in 1798, as well as at the time of Elizabeth, of Cromwell, and at several other periods, they have been the connecting link between England and Ireland, a bulwark round the throne, and a mound of defence for constitutional freedom.

PRISON DISCIPLINE.—In the twentieth Report of the Inspectors-general of the Prisons of Ireland, we have a succinct view of the general state of the prisons of Ireland in 1841. The gaols of Ireland are regulated by an act of Parliament passed in the year 1826, viz. 7 Geo. IV., c. 74; at which period the Right Honourable Henry Goulburn* was Chief Secretary, and under his directions, all the prison acts hitherto in force were consolidated or repealed. By the 55th clause of this act the inspectors-general of prisons are required annually to inspect and report upon each prison of every description in the kingdom, and every place where lunatics or idiots are confined, which report is to be divided into two circuits, and transmitted to the Chief Secretary of Ireland, and laid before both Houses of Parliament. A copy of this report, as it respects each county, is to be sent to the several grand juries; and, exclusive of these, the act requires a general statement of the progress of prison discipline in each district.

COUNTY GAOLS.—It may be useful to place on record a short account of the state the prisons of Ireland were found in by the Inspectors-General of Prisons, on their first appointment in the year 1821, in order to show what has been effected since that period, and to enable the public to judge of the progress that has been made and what remains still to be done. Improvements in this peculiar department can only be gradual, and ought to be the result of public approbation and opinion, grounded on experience of the practical effects of discipline and a Penitentiary system. The Commissioners' powers under the Prison Act are very properly limited, but the support they have generally received from the grand juries, boards of superintendence and magistracy, has far exceeded their most sanguine expectations; and they gladly bear testimony to the fact, that their suggestions to grand juries for improvements in the buildings, in classification, in the employment of prisoners, &c., have always been received with indulgence, and gradually acted upon with zeal, in most of the counties in Ireland.

In 1821, when the Commissioners commenced their important duties, they found the county gaols of Ireland, (with a few valuable exceptions, such as Limerick and Cork,) in a state very unpleasant to revert to. They were for the most part scenes of filth, fraud, and vice, with scarcely one good resident officer, without accommodation, clothing, classification, employment, inspection, school instruction, order, or cleanliness; the law totally disregarded, male and female prisoners often not separated, spirits sold openly in many gaols, and frequently by the under officers. The expenditure in the diet amounting to 9*d.*, and in some cases 1*s.* per head per day, which was a manifest fraud on the county, going on for years unobserved or at least unnoticed; the families of prisoners being frequently fed from the overplus food issued to each prisoner—this fact can scarcely be credited, were it not that the Commissioners frequently found small bags of meal in the cells, and on asking the reason,

* Mr. Goulburn paid great attention to the local improvement of Ireland.—R.M.M.

it was averred that it was the saving of the daily issue, kept for handing over to visitors on the market days.

In the reports of that day these defects were noticed, and in the following year the grand juries in general took up the subject of prison discipline, the evils complained of were gradually removing, and new gaols or additions were in progress of building, or being presented for, in the counties of Cork City, Drogheda, Roscommon, City of Limerick, Sligo, Monaghan, Longford, Leitrim, Londonderry, Galway, Clare, Kilkenny, Louth, and Dublin.

Limerick and Cork counties had already built new gaols, and commenced improvements in discipline. In a very few years after, the following counties built large additions or new gaols, viz., Carlow, Donegal, Tyrone, Down, Cavan, Kerry, King's County, Queen's County, Mayo, and Tipperary.

And, finally, within these few years, the following counties have erected new gaols, presented for, or are building additions :—Antrim, Westmeath, Meath, Kildare, Waterford County, Wexford, Fermanagh, Town of Galway.

And there remain yet to be built—Armagh, City of Kilkenny, City of Waterford, and Dublin City (Newgate). And some of the latter are town gaols, where the grand juries are looking forward to sending their prisoners to the county gaol under the Corporation Act.

It is true that in the progress of Prison Discipline, and the increase of crime with the population, many of the above prisons require additional cells, and steps are annually taken to provide them. But, on the whole, none of the evils detailed now exist, nor can exist without being known, inquired into, and remedied. In most of the prisons a new grade of qualified Governors and under-officers are provided, as vacancies occurred, from the good feeling of High Sheriffs, who have liberally abandoned their patronage to the Grand Juries, Boards of Superintendence, or Inspectors-General of Prisons, and these local Boards of Superintendence which were a new creation under the Prison Act of 1826, have, in almost every instance, worked well, and to their zeal is owing most of the improvements in the Irish Gaol department.

Classification of prisoners according to crime, is a new feature within these 20 years, and in every gaol it is carried on to a considerable extent. The employment and industry of prisoners are increasing, and in some degree to be found in all Irish gaols, without exception. The Inspection of a Turnkey over each class and School instruction is the practice in each gaol, and a gaol dress for every prisoner is very general; and the cleanliness and good order of all the County prisons is borne testimony to by the Judges of Assize, and many strangers who now frequently visit these establishments. One more vital improvement remains to be noticed, viz. : the change from licentiousness to order, in the female side of the prison. The Act of 1826 provided for matrons and female assistants to regulate the female criminals, and now, in all gaols, they are separated from the male classes, clothed instructed, and employed, frequently visited by benevolent ladies, under the regulations of Mrs. Fry; and the result has been the reform of many poor criminals, whose case must have been hopeless, under the former vicious system; previous to 1820, when almost promiscuous intercourse was permitted in some gaols without control or inspection.

The hospitals, the mode of keeping the accounts of prisons, and the various duties required from the resident and non-resident officers, and an ample opportunity given for all reasonable complaints from prisoners, have been all gradually provided for and regulated; and though many difficulties exist, and from the nature

of the department, improvements will continually be offered for adoption, yet, on the whole, the Commissioners say they cannot but be gratified with the state of the gaols, as a national system, under due restraint and inspection, and a legal remedy provided (however tedious) for all evils.

An extensive Female Prison has been in operation for the last seven years, in Dublin, on the Commissioners' suggestion to the Irish Government. It is an experiment at present peculiar to Ireland, as to the possibility of such a system being carried on with usefulness and effect by female officers, quite unconnected with a Male Prison. It is succeeding at present far beyond original expectations.

BRIDEWELLS.—The minor prisons of Ireland, under this head, amount to about 110, and, in 1821, amounted to 140, including Manor Court Prisons. They were all, with four exceptions, literally Black Holes or Dungeons, and so called commonly; there was no registry of the inmates, no food, or inspection; and committals to them, as well as discharges, were unknown beyond the immediate neighbourhood. It was a system opening a door for the greatest abuse; and the Commissioners say they could detail instances of prisoners being detained for months in them, and being allowed to sleep out of them at night, as an act of necessary benevolence. It is gratifying to state that this national nuisance has been swept away by the Prison Act of 1826, submitted by the Commissioners to the Right Honourable Henry Goulburn, then Chief Secretary of Ireland, who took much pains to correct all these abuses, and worded much of the Act himself, by altering and correcting some of the suggestions. Almost all the Manor Court Prisons, and several Bridewells, were abolished by this Act of Parliament, and the remainder placed under sound regulations and checks; inspection was provided for, quarterly returns made to the Commissioners' office of all committals and discharges, and food secured for the prisoners, repairs enforced, and furniture obtained. This improvement took effect at once, as all that were not thus improved under the Act were declared abolished, if his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant so ordered it; and the fact is, that now the whole country is provided with neat small temporary prisons for use at Sessions, and till prisoners can be removed to the County Gaol, and most of them are new buildings. There are only six exceptions, viz.: the towns of Antrim, Cove, Youghal, Woodford, Borrisokane, and Lismore; and at Borrisokane and Woodford new bridewells are about to be erected.

Compare this improved state of things, with the evidence given by the member for Limerick, before the House of Lords, in the year 1819, viz.:—

"The most prolific source of suffering in the Prison discipline of Ireland may be traced to the County Bridewells. They are wretched places of confinement, one of which is to be found in each town and village almost. There is no possibility of enforcing the regulations of the Law. In a miserable building, prisoners are confined for days and weeks, without yards, without inspection, or care of health or morals; men and women are thrown together in cold cells, without bedding, on damp clay floors; no chaplain attends, no surgeon is appointed, no regular supply of food is provided; all is *fraud, oppression, and misery.*"

DEBTORS' PRISONS.—Many of these have been recently abandoned, and all the Manor Court Prisons for trifling debts are swept away. All fees have been abolished, and pauper debtors are fed; and notwithstanding the difficulty that presents itself to improvement, from the unwillingness to use coercion with prisoners not criminals, yet much has been effected towards obtaining cleanliness and good order.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS.—The places of confinement, public and private, are placed, *by act of Parliament*, under the Commissioners' inspection. The only public asylums

that existed when they commenced duty in 1821, for the cure of this malady, were those of Dublin and Cork, exclusive of a few private asylums, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Dublin, which are conducted on humane and judicious principles; all others were temporary receptacles for idiots and incurable cases, in the gaols and houses of industry scattered through the county towns, and where no means could be provided for the cure and proper care of such patients. Classification and healthy employment could not be obtained in such places, and their cases appeared hopeless.

At the Commissioners' suggestion, in the year 1823, an act of Parliament passed, legalising District Lunatic Asylums, at the joint expense of three or more counties. In the following year, three of them were in progress of building, viz. at Armagh, Limerick, and Belfast: regulations were made by the Commissioners, and approved of by Government, for regulating these asylums, and there now exist nine of them, on a large scale, including in their several districts every county in Ireland. Thus is established a National School for discovering the best mode of treating this disease, a ground-work is laid for a house of reception for all pauper cases of lunacy or idiotism in the kingdom, only requiring an additional wing to the building, as numbers increase. The management of these asylums, both medical and moral, has met with universal approbation, and the cures effected, and convalescents sent home, are proofs of the soundness of the treatment. The expense is heavy on the public doubtless, and no pains should be spared to lessen it; but as a great national effort to relieve all such cases, the Commissioners are of opinion *it is not equalled in Europe or America.*

PROGRESS OF PRISON DISCIPLINE IN THE YEAR 1841.—Early in the last year, a new and important subject in Prison Discipline has engaged the attention of the public, viz. :—the total separation of prisoners from each other, through the means of separate cells by day and night, separate yards for exercise, and separate stalls in the chapel. This system, in its more perfect state, reached Europe from America; but it had for some years been practised in Glasgow Bridewell with inferior accommodation, but with considerable success. It has now become more general, the latter prison has been fitted up with this view—an extensive building has been erected in Perth for this Penitentiary system—a model Prison for the same purpose is erecting in London, by the Government, and the Middlesex House of Correction carries on the separate system to a considerable extent. In the commencement of the last year, the Irish Commissioners obtained an Act of Parliament legalising this separation under regulations; the subject was brought before the Grand Juries in Ireland, and the Boards of Superintendence, by a circular letter from the Commissioners, accompanied by a small plan for heating and ventilating the cells, and enlarging a few of them, with the view of gradually commencing the system, on economical terms, and trying by experiment, its effects, previous to recommending so large an outlay as altering the entire prison would cost; and it is but right to state, that the then Inspectors General of Prisons, had some doubts as to the expediency of the system being adopted at once, without some checks and protection being first established against the possibility of its degenerating into anything like cruelty, from the want of sufficient guards and inspection, or into injury to the health of individuals, from too continued a confinement, unless accompanied by constant employment, the use of books, and frequent intercourse with officers or visitors, not prisoners.

COUNTY GAOLS.—A Commission has been employed for some months to revise the Grand Jury Laws for Presentments, &c. &c., and to inquire into the duties and emoluments of all Prison Officers, &c., and to report on measures for improving the

system and all expenditure now practised in each county in Ireland. At present, the Governors and Resident Officers have no certainty for the permanence of their situation, beyond one year, or for the amount of their income, beyond half a year.

To the liberality of the Grand Juries, and the zealous support given to the Commissioners, by most of the Boards of Superintendence, Ireland is much indebted for the present good state of the gaols, and the following progress in employment and discipline within the last year:—

Antrim and Tipperary.—In the counties of Antrim and Tipperary two new prisons are presented for, and in progress, on a large scale, and provided with ample means, by ventilated large cells, &c., to carry on the separate system. In the former case it will be a model prison in Ireland for all Penitentiary arrangements. That at Nenagh, is occasioned by the county being lately divided into two Ridings, and should the High Sheriff appoint a highly-qualified Governor, it will also be a model for the separate system. This improvement is the more valuable, because in the county of Antrim there has hitherto existed no means of carrying on any sound principles of discipline from the total want of accommodation, and in Tipperary county, the excellent Gaol system pursued was materially counteracted by the crowded state of the Clonmel prison.

In the five counties of Clare, Fermanagh, Kilkenny, Wicklow, and Wexford, additions have been presented for, and are in progress, which will enable the Boards of Superintendence to try the separate confinement of individuals, as the Act permits. Clare prison has always been well managed, and reported on most favourably, but the other four County Gaols were so deficient in accommodation, that the buildings in progress will prove eventually a manifest improvement in prison discipline, within the last year.

Down,	Queen's County,	Kildare,
Donegal,	Mayo,	Galway,
Cork,	Meath,	Leitrim,
Londonderry,	Sligo,	Longford,
Limerick,	Westmeath,	Monaghan,
King's County,	Tyrone,	Roscommon.

In these eighteen Counties new gaols have been erected within the last fifteen years, and prison discipline in all its branches has been gradually progressing, especially in the important point of employing the prisoners in useful and profitable work. In none of these counties has any provision been yet made for the entire separation of prisoners, but the Commissioners doubt not that the several Grand Juries will liberally provide for it, as soon as a little more experience has proved the importance and value of it in practice.

Carlow, Cavan, Kerry, and Waterford.—In Carlow and Cavan, additions have been made which enable the Board of Superintendence to conduct the details of discipline in a very creditable manner; each prisoner has a cell at night. The employment of the prisoners in useful work is increasing, and the subject of total separation is under consideration.—In Kerry Gaol, at Tralee, a large addition is necessary to enable the Officers to proceed with a Penitentiary system, and especially in the female classes. What can be done in the way of good order, with the present accommodation, is effected by a zealous Local Inspector, and the Resident Officers.—The Waterford County Gaol is remarkable for its rapid progress in every species of discipline and good order, since the appointment of the present Governor,

who has made the worst gaol in the kingdom an example to others for interior economy, industry, and discipline.

Armagh and Louth.—These are the only prisons that have remained for many years without material alteration or addition.

The County of Louth Gaol at Dundalk, is very creditably managed.

County of Dublin and City of Dublin.—The County of Dublin Gaol, at Kilmainham, remains at present in the same state as reported for many years—an ill-constructed gaol, and much retarded in discipline by the detention in it of Government convicts, previous to embarkation. This difficulty, we have every reason to believe, is on the eve of being removed by a depôt for male convicts being established in the vacant prison in Smithfield. On this being effected, we believe a great progress will be made in the year 1842, in the internal management of the prison, by establishing employment for all the prisoners, as well as economy in the diet, and more accommodation for classification. The Board of Superintendence are disposed to give every aid in their power.

In the City of Dublin Prisons, the Commissioners report that the system established for the classification of prisons, by the Privy Council, works well, viz. :—The tried males in Richmond Bridewell; the tried females in Grangegorman-lane Penitentiary; and the untried males and females in the City Gaol of Newgate.

Grangegorman-lane Female Prison continues to support the hopes entertained of its usefulness as a penitentiary for this class of prisoners, separated totally from a male prison. The separate system is carried on with good effect, and several prisoners, at the expiration of their sentences, have been, at their own request, sent to the two charitable institutions, "*Refuges for Destitute and Penitent Female Prisoners*," and many have been thus restored to society, reformed characters.

The Richmond Bridewell for tried males is in progress of becoming a valuable institution. The great difficulty is in procuring useful and profitable work, and establishing for the boys' class (who have been removed here from Smithfield), a system of trades and instruction, calculated to make them industrious and good subjects.

TOWN GAOLS.—*Cork, Drogheda, Galway, Kilkenny, Limerick, Waterford.*—In Cork, Galway, Limerick, and Drogheda, new town Gaols have been erected or considerably added to, some years since.

BRIDEWELLS.—There are in Ireland more than 100 of these minor prisons; they are only used as temporary places of confinement till removed to the County Gaol, are chiefly confined to the Sessions towns, and contain only a few cells, seldom exceeding eight, with two day-rooms and yards for the separation of the sexes, and only one keeper. These prisons are recognised by the Irish Prison Act, and provision made for the registry of prisoners, as to their committal and discharge, for the diet of those unable to feed themselves, and for the furniture, blankets, &c. New bridewells are building and nearly finished in the towns of Ballinamore, Market Hill, Magherafelt, Ballinasloe, Gort, and Tipperary; and there only remain the following towns to be provided with new prisons, to enable the Commissioners to report the system to be working well as respects the legal accommodation, viz. :—Antrim, Kinsale, Youghal, Cove, Lismore, Woodford, Newry, and Borrisokane. In the two latter, presentments are in progress and expected to be made at next Assizes.

In the counties of Longford, Carlow, and Kildare only, there are no bridewells; but in all the other counties the Board of Superintendence have generally taken charge of these minor prisons, and receive Reports from them, and the system established by the Boards of the counties of Cork, Clare, Limerick, Queen's County, Tipperary, and Waterford, of occasionally requiring the Governors of the County

Gaols to inspect and report upon them, has worked well in securing efficiency on the part of the keepers, and the just expenditure of public money, in repairs and diet.

We cannot close this outline of the state of our bridewells and the progress of improvement, without stating our hope that a legislative enactment will secure an adequate salary to all bridewell keepers, and provide for qualified officers being appointed, by some check in the selection resting on competent authority.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS.—Public opinion has been much engaged of late years in Europe on the subject of Lunatic Asylums, and the best means of providing for the care and cure of those afflicted with this disease. District Asylums have been for some years established throughout Ireland, under an Act of Parliament, including every county, and the expenses provided for by a proportionate County Cess. Ten extensive new buildings were erected, with some acres of land attached, and it was hoped that a national provision would be thus made for all the Lunatics and Idiots in the kingdom. Had sufficient accommodation been provided for all, doubtless it would be an admirable provision, and peculiar to Ireland; however, from the number of cases, this extended view of the subject has partially failed; but the Commissioners look to additions to these Asylums for so desirable an object.

These establishments, with a very extensive one in Cork, are the only great Pauper Asylums for such cases, and the success that has attended them in the cure, care, and comfort of the poor inmates has been much admired by all those eminent visitors and persons who are interested in, and capable of judging of, the practice and merits of such institutions. They are all under the care and superintendence of a Board of Governors and a Medical Officer, aided by a moral Manager and Matron, residing in the building. Employment in agriculture, gardening, and other works, has proved eminently successful in the treatment of the disease; and it is gratifying to report that the system (though probably capable of much improvement) is progressing in usefulness and worthy of example.

There are only ten private Lunatic Asylums in Ireland, kept for profit by individuals: the inmates appear to be kindly treated, without unnecessary restraint, and amply provided with the comforts required in their unhappy situation. The extensive asylum in Dublin, conducted by the executors of Dean Swift, is well managed, and is creditable to the Directing Committee and the Moral Governor.

The foregoing details do great credit to the Inspectors-General of Irish Prisons, who make an annual report to the Secretary of State, on all matters coming within their cognizance. The facts herein stated demonstrate that in the management of the Prisons, as in every other department, the greatest attention has been paid by the British Government.

The points proved in the present Part are

- 1st, The reduced and small taxation of Ireland.
- 2nd, The defective Banking system.
- 3rd, The large Imperial Representation of Ireland.
- 4th, The attention paid to Irish Parliamentary business.
- 5th, The efficient Municipal system.
- 6th, The Misrepresentation on Absenteeism.
- 7th, The Reformed Prison discipline and constabulary.

PART VI.

HISTORY OF THE IRISH CHURCH, AND ORIGIN OF THE REBELLIONS AND OF THE PENAL ENACTMENTS.

CHAPTER XII.

Early British and Irish Church ;—Opposition to Romanism ;—Reformation under Henry VIII.;—Rebellions against Protestantism ;—Subsequent introduction of a *New* or Romish Church ;—Cause of the Penal Laws ;—Present State of THE IRISH CHURCH.

IN tracing the history of the Irish Church, and investigating the origin of the penal enactments against the Roman Catholics, it will be necessary to examine the leading political as well as ecclesiastical events of Irish history : and to ascertain whether the penal laws sprung from religious bigotry, or from State necessity and the imperious rule of self-preservation.

Christianity was introduced into the British Isles about the middle or towards the close of the first century. Joseph of Arimathea, it is said, sailed from Judæa to Marseilles, and, crossing France, proceeded to England, where he preached the Gospel and founded Glastonbury Abbey, A.D. 64. This tradition is doubted. The earliest and most accurate ecclesiastical writers are of opinion that St. Paul was the founder of Christianity in Britain ; and it is remarkable that the Cathedral of the Metropolis of the British Empire was, when founded (A.D. 604), called after that Divinely-illuminated man.

Lucius, one of the British kings of the seventeen states into which England and Wales were divided at the period of the invasion of the Romans, was converted to Christianity, according to the venerable Bede, A.D. 167. Lucius, after his

conversion, cordially espoused the Christian faith, endeavoured to the utmost of his power to abolish the superstitious rites and human sacrifices of the Druids, and built and endowed many churches; among others, those of London, Winchester, and Gloucester.

We are imperfectly acquainted with the progress of Christianity during the third century in England; Origen, writing about the year A.D. 234, remarks, "The power of God our Saviour is even with them who are in Britain shut out from the world."

Tertullian, writing during the same century, mentions "places in the British Isles, inaccessible to the Romans, but which had become subject to the dominion of Christ."

Christianity in Britain suffered from the persecutions of Dioclesian, the Roman Emperor, at the commencement of the fourth century; at which period, Alban of Verulam was the first British martyr to the faith of Christ. Constantius Chlorus, the predecessor of Constantine, A.D. 305, restored peace and toleration to the British Christians.

Eusebius, who lived A.D. 325, observes, that some of the Apostles crossed the ocean to the British Isles.

St. Chrysostom, writing about the year A.D. 390, says, "Although thou didst go unto the ocean and those *British Isles*—although thou didst sail unto the Euxine Sea—although thou didst go to the Southern quarters, thou shouldst hear *all men* everywhere discoursing matters out of the Scripture, with another voice indeed, but not with another faith; and with a different tongue, but with an according judgment." Here we clearly perceive that the Bible was then given to "*all men*," and not restricted to the priests.

At the council for the settlement of the Donatist Controversy, held in France A.D. 314, three bishops and two subordinates attended to represent the British Church. British representative bishops also attended at the Councils of Nice (A.D. 325), of Sardis (A.D. 347), and of Ariminum (A.D. 359.) [See Collier's Church History.]

Heresies commenced in the British Church A.D. 360, when Arianism and Pelagianism were disseminated. Thus, while Arius,

a Presbyter of the Alexandrian Church, at the Council of Nice denied the Supreme Divinity of the Saviour, and considered Him merely the highest of created beings—Pelagius, a monk of the British Church, was spreading almost equally heretical doctrines; one of the principal of which asserted that infants are born as free from sin as was Adam before the fall, and that men are capable of being saved by their own merits and free-will, and irrespective of the grace of God. The spread of such pernicious heresies in an infant church necessarily obstructed its progress, and the manner in which they were checked by apparently ordinary means, is in unison with the whole manifestations of the providence of God in his miraculous and merciful preservation of the British Church. The Roman power—that Image of Brass with feet of clay—ceased to rule England, and mouldered into decay, as must all merely human empires unsanctified by Christian principles.

The Picts and Scots (the Irish were then designated *Scots*), made frequent harassing incursions from the north into the southern parts of the island, and were only repulsed A.D. 380, by the aid of the Roman forces, under Maximus; but on the withdrawal of the Imperial troops to defend their capital from the Goths, Huns, and Vandals, the British king, Vortigern, was in his extremity compelled to solicit the aid of the Pagan Saxons, who, under their leaders, the brothers Hengist and Horsa, were then deemed invincible and “equal to the gods” in battle.

The Saxons, on the expulsion of the Picts and Scots, about the year 450, determined to remain in Britain, and being joined by numerous bodies of their countrymen, they commenced a series of sanguinary contests with the Britons for the possession and sovereignty of the island. Paganism was for a time permitted to triumph over the false principles of Christianity which Arianism and Pelagianism had established, and the Saxons became masters of the greater part of England, which they divided into seven kingdoms. The pure Christians, however, kept their faith and retired into Cornwall and Wales, and the fastnesses of the island least accessible to the Saxon invaders.

The persecution to which the British Christians were subjected by the Pagan Saxons were very severe. Thus, Cerdicus, first King of the West Saxons, (Hampshire, Devonshire, &c.), after a successful battle with the Britons, at Winchester, A.D. 495, killed all the monks belonging to the church of St. Amphialus, and turned it into an idolatrous temple. Paganism for more than a century overshadowed the greater part of England; the mythology of Woden (or Odin) and Thor and the idols of the sun and moon supplanted the spiritual truth of the Gospel and the pure religion of Christ: and although Bangor, in North Wales, and Caerleon on the river Usk, were still pious and learned depositories of the Christian faith, yet it was not until the year A.D. 597, on the conversion of Ethelbert, the Saxon King of Kent, by Augustine, that Christian principles began generally to resume their sway in Britain.

Ireland, however, having been exempt from the Roman conquests, and unsubjected to Saxon invasion, received the light of Christianity at an early period, most probably from Britain, from the contiguous coasts of Wales or Cornwall, whence missionaries were sent to various countries.

Peace, so essential to the inculcation of Christianity, at this time prevailed in Ireland, whose inhabitants were most probably then, for the greater part, of a similar race to those who inhabited the shores of the contiguous islands of Britain; for Tacitus, the Roman Historian, describing Ireland, says "*The dispositions and habits of the people differ not much from Britain*;" and at the time of the Roman invasion of Britain, the Damnonii or Dannonii inhabited Cornwall and Devon; and the Belgæ or "Firlbogs" other parts of the island; these races were also colonisers of Ireland.

At what period Christianity was introduced into Ireland we have no record. St. Patrick is said to have landed in Ireland A.D. 432, bringing with him moral, pious, and honoured persons to preach the Gospel in that country, where, it is said, he had been a slave in his youth, having been captured by some Irish pirates, in his sixteenth year, from his native country, and then sold as a slave for six years to a Pagan Prince in the North of

Ireland, near Ballymena, in the county Antrim, where he was employed feeding cattle. When in bondage and tribulation, he says, "The Lord brought me to a sense of the unbelief of my heart, that I might even at a late season call my sins to remembrance, and turn with all my heart to my Lord, who regarded my low estate, and taking pity on my youth and ignorance, watched over me before I knew Him, or had sense to discern between good and evil, and counselled me and comforted me, as a father doth a son." ("Confession," chap. i. § 1.) In Chapter ii. St. Patrick still further, and in equally beautiful and touching language, thus portrays his feelings. "When I had come to Ireland I was employed every day in feeding cattle, and frequently in the day I used to have recourse to prayer, and the love of God was thus growing stronger and stronger, and His fear and faith were increasing in me, so that in a single day I would give utterance to as many as an hundred prayers, and in the night almost as many. And I used to remain in the woods too, and on the mountain, and would rise for prayer before daylight, in the midst of snow and ice and rain, and felt no injury from it, nor was there any sloth in me, as I now see, because the Spirit was fervent within me." (Chap. ii.) And again, thus—"I was not from my childhood a believer in the only God, but continued in death and in unbelief until I was severely chastened: and in truth I have been humbled by hunger and nakedness, and it was my lot to traverse Ireland every day sore against my will, until I was almost exhausted. But this proved rather a benefit to me, because by means of it I have been corrected by the Lord, and he has fitted me for being at this day what was once far from me, so that I should interest or concern myself about the salvation of others, when I used to have no such thoughts even for myself."

On the termination of six years' slavery, St. Patrick gained his liberty; and he says that in a vision he was directed to a distant port, from whence a vessel would convey him home; after his return he was again made a captive, but in sixty days he re-obtained liberty, and joyfully returned to his parents.

St. Patrick is by some said to have been a Scotchman, from

Kirk Patrick ; by others (and which is more probable) he is said to have been a Cornishman. In his "Confessions," he himself says he was born at Benhaven. It is generally admitted that his parents were British ; his father a deacon, named Calphurnius, and his grandfather a Priest, named Potitus ; and that he was educated in Christian principles is evident from the following words in this Confession : "I was brought into Ireland in captivity, along with so many thousands of persons, according to what we deserved, for our turning astray from God and not keeping his commandments ; and for being disobedient to our priests who pointed out to us the way of salvation."

It should here be stated that Dr. Ledwich, a celebrated Irish Antiquary, doubts that St. Patrick had any real existence before the ninth century ; these doubts were also expressed in 1618 and in 1700 ; and it is alleged that there is little or no mention of St. Patrick in any of the writers who lived within the three hundred years following the time of his reputed death. This, however, is said to be accounted for by the destruction of the Irish monasteries and libraries, and from the Danish incursions which had the same disastrous, desolating, and barbarising effects on Ireland that the Saxon invasions had on Britain.

Archbishop Ussher, Bishops Stillingfleet and Lloyd, Collier and Mosheim, agree in receiving the reputed "Confessions" of St. Patrick, and the period of his mission to Ireland, as genuine.

Adopting, however, the generally-received opinion, that it was in the fifth and not in the ninth century that St. Patrick proceeded to Ireland from Britain for the conversion of the Irish, let us glance briefly at the event.

St. Patrick escaped from slavery in Ireland in his twenty-third year ; but in his heart he was desirous of returning thither to preach the Gospel. He describes in his "Confessions" nightly visions, entreating him to return to the people, and walk among them, which he finally resolved on, contrary to the anxious wishes of his parents and seniors.

To prepare for his sacred mission, St. Patrick placed himself under the teaching of the celebrated St. Martin, Bishop of Tours

with whom he studied several years. It does not appear that St. Patrick ever visited Rome, or that he ever received any commission from the Pope, or, as he should be designated, the Bishop of Rome.

St. Patrick, it is said, landed on his holy mission first at Wicklow, A.D. 432, but meeting with much opposition from the Pagans, he re-embarked, and landed, it is said, in the Bay of Dundrum, county Down, whose Prince, Dichu, he soon converted to Christianity.

During the next year, A.D. 433, he preached before Leogaire, the chief ruler of the island, at Tarah, county Meath, when the King and many of his subjects became converts to Christianity. From Leinster St. Patrick proceeded to Munster, and converted its King (or Prince) Ængus, at Cashel, which was then made the Archbishopric of the province. Finally, after great and pious labours, St. Patrick returned to the county Down, where he founded the Cathedral church of Armagh, A.D. 472, and there died and was buried.*

This early minister of Christ may justly be considered the first Christian missionary from Britain for the civilisation of Ireland. In his "Confessions," written towards the close of his good and well-spent life, he speaks of the abundant grace bestowed on him in permitting him boldly to proclaim everywhere the name of God to "*the Irish, who had never before had knowledge of God among them, who worshipped nothing but unclean idols up to that time, and had become of late the Lord's people, and God's children.*"

Throughout the life of St. Patrick, and in the acknowledged genuine writings of him, we find no trace of Popish doctrines; the study of the Bible was everywhere inculcated, and it was expounded day and night to the people; no celibacy of the priesthood was enjoined (his father and grandfather were priests); no invocation to saints, no earthly remission of sins, no transubstantiation, no mention of Purgatory, no prayers for the dead, no miraculous and absurd legends, no holy relics, no subservience to tradition,

* St. Patrick died on the 17th March, on which day his festival is kept; as the early Christians considered the day of their death in this world the date of their *birth* into another world, and therefore most deserving of commemoration.

no earthly rule of guidance but the Scriptures, *no supremacy acknowledged to the Bishops of Rome.* The religion of St. Patrick was the faith of the pure and primitive Christian Church, before the Word and its doctrines became perverted by Popish delusion and artfully-inculcated superstition, by which foreign Romish priests sought to bind the bodies and souls of men to the will of one or more individuals.*

It would be irrelevant to the purpose to trace the progress of the Irish Church from St. Patrick, and his worthy successor, St. Columba, the Irish Apostle of the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland (A.D. 565) and the founder and first Abbot of Iona. Nennius, who wrote A.D. 858, says that St. Patrick founded 365 churches, ordained 365 bishops and 3,000 presbyters, and that in Connaught alone he converted 12,000 persons to Christianity. It is on record, that St. Columba founded three hundred monasteries and churches in Ireland and Scotland. Like St. Patrick, he makes no mention of Purgatory or of any other Romish rite; the dissemination and expounding of the Scriptures was his great delight and business in life; and he held no communion and received no mission from the Bishop of Rome.

Before quitting this branch of the subject, it may be necessary to observe, that the early British and Irish Churches were closely united in doctrines; and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are said to have been originally established or refounded by distinguished and pious Irishmen, who then held much and deserved influence in England.† But the physical contests

* The *Bishop of Rome* assumed the title and authority of Prince of the Patriarchs, which was doubtless the origin of the title of *Pope*, or Pontiff. The Bishop of Rome was, even in the fourth century, *merely a provincial Bishop*—with no power over his contemporaries and co-equals, the Bishops of Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople. By a pretended hereditary succession, he claimed the authority, prerogatives, and rights of St. Peter, the supposed Prince of the Apostles, and arrogantly, as well as blasphemously, gave himself out for the supreme head of the Universal Church, the *vicegerent of Christ on earth!*

† Johannes Erigena was invited over by Alfred, A.D. 883 or 884. For an interesting detail connected with this subject, see a Speech delivered at Mayo, in 1826, by Eneas MacDonnell, Esq., an exemplary Catholic gentleman, whose writings have been so useful to his country, and who cannot be called a "*Romanist*," but truly a "*Catholic*."

between the British and Saxon races were succeeded by contentions between the Saxon Church and that of the British and Irish—the Saxon claiming authority from the Bishop of Rome; the British and Irish repudiating any supremacy in the Romish Church. During the Nestorian Controversy, in the sixth century, the Irish bishops united in opposing the views taken by the Romish Church on this subject; and Baronius heads his *Annals* (A.D. 566) thus—“THE IRISH BISHOPS SCHISMATICS.” The Irish Church also opposed the Romish Church as to the proper time for the solemnisation of Easter.

The British bishops, on the arrival of St. Augustine, considered themselves totally independent of any foreign jurisdiction. St. Augustine, aided by King Ethelbert, invited them to a conference A.D. 601, and endeavoured to persuade them to enter into the views of the Bishop of Rome—Pope Gregory; but they objected to receive Augustine for their Archbishop; whereupon he menaced them that they would ere long feel the power of the Saxon swords; and accordingly, soon after, Ethelfrid, the pagan king of Northumberland, invaded Wales with great slaughter, and among others put to death *twelve hundred* monks at Bangor, in cold blood. Laurentius, who succeeded Augustine in the See of Canterbury, also endeavoured to bring the British and Irish (then called Scots) Church under his control. Laurentius says, “*The Irish differ not at all from the Britons in their habits. For Bishop Daganus, when he came to us, would not take meat with us, no, not so much as in the same lodging where we were eating.*” This hostility to the Romish Church is still further exemplified by the following stanza, translated from the Welsh of Taliesin, Chief of the Bards, who wrote about A.D. 620.

“Woe be to that priest yborn,
That will not cleanly weed his corn,
And preach his charge among!
Woe be to that shepherd, I say,
That will not watch his fold alway,
As to his office doth belong!
Woe be to him that doth not keep
From *Romish wolves* his sheep,
With staff and weapon strong!”*

* From the “Chronicles of Wales,” quoted by Archbishop Ussher, in his “Religion of the Ancient Irish,”

Wilfrid, a Romish priest, was chosen Archbishop of York A.D. 664, but at first declined the office, lest he should receive his consecration from those who had been ordained by the Irish Bishops, *whose communion the Apostolic See rejected*. The rejection was reciprocal. Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, by direction of a synod of bishops, wrote, in a letter still extant, to Geruntius, King of the Britons of West Wales (or Cornwall), A.D. 690, urging a union between the British and Romish Churches; he shows, in the most forcible language, the utter contempt and abhorrence which the British and Irish Churches had for professors of the Romish doctrines. His language is very remarkable: thus—"The British priests on the other side of the channel of the Severn, puffed up with a conceit of the peculiar purity of their own conversation, *do utterly abominate the thought of communion with us*, insomuch that they will not condescend, either to join in prayers with us at church, or to sit at meat at the same table with us in the kindly intercourse of society: nay, the very fragments that remain of our dishes, and what is left after our refreshments, they throw out to be eaten by their gluttonous dogs and filthy pigs. The vessels too and cups which we use, they take care to have scoured and purified, either with sandy clay from the gravel-pit, or with yellow ashes from their cinders. They cannot bring themselves to salute us peaceably. But further, if any of our people, that is, the Catholic party, will go to them for the purpose of living among them, they do not condescend to admit such persons to their company and society, until they are forced to perform a quarantine of forty days' penance."*

One of the canons of the Anglo-Saxon Church, compiled about A.D. 700, is to this effect—"That such as have received ordination from the bishops of the Scots (*i.e.*, the Irish) or Britons, who in the matter of Easter† and the tonsure are not united to the

* Bonifacii Epistolæ, No. 44.

† Some of the early Christians, particularly those of lesser Asia, differed from the Romish Church in celebrating Easter, on the *third* day after the Passover—on whatever day of the week it might fall, and did not restrict it to a Sunday. The tonsure, by which the *Irish* was long distinguished from the *Romish* Church—consisted in the Irish shaving off the hair in front of the head from ear to ear, allowing it to grow behind—in this consisted their tonsure; the Romish persuasion, on the other

Catholic Church, must again by imposition of hands be confirmed by a Catholic bishop, &c."*

Bede, writing A.D. 731, says, that "even to this day it is the manner of the Britons to entertain a contempt for the faith and religion of the English, and to hold no more intercourse with them of any sort than they would with Pagans."†

The historian Hume adverts to the acknowledged independence and self-control of the original and truly Christian Church of Ireland. He says—"The Irish followed the doctrines of her first teachers, and never acknowledged any subjection to the See of Rome." Bede tells us that the celebrated St. Colmar, an Irishman, was bishop of Lindisferne; a council was called upon to dispute the point of the celebration of Easter. St. Colmar argued thus:—"This Easter, which I used to observe, I received from my elders, who sent me bishop hither, which all our fathers, men beloved of God, are known to have celebrated after the same manner, which, that it may not seem unto any to be contemned and rejected, is the same which the blessed Evangelist St. John, the disciple especially beloved by our Lord, with all the churches that he did oversee, is read to have celebrated. I marvel how such men call that absurd in which we follow the example of so great an Apostle, one who was thought worthy of reposing upon the bosom of his Lord; and can it be believed that such men as our venerable father Columbkil and his successors would have thought or acted things contrary to the precepts of the sacred writings?" St. Colmar defended the Church of Ireland, while Wilfrid defended the Church of Rome; and it is on record, that Fridogenus, a Roman Catholic, informs us that St. Colmar still further added thus:—"We abide by the custom of our fathers, which was given to us by Polycarp, the disciple of St. John." About the year A.D. 553, a question arose about the celebrated "Three chapters," which naturally "awakened the alarm of the See of Rome."

hand, were accustomed to shave the hair from the top, leaving only a circle of it to grow round the head at the lowermost part—this they absurdly professed to have derived from St. Peter.

* Ussher's Religion of the Ancient Irish, chap. x.

† Hist. Ec. lib. ii. chap. 20.

The Irish took a part opposed to Rome. Cardinal Baronius, in his *Annals*, A.D. 566, says, "All the bishops that were in Ireland with most earnest study rose up conjointly for the defence of the three chapters;* and when they perceived that the Church of Rome did both revive the condemnation of the three chapters, and strengthened the fifth Synod† with her consent, they departed from her, and clave to the rest of the schismatics, animated with that vain confidence that they did stand for the Catholic faith while they defended those things that were concluded in the Council of Chalcedon."‡

It would be unnecessary to multiply further instances || in corroboration of the assertion that the early Irish and British Churches were truly apostolic—that is, of the pure and primitive faith of the Apostles; that they denied the superior authority of a Bishop of Rome, called a Pope; and that for several centuries they kept free from the heresies, superstitions, and enslaving doctrines of the Church of Rome.

To trace the progress of Learning and of Christianity in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries throughout Britain—including England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, would be out of place; suffice it to say, that the Christian missionaries and others

* The "three chapters" supported the alleged Nestorian heresy, or doctrine taught by Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople—namely, that God, the Word, and the Man Christ Jesus, were *different persons* under the same appearance. This doctrine was condemned by the third general Council held at Ephesus, A.D. 431, at which two hundred bishops were present. The "three chapters" defended Nestorius, who most probably viewed the Triune of the Godhead spiritually, and endeavoured to explain it by separate *personality*.

† The *Fifth* Synod, or Council of Constantinople, condemned the "three chapters," and confirmed the acts of the previous *four* Councils. The decrees of the *fifth* Synod were long rejected by bishops in Italy and Africa.

‡ The Council, or Synod of Chalcedon was held A.D. 451, and attended by 630 bishops, who condemned the then rising doctrine that "there is but *one nature compounded of the Divine and human*, instead of *two distinct natures united in one person*."

|| See a most valuable and instructive little work, termed, "A Primer of the Church History of Ireland from the Introduction of Christianity to the Formation of the *modern* Irish Branch of the Church of Rome," recently published in Dublin by the Rev. Robert King. The work ought to be widely disseminated; it might induce many of the *Roman* Catholic Church to return to the precepts and independence of the early Irish Church, and to think and act for themselves.

frequently passed from one country to another, and that the Irish Church held out against the Romish Church much more vigorously than the British or Saxon Churches, which, even in the reign of Alfred, became corrupted—Alfred having introduced from Rome, where he was partly educated, the veneration for relics.

During the ninth century, Ireland suffered severely from the continual and devastating ravages of the Danes, Norwegians, and other northern tribes, who came in swarms from their own inclement climate and sterile shores to plunder or establish themselves on the temperate and more fertile coasts of Ireland. The desolation caused by these fierce barbarians (then Pagans) was extreme. They traversed the whole island, plundered and burnt the chief cities and towns, massacred, without distinction, persons of every age, sex, or condition; hundreds of monks perished by the sword, and the Christian clergy were in particular the victims of their ferocity.

In the county Down, at the Monastery of Bangor, *nine hundred monks were put to the sword*: and similar atrocities, with the dates thereof, are recorded as having occurred at Waterford, Lismore, Cork, Limerick, Ferns, Clonfert, Slane, Kildare, Clonmacknoise, Kells, Clonard, Glendaloch, Swords, and other places. Armagh was repeatedly invaded, pillaged, and burnt—three times in one month, A.D. 831. Again, in the years 840, 848, 852, 869, 891, and 1015—when the Primate, clergy, and students were massacred or driven from the country.

Ireland was at this period divided into five petty kingdoms—Leinster, Ulster, Munster, Connaught, and Meath—one of whose rulers was nominally acknowledged as chief monarch of the whole island. But this regal federal alliance was far more weak and insufficient for all useful purposes than even the federal republicanism of the United States in the present day. The five Irish Kings were unable to cope with Turgesius, son of Harold Harfager, King of Norway, who invaded Ireland with a numerous predatory body, A.D. 815, and whose career was everywhere marked by desolation, rapine, and murder.

However repulsed, the defeat was but temporary; new and more sanguinary swarms—like locusts in search of food—arrived from the Scandinavian forests; attacking first the seaports, and then, emboldened by success, penetrating into the interior, and sacking and burning every town that offered the least resistance. In the year 838, Turgesius took Dublin by storm, and declared himself Supreme Monarch of Ireland—a dignity then held by Malachy I. Turgesius persecuted the Christians everywhere, and compelled them to seek safety by concealment in the woods and in caves. The monasteries were razed to the ground, the libraries burned, and the churches that were spared the flames, were converted into heathen temples.

The effect on Ireland of such ruthless invasions for nearly three centuries may be readily imagined,—civilisation rapidly disappeared, and although the Danes had passed from Paganism to a nominal Christianity, and planted Ostman, or Eastman (so the Danes were called) bishoprics in Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, in subordination to the Archbishops of Canterbury, yet the greater part of Ireland had relapsed into barbarism, leaving but few vestiges of its former condition; while the contests between the Irish Christians and the Danes continued unabated with varied success to either party.

At the beginning of the eleventh century Malachy II., then Supreme Monarch of Ireland, was displaced to make room for the celebrated Brian Boiromhe, or Boru, King of Munster, by whose valour and wisdom it was hoped the Danes would be expelled. Brian entered on his arduous duties in his seventy-sixth year, and made great efforts to renovate the country. He fell in battle with the Danes at Clontarf, on Good Friday, 23rd April, A.D. 1014, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, after a long and sanguinary contest, in which the Danes were defeated, although Brian was betrayed by the treachery of Malachy, who retired from the battle with the forces of Meath.

Fresh reinforcements, however, arrived from Denmark, and in the very next year Armagh, Clonard, Swords, and other towns, were plundered by the Danes, whose disastrous ravages continued

throughout the eleventh century, wherever and whenever there was anything to plunder, or the slightest appearance of accumulating wealth. The Danes still held sway in Dublin, Waterford, and other places, although the quintuple regal federal alliance with a Supreme Monarch of all Ireland still existed.

In the year 1074, Gothric, king of the Danes in Dublin, with the "consent of the clergy and people of Dublin, chose one Patrick for their bishop, and directed him into England to be consecrated by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, who sent him back with commendatory letters as well to the said Gothric, King of the Ostmans, as to Terdeluchus, or Tirlogh, the Chief King or Monarch of the Irish." On the death of Patrick, A.D. 1085, Donatus, one of Lanfranc's own monks, was consecrated there and sent over as Bishop of Dublin. These bishops only exercised episcopal office within the walls of the city.

The people of Waterford, following the example of Dublin, erected a bishopric, and the new bishop, Malchus, a monk of Winchester, was sent for consecration to Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Gregory was made Bishop of Dublin, A.D. 1122, and the writ of Henry I. to the Archbishop of Canterbury was as follows:—

"Henry, King of England, to Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, greeting:—the King of Ireland hath signified to me by his writ, and the burgesses of Dublin, that they have chosen this Gregory for their bishop, and send him unto you to be consecrated; wherefore, I wish you, in compliance with their request, to perform his consecration without delay. Witness, Ranulph, our Chancellor, at Windsor."

The Irish Church still struggled against any foreign authority, whether that of the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of Rome. This is seen in the following extract of a letter from the whole assembly of the clergy in Dublin to the Archbishop of Canterbury—"Know you for verily that the Bishops of Ireland have great indignation towards us, and that Bishop most of all that dwelleth at Armagh, because we will not obey their ordination but will always be under your government."

We are now approaching the period of the landing of Henry II. in Ireland, and yet there is no trace of the Irish Church having been up to that time in subjection to the See of Rome. The letter of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Samuel, Bishop of Dublin, A.D. 1110, given in page 3 of this work, shows indeed that Canterbury claimed and exercised a jurisdiction over the Ostman bishops in Dublin and Waterford. One of the strong reasons for Popes Adrian IV. and Alexander III. granting Bulls to Henry II. for the occupation of Ireland, was with a view of bringing Ireland under Papal sway, which the Irish Church had hitherto strongly resisted, and even refused to pay "Peter's Pence"—namely, a tax of one penny levied on each house in England, and first granted by Ina, King of the West Saxons, A.D. 725, for the establishment and support of an English college at Rome. The Bull of Pope Adrian IV. (who was an Englishman), is as follows:—

BULL OF POPE ADRIAN IV., ADDRESSED TO KING HENRY II. OF ENGLAND, (A.D. 1155,) GRANTING HIM "THE PRIVILEGE OF TAKING POSSESSION OF IRELAND AND THE ISLANDS ADJACENT, SAVING THE RIGHTS OF THE CHURCH OF ROME AND OF OTHER CHURCHES."

"Adrian, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our well-beloved son in Christ, the illustrious King of the English, Health and Apostolical Benediction.

"Your highness contemplates the laudable and profitable work of gaining a glorious reputation on earth, and enhancing the recompense of future bliss in heaven, by turning your thoughts, in the true spirit of a Catholic prince, to widening the bounds of the Church, and explaining the true Christian faith to ignorant and uncivilised tribes, and exterminating the nurseries of vices from the heritage of the Lord: and in order to the better execution of this project, you implore the counsel and countenance of the Apostolic See. In which matter the more mature the deliberation and the greater the discretion with which you proceed, so much greater, we trust, will be the success that will, with the Lord's permission, attend your exertions.

"Certainly there is no doubt but that Ireland and all the islands upon which Christ the Sun of Righteousness hath shined, and which have received instruction in the Christian faith, do belong of right to St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church, as your grace also admits. Wherefore we are the more ready to introduce into them a faithful plantation, and a stock acceptable to God, in proportion as we are convinced from conscientious motives that this is urgently required of us.

"You have signified to us, son well-beloved in Christ, your desire to enter the island of Ireland, in order to bring that people into subjection to laws, and to exterminate the nurseries of vices from the country; and that you are willing to pay to St. Peter an annual tribute of one penny for every house, and to preserve uninjured and inviolate the ecclesiastical rights of that land.

"We therefore, treating your pious and laudable desire with the favour which it deserves, and graciously acceding to your petition, express our will and pleasure that in order to widen the bounds of the Church, to check the spread of vice, to reform morals and inculcate virtues, in order to the advancement of the Christian religion, you should enter that island, and do what shall tend to the honour of God, and the welfare of that land. And let the people of that land receive you in an honourable manner, and respect you as their lord : provided always that ecclesiastical rights be uninjured and inviolate, and the annual payment of one penny for every house be secured to St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church.

"If then you shall think fit to carry out to its execution the plan which you have conceived in your mind, endeavour diligently to improve that nation by inculcating good morals : and exert yourself, both personally and by means of such agents as you employ, whom you shall have found suitable to the work, for their faith, conversation, and life, that the Church may be adorned there, the religion of the Christian faith be planted and grow, and the things pertaining to the honour of God and the salvation of souls be ordered by you in such a way, that you may deserve to obtain from God a higher degree of reward in eternity, and succeed in gaining on earth a name glorious throughout all generations."

The arrogant assumption of authority where none previously existed is manifest in this document, in which it is absurdly asserted that "*Ireland do belong of right to St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church.*"

The Normans, not the *Saxons*, then ruled in England, and the struggle between the Civil and Ecclesiastical power for pre-eminence was commencing in the persons of Henry II. and Thomas à Becket. Henry was in no hurry to accept a sovereignty which he must have been conscious ought not to have been assumed by the Bishop of Rome ; and, therefore, for nearly twenty years the Bull of Adrian was unheeded ; and it was not until Henry's subjects, Robert Fitzstephen, Maurice Fitzgerald, Raymond Le Gros, Strongbow, and others, had landed at Waterford, A.D. 1170 and 1171, by invitation from Dermot Macmorrough, king of Leinster, and commenced the expulsion of the Danes, that Henry resolved on the complete annexation of Ireland to the Crown of England.

Pope Alexander, the successor of Adrian, eagerly covetous for "Peter's Pence," which the Irish Church had hitherto strenuously refused, issued a Bull, A.D. 1172, confirming the grant of his predecessors of the "Lordship of Ireland," but specially enjoining "the annual payment of one penny for every house in

Ireland," which people his Holiness called "a *barbarous nation*," with "filthy practices." It will be seen by the Bull—which is as follows—that Alexander describes the Irish Church as having been hitherto "in a disorderly state," meaning thereby, probably, that it protested against the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and refused to "pay pence to Blessed Peter and the Holy Roman Church, as in England."

BULL OF POPE ALEXANDER III., ADDRESSED TO THE SAME KING HENRY II., CONFIRMING THE PRECEDING BULL OF POPE ADRIAN IV.—A.D. 1172.

"Alexander, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our well-beloved son in Christ, the illustrious king of the English, Health and Apostolical Benediction.

"Forasmuch as those grants of our predecessors, which are known to have been made on reasonable grounds, are worthy to be confirmed by a permanent sanction; We therefore, following in the footsteps of the late venerable Pope Adrian, and considering the fruits of our desire, do ratify and confirm the permission of the said Pope, given you, relative to the lordship of the kingdom of Ireland: (reserving to Blessed Peter and the Holy Roman Church, as in England, so also in Ireland, the annual payment of one penny for every house :) to the end that the filthy practices of that land may be abolished, and the barbarous nation, which is called by the Christian *name*, may through your clemency attain to some decency of manners: and that, when the Church of that country, which has been hitherto in a disorderly state, shall have been reduced to order, that people may by your means possess for the future the reality as well as the name of the Christian profession."

Henry II., on his landing at Waterford, 19th October, 1171, was received as a FRIEND and ALLY by the Irish, and not as an invader. The trifling hostile opposition experienced was principally from the Danes, and the Irish connected with them, at Waterford, Wexford, and Dublin.

Roger Hoveden, a Romish Historian of that day, says that "All the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots of all Ireland came to the King of England, (at Waterford), and received him for king and lord of Ireland; swearing fealty to him and his heirs, and the power of reigning over them for ever; and then they gave him their instruments. And after the example set them by the clergy, the aforesaid kings and princes of Ireland, (namely the Kings of Cork, Limerick, Ossory, Meath, and Reginald of Waterford, who had been summoned by King Henry's command to

appear in his presence, and almost all the nobles of Ireland, (except the King of Connaught, who claimed to be lord of the entire island, all these) 'did in like manner receive Henry, King of England, for lord and King of Ireland, and they became his men, and swore fealty to him and his heirs against all men.'* Hoveden's history contains a list of the four archbishops and twenty-nine bishops then existing in Ireland; and says that 'all these as well archbishops as bishops received Henry, King of England, and his heirs, for their kings and lords for ever, which they also confirmed by their written instruments.'"

Roderick O'Conner, king of Connaught, and nominally ruler of all Ireland, after several petty skirmishes, did fealty also to Henry, A.D. 1175, when he deputed three eminent Ecclesiastics—the Archbishop of Tuam, the Abbot of Brandon, and Master Laurence, styled "Chancellor of the King of Connaught"—to attend Henry's council at Windsor, and do homage and pay tribute as liege man to the King of England.

Henry assembled an Ecclesiastical Council at Cashel, A.D. 1172, for the better regulation of the affairs of the Irish Church; at which three of the Archbishops and most of the Bishops were present. Nicholas, chaplain to Henry II., and Ralph, archdeacon, also attended. The Primate Gelasius was prevented being at Cashel, by his age and infirmities, but he afterwards came to Dublin, and ratified the acts passed by the Council of Cashel.

It is said that a Synod was held at the same time in Ulster, where opposition was still strongly manifested against the assumed authority and ordinances of the Romish Bishop, and against those ordinances of the Cashel Synod, which favoured Romanism either directly or indirectly through the English Church.

The Bishop of Rome had been preparing to introduce his power into Ireland, by sending Cardinal Paparo as his Legate to Ireland, A.D. 1152, with four Palls, or ordination dresses, for the four Irish archbishops, by which the Pope thus hoped to prevent their consecration by the See of Canterbury. Cardinal Paparo held a Synod at Kells, but several of the Irish bishops, and many

* Rog. Hoved. annal. ad an. 1171.

of the clergy, refused to attend, and thus sanction by their presence the assumed authority of the Church of Rome. Henry II., however, in fulfilment of his promise to the Pope, procured the passing of the following enactments, at the Synod of Cashell, A. D. 1172, which are thus recorded by the Rev. Robert King:—

Giraldus Cambrensis, the celebrated historian who lived at that time, gives a detailed account of the acts passed in it, “in the very words,” he says, “in which they were originally published.” They are prefaced by him with the following observations:—“The king, influenced by a strong desire to promote the honour of God, and the worship of Christ, in those parts, summoned a council of the entire Clergy of Ireland to meet at Cashel. And there, the *enormities and filthy practices* of the people of that land having been inquired into and enumerated publicly, and also carefully committed to writing, under the seal of the bishop of Lismore, the legate who then ranked in dignity above the rest there present, he issued several sacred enactments, which are still upon record, concerning the contract of marriage, the payment of tithes, the honouring of churches with due devoutness, and attending at them with frequency; these things he did, endeavouring withal by every possible means to reduce the state of that Church to the model of the Church of England.”*

The legate here spoken of was Christian bishop of Lismore, who presided as the Pope’s agent in this council. The enactments after having been subscribed to, were confirmed by the King’s authority. According to Giraldus, they were as follow:—

I.—That all the faithful in Ireland, desisting from connexions within the prohibited degrees of kindred and affinity, shall henceforth confine themselves to *legitimate marriages*.

II.—That children shall be catechised, [i.e. their godfathers should be interrogated†] at the church door, and baptized in the holy font at churches where baptisms are allowed to take place.

III.—That all the faithful of Christ shall pay tithes of their cattle, corn, and other produce, to the church of the parish to which they belong.

IV.—That all Church lands, and property on them, shall be entirely free from all exactions of laymen. And in particular that no petty princes, earls, or any nobles of Ireland, shall exact for themselves or their families entertainment or free quarter upon Church estates, as has been usual; nor presume, henceforward, to extort it by violence: and that those detestable contributions which are wont to be levied from the Church farms four times a year by the neighbouring earls, shall be levied no more.

V.—That in the case of homicide committed by the laity, when they compound with their enemies for the offence, the clergy who may be their relatives shall pay no part of the fine.

VI.—That all heads of families among the faithful, when visited with sickness, shall make their will in the presence of their confessor and neighbours with becoming solemnity, and divide their moveable property into three parts, after deducting debt and servants’ wages beforehand: one part to be for the children; another for the lawful wife; the third to defray the funeral expenses. And if they

* Girald. Cam. Hib. Expug. Pars. I. cap. xxxiii.

† Collier Ec. Hist. Book V.

have no children lawfully begotten, let them be divided into two parts, between himself and his wife; and if his wife be dead, let them be divided between himself and his children.

VII.—That those who die with a good confession shall be buried with suitable obsequies, and the accompaniment of wakes and masses. *Likewise that all offices of Divine service shall for the future, in all parts of Ireland, be regulated after the model of Holy Church, according to the observances of the Church of England.*

From these remarkable and indicatory enactments we learn that the Irish Church was induced to conform to the English Church then, to some extent, in conformity with the Church of Rome, and that tithes were established.

Henry II. after spending Christmas in Dublin, in a temporary residence built with hurdles, after the Irish fashion, was obliged to return to England, to meet the inquiry instituted by the Bishop of Rome on the death of Thomas à Becket; but not until he had convened a council at Lismore, where, according to Mathew Paris, the laws of England were by all gratefully accepted, and established under the sanction of a solemn oath. Henry also made a division of districts into shires, and nominated sheriffs, to several counties with itinerant ministers of justice of Ireland, and a Lord Deputy, with Irish state officers.

It would be foreign to my purpose to trace in detail the narrative of Irish history through several centuries of local dissensions and provincial contests, offensive and defensive, not only between the various Irish princes and chieftains, but also between the Norman settlers themselves. Ireland—as England after the landing of the Saxons—had its dark age, but it was of longer duration than that of the sister island; and the petty strife that existed seems to have arisen from Norman and Celtic *feudal* principles, rather than from any antipathy between opposing or antagonistic races.

It was not merely among the Irish chiefs and English settlers that strife existed during the dark ages, or from the period of the Synod of Cashel, A.D. 1172, to the holding of a Parliament in Dublin, A.D. 1537, under Henry VIII. when the usurped supremacy of the Pope was abolished, and thence to the period A.D. 1551, under Edward VI., when the English Liturgy was

introduced into the Irish Church, instead of the Latin mass. During this long and anarchical state, the archbishops, bishops, and all classes of the clergy, were in constant strife, and engaged even in bloody disputes. For twenty years—from 1429 to 1449—the Archbishops of Armagh were unable to attend the sittings of the Irish parliament by reason of personal quarrels with the Archbishops of Dublin, as to their respective rights of having a cross borne before each, not only in his own diocese but in the diocese of the other.

The Bishops of Waterford and Lismore quarrelled respecting certain lands, A.D. 1210. A commission having decided in favour of the Bishop of Lismore, his right reverend antagonist besieged the cathedral of Lismore, dragged the bishop away while celebrating Divine service, and cast him, loaded with irons, into a dungeon at Dungarvan, where the unfortunate prelate was treated with the most cruel indignities.

The following instances of Ecclesiastical strife and bloodshed are recorded in the Rev. Robert King's admirable "Primer of the Church History of Ireland :"—

A.D. 1346. A parliament holden in Kilkenny, having granted the king, Edward III., a supply of money for the exigencies of the state, the archbishop of Cashel, and the bishops of his province, threatened the severest penalties against any who contributed to the subsidy ; and having gone to Clonmel, they in their pontifical robes, openly, in the middle of the street, excommunicated all who had advised, granted, or levied the money. (See Rom. xiii. 6.)

A.D. 1326. Punishment of heretics by corporal tortures was used in Ireland as well as in other countries at this time, and about the year 1326, Adam Duff, an Irishman, was burned in College Green, Dublin, being accused of denying many Scripture truths, the Incarnation, the Resurrection, &c. And about 1353, two other Irishmen were convicted of heresy, and burned by order of the Bishop of Waterford.

A.D. 1353. The Archbishop of Cashel, enraged at the Bishop of Waterford for inflicting the aforesaid punishment without his license, assaulted him (the bishop), towards midnight, in his lodgings, grievously wounded him, and robbed him of his goods.

A.D. 1369. The Bishop of Limerick being summoned to appear before the Archbishop of Cashel, to answer certain charges against him, attacked him with much violence, drew his blood, and compelled him to fly from Limerick. He also entered the city in his robes of state, and excommunicated by bell, book, and candle, all who had supplied the archbishop with food or entertainment ; and afterwards, when the archbishop was to preach a customary sermon at Limerick, the bishop forbade any one to attend, on pain of excommunication, and excommunicated by name those who were present at the sermon.

A.D. 1442. John Prene, Archbishop of Armagh, having a dispute with the dean and chapter of Raphoe, about the profits of the bishopric of Raphoe, excommunicated the dean and chapter, and granted forty days' indulgences to all who should fall upon their persons, and seize or dissipate their substance.

A.D. 1525. In this year, a Bishop of Leighlin was murdered by his archdeacon, because he had rebuked him for his insolence, obstinacy, and other crimes, and threatened him with further correction.

It would be painful to narrate the conduct of many of the minor clergy—the profligacy arising from the Romish ordinance of priestly celibacy—and the general corruption and political disputes that ensued, as exemplified in the first chapter of this work—when the whole country was torn by rival factions, by blood-feuds between the Ormonds and the Desmonds, and other chieftains, who not only made war on each other, but threatened hostilities against the sovereign.

Henry VIII. ascended the British throne 22nd April, 1509. The Protestant Reformation—as it is termed, but, more properly speaking, the restoration of the pure and Apostolic Churches of England and Ireland before they became corrupted by the Church of Rome—had long been preparing in England by Wicliff and other renovators of the true faith; but in Ireland no measures had been adopted, and no men had arisen to pioneer the way for the necessary restoration of Christian principles.

Henry, conscious of the absurdity of the pretensions of the Bishop of Rome, perceiving how the people of England and Ireland were plundered by various impositions, and naturally indignant at the despotic power exercised in his own kingdom, through Papal agents, resolved in the years 1532 and 1533, on the abolition of “Peter’s pence,” “first-fruits,” “tenths,” and various other taxes levied for the Church of Rome, under false and fraudulent pretences.

These just and indispensable measures were succeeded in 1534 by the following question being proposed to the bishops and clergy of England—namely, “*Whether the Bishop of Rome has in the word of God any greater jurisdiction in the realm of England than any other foreign bishop.*” The universities, chapters, monks, friars, &c., throughout England, answered, generally, in the negative, one bishop only (Fisher) dissenting. Parliament ratified the

decision of the clergy, and the assumption of jurisdiction in England by the Bishop of Rome was entirely abolished.

More difficulty was experienced in Ireland in consequence of the feudal state and less advanced intelligence of the people. The principal opposition was experienced from George Cromer, an Englishman, Archbishop of Armagh. The Primate possessed much influence, and induced several to join him in upholding the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, as it was feared that by acknowledging Henry head of the Church, the domination of the ecclesiastical establishment would be diminished, and its almost absolute authority would be nullified by the civil power then struggling for complete pre-eminence in England and in Ireland. The extravagant pretensions of the Church of Rome to supreme power will be seen by the following extracts from a vow of obedience to the Pope or Bishop of Rome, which was transmitted with a commission from Rome to Ireland about this time, and which George Cromer, the Primate, and his clergy circulated and craftily enforced among the people:—

"I, A. B., from this present hour forward in the presence of the Holy Trinity &c, . . . shall and will be always obedient to the Holy See of St. Peter of Rome, and to my holy lord the Pope of Rome, and his successors, in all things, as well spiritual as temporal, &c., &c."

"I count all acts, made or to be made by heretical powers, of no force, or to be practised, or obeyed by myself or any other son of the mother Church of Rome.

"I do further declare him or her, *father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others, nearest or dearest relations, friend or acquaintance whatsoever, accursed*, that either do or shall hold, for time to come, any ecclesiastical or civil authority above the mother Church, or that do or shall obey for the time to come, any of her the mother Church's opposers or enemies, or contrary to the same, of which I have here sworn unto; so God, the blessed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the holy evangelists, help, &c."

In July, 1534, the Archbishopric of Dublin fell vacant, and Henry appointed to the see George Brown, who had been educated at Oxford, in an Augustine Friary, who had been elected Provincial of his Order in England, and who had long preached the necessity of praying to Christ alone and not to the Virgin and a host of saints. George Brown was consecrated by Cranmer,

Archbishop of Canterbury ; Fisher, Bishop of Rochester ; and Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury. The usual course of ordination was adopted, with this important difference, that, instead of receiving the pall, &c., from a foreign bishop, he received them from the legal authorities of his own country.

Archbishop Brown entered zealously on his duties, and was aided by a body of commissioners in removing the Roman authority from Ireland. He was opposed, however, by some of the old English-descended lords, who dreaded the supremacy of Henry more than they did that of a foreign bishop. It was, therefore, deemed advisable to convene a Parliament in Dublin, A.D. 1537, under Lord Leonard Grey, the Lord-Deputy, and to make special enactments relative to changes in the Church. Among the acts passed in this Parliament was one for encouraging "the English order, habit, and language ;" *spiritual* promotions to be given only to such persons as could speak *English*, unless after four proclamations in the next market town none could be found conversant in the language. Parochial *English* schools were to be established throughout the country, and a sum of money devoted to the purpose. The clergyman of each parish was to be bound by an oath to "*endeavour to learn and teach the English tongue to all and every being under his rule ; and to bid the beads in the English tongue, and preach the word of God in English, if he can preach.*"

A large part of the chieftains of Ireland adhered to the Protestant and acknowledged Henry VIII., not merely "Lord," the previous title, but "*King*" of Ireland, and at the same time gave him supreme power at the head of the church. Phelan, the historian, says, "The lords of English descent, irritated by a too successful rivalry—the Irish still brooding over the original treachery of the Church, and its bitter consequences to themselves—and both turbulent, eager for ascending and accustomed to refer everything to the arbitration of the sword, would naturally rejoice in the downfall of this arrogant order. Accordingly, when Henry VIII. asserted his claim to the complete sovereignty of the island, all the nobles arrayed themselves on the side of the

Crown. They abolished the subordinate title of Lord, the only one which the Pope had permitted to be assumed, and proclaimed him King of Ireland and supreme head of the Church."—(130 Phelan.) The indenture between the chiefs and Henry VIII. runs thus:—"Indentured the 26th of September, 34 Henry VIII. between the Irish chiefs and Henry VIII.:—They will accept and hold his said Majesty and the Kings his successors as the supreme head on earth, immediately under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland." In 1538, Archbishop Brown, accompanied by the Lord Chancellor and others, visited Wexford, Carlow, Waterford, Tipperary, Clonmel, &c., setting forth the true word of God, denouncing the worship of images, and expounding the king's supremacy. In a letter to the English Government, about two months after, from Dublin, it is stated—"At Clonmel was with us two archbishops and eight bishops, in whose presence my lord of Dublin preached, in advancing the king's supremacy, and the extinguishment of the Bishop of Rome. And, his sermon finished, all the said bishops, in all the open audience took the oath mentioned in the acts of parliament, both touching the king's succession and supremacy before me the king's chancellor; and divers others there present did the like." Among the signatures to the letter here mentioned is that of the archbishop himself. These statements show that most of the bishops acceded to the reformed religion; on the back of the roll acknowledging Henry VIII. supreme head of the Church are the names of the following archbishops and bishops—Dublin, Cassel, Tuam, Waterford, Kildare, Ferney, Immolacien, and Lymic (Limerick). And it may here be remarked that out of the *nineteen* prelates assembled in the reign of Elizabeth, in a Parliament held by the Earl of Sussex, January, 1560, two only, Walsh of Meath, and Leodrus of Kildare, refused to renounce the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff. We are also told in Phelan's *Policy of the Church of Rome*, that "For eleven years her (Elizabeth's) measures were unmolested by the Papal government, and received without opposition by the great body of the Roman Catholics. The laity everywhere frequented the churches. Multitudes of the priests

adopted the prescribed changes, and continued to officiate in their former cures; and the majority of the prelates leading or following the popular opinion, retained their sees, and exercised their functions according to the reformed ritual."

Idolatry was, to a great extent, banished in Dublin and elsewhere; images, &c., were removed from the cathedrals and churches, and *English* translations of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments substituted. No second Church was as yet formed in Ireland; the Church of Ireland was, in fact, restored by Henry VIII. to the freedom from Romish jurisdiction, and superstitious rites and foreign language, which it enjoyed *previous* to the Synod of Cashel, A.D. 1172, under Henry II., when the idolatries, language, and supremacy of the Church of Rome were first introduced into Ireland.

The personal conduct of Henry VIII., his appropriation of the incomes of the Monasteries to the benefit of his favourites, instead of to the education of the people and the improvement of the Church, his bigotted adherence to Romish doctrines, even when strenuously opposing a foreign usurpation, and his appointment of prelates, who were still at heart Romanists, tended little to the advancement of the Reformation, and gave Rome time to endeavour to attempt the recovery of her power in Ireland, whose people, the wily Italians clearly perceived, were better fitted for their yoke than the English or Scotch.

The successors of Henry VIII.* had therefore an arduous and dangerous task to complete. Edward VI. was pious, zealous in the advancement of the Reformation, but too young and inexperienced to attempt much in the way of innovation, and his counsellors began even then to feel the effects of Romish intrigues in Ireland. The Rev. Robert King states, that—

"The majority of the bishops and clergy at this time were in favour of the Romish creed and practice, under the patronage of Primate Dowdall. But King

* Names.	Born.	Reigns began.	Reigned.	Reigns ended.	Age.
	A.D.		Y. M. D.		
Henry VIII.	1492	1509, April 22	37 9 6	1547, Jan. 28	55
Edward VI.	1537	1547, Jan. 28	6 5 9	1553, July 6	15
Mary . .	1516	1553, July 6	5 4 11	1558, Nov. 17	42
Elizabeth .	1533	1558, Nov. 17	44 4 7	1603, Mar. 24	69

Edward having several opportunities, when vacancies occurred among the Irish bishops, of appointing others, took care to make his selections in such a way as to increase the number of prelates favourable to religious reformation. And thus five at least of those appointed by him were friends and supporters of the Reformation; namely, Lancaster of Kildare, Travers of Leighlin, Casey of Limerick, Bale of Ossory, and, finally, Goodacre, Archbishop of Armagh, successor to Primate Dowdall. All these were appointed in A.D. 1550 and the two following years.

But the most striking improvement in the state of religion in Ireland during this reign, was the introduction of the English Liturgy into the churches, in accordance with an order from the King, addressed to the Lord Deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger, on the 6th of February, 1551.

The first step taken by the Viceroy on receiving this order, and before he proceeded to notify it by a general proclamation, was to call together an assembly of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, on the 1st of March, 1551: and to acquaint them with his Majesty's order, as also with the opinions of those bishops and clergy of England who had acceded to the order. The feelings of the Romish party in reference to the new Liturgy, and the principle of common prayer in general, are curiously illustrated by a remark made by Primate Dowdall in his reply to the communication of the Lord Deputy on this occasion. "Then," said he, "shall every illiterate fellow read mass;" grounding an absurd objection on that which was one of the great advantages of the new Liturgy, viz., that it was composed in a language plain and intelligible to the unlearned portion of the community.

To the Primate's contemptuous objection the Lord Deputy returned a mild and judicious answer. "No," said he, "your Grace is mistaken: for we have too many illiterate priests amongst us already, who neither can pronounce the Latin, nor know what it means, no more than the common people that hear them; but when the people hear the Liturgy in English, they and the priest will then understand what they pray for."

After some further conference or altercation, the Primate and his party left the assembly. The Archbishop of Dublin remained and received the King's order, commending it to his brethren who were present. Some of the more moderate bishops and clergy followed his example, among whom were Staples, Bishop of Meath; Lancaster, Bishop of Kildare; Travers, Bishop of Leighlin; and Coyn, Bishop of Limerick.

The result of this assembly was a proclamation issued by the Lord Deputy for carrying the order into effect, and the consequent celebration of divine worship according to the English Liturgy, on Easter-day, in Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, in presence of the Viceroy, the Archbishop, and the Mayor and bailiffs of the city, when the Archbishop preached an able sermon on the eighteenth verse of the hundred-and-nineteenth Psalm—*Open mine eyes that I may see the wonders of thy Law.*

Very soon after this the Lord Deputy St. Leger was recalled, and Sir James Crofts, a gentleman of his Majesty's privy chamber, was appointed to the government of Ireland by letters patent, the twenty-ninth of April, 1551. Soon afterwards he arrived, bringing with him instructions for himself and the council, one of which was, "To propagate the worship of God in the *English* tongue; and the service to be translated into *Irish* in those places which need it." It would have been well had the purpose expressed in the latter clause of this sentence been as promptly and vigorously executed as it was happily and prudently projected. But it seems to have fallen to the ground, the short duration of the reign of King Edward having probably prevented its execution.

During the reign of Edward VI., Hugh Goodacre was consecrated in Christ Church, Dublin, 2nd February, 1553, to the Archbishopric of Armagh; the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishops of Kildare, of Down, and of Connor, officiating; at the same time the celebrated John Bale, also an Englishman, was consecrated for the vacant Bishopric of Ossory. Bale had been cast into prison in the reign of Henry VIII., first, by Lee, Archbishop of York; and afterwards, by Stokesby, Bishop of London, for preaching against the Romish religion, especially the invocation of Saints, and the worshipping of images. By Edward the Sixth's own choice, Bale was appointed Bishop of Ossory.

It is recorded that Bale was much thwarted in his diocese at Kilkenny; and, owing to the ignorance and bigotry of the people, he could make little impression on them. The Holy Communion of the Lord's Supper was accompanied with various unprofitable and vain ceremonies, such as "bowings and beckings, kneelings and knockings, the Lord's death, after St. Paul's doctrine, neither preached nor yet spoken of:" and the dead were bewailed with "prodigious howlings and patterings," as if the redemption by Christ's passion were not sufficient to procure quiet for the souls of the deceased, and to deliver them out of hell without these "sorrowful sorceries." These and many other superstitious usages of those times, Bishop Bale censures in no very measured terms.

Of his own preaching he gives the following account:—"I earnestly exhorted the people to repentance for sin, and required them to give credit to the Gospel of salvation; to acknowledge and believe, that there was but one God; and Him alone, without any other, sincerely to worship: to confess one Christ for an only Saviour and Redeemer, and to trust in none other man's prayers, merits, nor yet deservings, but in His alone for salvation. I treated at large both of the heavenly and political state of the Christian Church, and helpers I found none among my prebendaries and clergy, but adversaries a great number." He told them also "that their prayers for the dead procured no redemption to the souls departed; redemption of souls being only in Christ, of Christ, and by Christ:" adding "that the priest's

office, by Christ's straight commandment, was chiefly to preach and instruct the people in the doctrine and ways of God, and not to occupy so much of the time in chanting, piping, and singing." And further, he used every exertion to have the Book of Common Prayer introduced into the churches of his diocese, but found to his great vexation that the opposition of his clergy rendered these endeavours unsuccessful.

On the accession to the throne of Mary, the sister of Edward VI., the persecution of the Church of Ireland, as well as that of the Church of England, commenced: and the lives of the Reformed Clergy in Ireland were at once placed in jeopardy—not merely from the Sovereign but from assassins, and those instigated by the Romanists, who made a death-like struggle for their restoration to power. For instance, Bishop Bale continuing publicly to preach the truths of the Gospel, was assaulted by Romanish agents in his own palace, and narrowly escaped with his life, after five of his servants had been slain before his face, in defence of their master. He was hunted like a wild beast from place to place, until he reached a place of safe refuge on the Continent.

In this, as in the burning of the venerable Bishops Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley,* who had committed no treason against the Sovereign or her government, we see the persecuting, intolerant, and blood-thirsty spirit of the Romish (*not the Irish*) Church, and the subsequent necessity for the enactment of penal laws—for the mere preservation of human life, without any reference whatever to religion.

One of the earliest measures adopted in Ireland was the recal

* Cranmer and the other victims were brought to the stake not for treason or rebellion, but "to expiate the pretended crime of preferring the dictates of the Gospel to the despotic laws of Rome."—*Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. page 60.

Cranmer was executed "either because Cardinal Poole would no longer be kept from being Archbishop, (which he could not be as long as Cranmer lived,) or that the Queen could not be gotten to forget his being the chief instrument of her mother's divorce."—*Baker's History of England*, page 321.

"The active part Ridley had taken in the establishment of the new discipline, and the construction of the Liturgy, together with his intimate connexion with Cranmer, marked him out as one of the most prominent victims to the temporary restoration of papal authority."—*Gorton's Biographical Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 761.

of Dowdall, the opponent of the Reformation, from exile on the Continent, whither he had fled of his own accord. Dowdall was reinvested with the dignity of Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland. A commission to Dowdall, a month after his restoration (April, 1554), authorised the restoration of the Romish religion, the re-establishment of celibacy among the clergy, and the punishment of those who had married. In the same year, 1554, Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, and other prelates favourable to the Reformation, were deprived of their sees, and several obliged to flee to the Continent for their lives, where they died. "Mary pursued with fire and sword, and all the marks of unrelenting vengeance, the promoters of a pure and rational religion."*

Mary despatched Dr. Cole to Ireland with a commission for punishing the Protestants; Cole stopped at Chester, and being waited on by the Mayor, a Romanist, Dr. Cole's zeal outran his discretion, and he exclaimed to the Mayor, while holding up a leathern box, "*Here is a commission that shall lash the heretics of Ireland.*" The landlady, Elizabeth Edmonds, who was a Protestant, and had a brother of the same creed in Dublin, became alarmed, watched her opportunity, and placed a pack of cards, wrapped up in a sheet of paper, and abstracted the commission. Dr. Cole arrived in Dublin, 7th October, 1558. The Lord-Lieutenant convened a full council to receive Dr. Cole and hear the Queen's commission read, but when with great solemnity the box was opened, nothing but a pack of cards was found. The astonished Doctor declared he had received a commission, and proceeded to England to obtain another, or a copy; but while on his journey, the brief but iniquitous career of Mary was stopped, and the lives of many Protestants were saved. Mrs. Edmonds received a pension of forty pounds a year from Queen Elizabeth.

Elizabeth ascended the throne 17th November, 1558, and one of her first measures was the restoration of the Church Service in English, as had been the case in the reign of Edward VI., when the Book of Common Prayer (the first book printed in Ireland) was published, A.D. 1551.

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, p. 63.

The Earl of Sussex was appointed Lord-Lieutenant, and his instructions were that he should "set up the worship of God as it is England." The Litany was sung in English in Christ Church, Dublin, which gave great offence to the advocates of popish customs.

By an act of the *IRISH Parliament*, A.D. 1559 (Pat. 1, Eliz. p. 2, m. 32d), there were passed among other acts "an acte for the uniformitie of common prayer and service in the church and admynistration of the sacraments in the church."

"An acte againste suche persons as shall unreverentlye speake agaynst the sacrament of the bodye and blode of Christe, commonlye called the sacrament of the alter, and for the receivynge thereof under bothe kyndes."

"An acte restoring the crowne the auncient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiasticall and spirituall, and abolyshinge all power repugnant to the same."

"An acte for the conferryng and consecratynge of archebushoppes and bushoppes within this realme."

By the same Parliament, the late "pryorye or hospytall of Seynt Jones Jerusalem," in Ireland, were restored to the Crown; Mary having cancelled the act of Henry VIII.

A parliament was held in Dublin, January, 1560, when an act was passed, of which the most important clauses were—

Sec. V. *No foreign power* to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction in this realm.

Sec. VI. Such jurisdiction annexed to the crown.

Sec. VII. Ecclesiastical persons and officers, judges, justices, mayors, temporal officers, and every other person that hath the Queen's wages to take the oath of supremacy.

Sec. VIII. Penalty for refusing the oath, forfeiture of office and of promotion during life.

Sec. XVII. Commissioners to exercise spiritual jurisdiction shall not adjudge anything heresy, but what is so judged by the canonical scriptures, or the first four general councils, or any other general council, or by Parliament.

In the year 1569, an act of the Irish Parliament, sess. 3, ch. ix. was passed for "turning of countries, that be not yet shire

grounds into shire grounds." In 1570, (12th Eliz. ch. 1,) an act was passed reciting the ignorance of the people, for want of school discipline: a free-school, with a master of English birth, was ordered to be erected in every diocese.

In the same year, an act was passed, (ch. 4,) granting letters patent, with certain reservations, "to the Irishy or degenerated Englishry," holding by Irish custom and not by tenure.

In 1571, John Fitzgerald, or the White Knight, was attainted after his death.

These constitute the chief Irish parliamentary acts of Elizabeth's reign, and there is in no one instance a harsh or intolerant expression; no life was taken or even threatened for *religious* opinions, but every effort was made to instruct the people and settle the country. In 1571 the Queen provided, at her own expense, a fount of types in the *Irish* language, "in the hope that God in His mercy would raise up some to translate the New Testament into their mother-tongue." A large Bible was placed in the middle of the choir of each cathedral of Christ Church and St. Patrick, to which the people eagerly resorted to read and hear the contents.

Of nineteen Irish Bishops present on the renunciation of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, in 1560, only two (Walsh, of Meath, and Leverons, of Kildare), refused to take the oath of supremacy. For this they were not beheaded. Leverons afterwards kept a school in Limerick; but Walsh, who preached and inveighed against any supremacy but that of Rome, and against the Book of Common Prayer, was obliged to leave Ireland. Both these bishops had been placed in Ireland by Mary, who despoiled Protestants of their sees to give them offices.

It is acknowledged by writers of the Romish communion, whenever it suits their argument, that during the reign of Elizabeth the penal laws, if such they could be called, were not executed with rigour. The oath of supremacy was purposely framed and explained to acknowledge merely the sole jurisdiction of the Crown over all persons and all causes ecclesiastical or civil; and a renunciation of all foreign power and jurisdiction was freely agreed to by the Irish chieftains at the beginning of

the reign of Elizabeth, until the propagation of Romish doctrines artfully inculcated that a *Woman* was incapable of holy orders, and could not claim any ecclesiastical supremacy. So also the act enforcing the penalty of one shilling on all who failed attending the reformed worship, met with a general compliance among the Papists in England, until the excommunication of the Queen; and in Ireland no penalty was requisite, because there were at first no recusants, as all of the Roman communion resorted to the Established Churches. Plowden, in his "*History of Ireland*," book ii. ch. iv. says, that "*during her whole reign, in Ireland we read of no imprisonment, banishment, or execution of any priest for the sake of his religion.*" These are sufficient answers to the numerous falsehoods propagated relative to the cruelties practised during the reign of Elizabeth against the professors of the Romish faith.

But the advocates of Papal supremacy, and the adherents of the Court of Rome, made desperate and almost demoniacal efforts to recover or retain their usurped power in Ireland. Elizabeth was anathematised, her dominions given to Philip of Spain, and it was declared lawful to slay her. The following are extracts from the Papal Bull issued against Elizabeth, A.D. 1570. It was entitled "*The Damnation and Excommunication of Queen Elizabeth.*" It commenced thus: "He that reigneth on high committed one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church (out of which there is no salvation) to one alone upon earth, namely, to Peter, and to Peter's successor, the Bishop of Rome. *Him alone he made prince over all people, and all kingdoms, to pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant, and build, that he may contain the faithful that are knit together with the bond of charity, in the unity of the Spirit.*" Then, after an enumeration of Elizabeth's alleged crimes against the holy see, his Holiness proceeds: "We do, out of the fulness of our Apostolic power, declare the aforesaid Elizabeth, being a heretic, and a favourer of heretics, to have incurred the sentence of *anathema*, and to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ. And, moreover, *we do declare her to be deprived of her pretended title to the kingdom aforesaid, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege.* And also, the nobility, subjects, and people of the said kingdom, and all others,

who have in any sort sworn unto her, *to be for ever absolved from any such oath.* And we do command and interdict all and every the noblemen, subjects, and people, *that they presume not to obey her, or her monitions, mandates, and laws.*"*

The natural result of this monstrous and unchristian system of denunciation was a series of attempts on the Queen's life in *England*, by Romish priests and their agents; and in Ireland by the most formidable efforts for the overthrow of the Queen's power.

In 1583, Somerville attempted to kill the Queen. The plot was discovered, and its author only escaped a public execution by strangling himself in prison. In 1585 Parry came into England with a determination to take the Queen's life. He was discovered and condemned. On his trial he *produced a letter he had received from the Pope, sending him his benediction with a plenary indulgence for the murder he was going to commit.* In 1586 the life of the Queen was attempted by Anthony Babington, who was discovered and executed.

In 1587 another plot was discovered to kill the Queen, devised by an Englishman of the name of Moody.

In 1592-3-4 several persons were *commissioned by the Court of Rome to poison or assassinate the Queen.*

In 1592 Patrick Cullen *received absolution and the sacrament from the Jesuit Holt, by whom it was determined a meritorious deed to kill the Queen.*

In 1594 Williams and York came over to England for the same purpose, *having first received the sacrament in the Jesuits' College.*

In 1597 Squire came over from Spain with the same object in view, namely, *the assassination of the Queen.*

It was observed by Sir Edward Coke, "that since the Jesuits set foot in England there never passed four years without a pernicious treason." Although the government of Elizabeth in Ireland was marked by clemency and justice, no means were left untried to stir up rebellion, and without even an ostensible cause.

* Elizabeth's temper was sorely fretted with the affairs of Ireland; and she frequently exclaimed that the mere mention of the subject "made her ill."—R. M. M.

The Roman Catholic historians acknowledge, that during the reign of Elizabeth, O'Nial, (who had previously, in the year 1562, presented himself in high costume at her Majesty's Court as *Sovereign* of Ulster, and who was graciously received, and dismissed with presents,) became the "*most furious and relentless enemy of England, carrying fire and sword through the whole North, burning down the reformed churches, pursuing the propagators of the Reformation, and calling up the dormant spirit of Irishmen in every corner of the island.*"

In 1580 Gregory XIII. to aid the Geraldines in their rebellion against England, issued the following Bull, wherein a war with England is considered equally as meritorious as "*a war against the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land !*"

BULL OF POPE GREGORY XIII., (A.D. 1580,) INCITING THE IRISH TO REBELLION
AGAINST QUEEN ELIZABETH.

"Gregory XIII., Pope, to all and singular the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, as also to the Princes, Earls, Barons, Clergy, Nobility, and People, of the kingdom of Ireland, Health and Apostolical Benediction.

"Whereas in recent years we have by our letters exhorted you to assist (in order to the recovery of your liberty and the defence and preservation of it against the heretics) James Geraldine, of worthy memory, (who was endeavouring, with most high-minded zeal, to shake off the cruel yoke of slavery imposed on you by the English deserters from the Holy Roman Church), and to aid him with promptness and energy in his preparations to make war on God's enemies and yours ;

"And whereas to encourage you to engage in this service with greater alacrity we granted to all the contrite and confessed, who should follow the aforesaid General James and his army, the champion and defender of the Catholic faith, and who should join themselves to him, or support his cause in this expedition, by their counsel, countenance, military stores, arms, and other necessities of war, or in any manner whatsoever, a plenary pardon and remission of all their sins, and the same privileges which have been usually bestowed by the Popes of Rome on persons setting out to the war with the Turks, and for the recovery of the Holy Land ;

"And whereas further, tidings have been recently received by us, not without deep distress of mind on our part, that the aforesaid James, in a valiant encounter with the enemy, (as it hath pleased the Lord), hath been slain ; and that our beloved son, John Geraldine, his kinsman, (of exemplary piety and heroism, which are to be attributed to God, whose cause is at issue,) hath succeeded to him in this expedition, and hath already performed many valiant deeds in his worthy struggle for the Catholic faith ; We therefore, in the strongest manner of which we are capable, exhort, require, and urge you in the Lord, all and singular, to study to aid the said General John and his army against the aforesaid heretics, by every means in your power, according to the admonitions which we addressed to

you for the regulation of your conduct toward the said James while he was yet alive.

"For We, in dependence on the mercy of Almighty God, and the authority of Blessed Peter and Paul his Apostles, do grant and by these presents bestow on all and singular of you, who having confessed and communicated, shall do the things contained in the letter aforesaid, for the said John and his army, or who, after his death, (in case it should perchance happen, which God vouchsafe to avert,) shall adhere to and favour his brother James, the same plenary indulgence and remission of your sins, as persons obtain who engage in the war against the Turks and for the recovery of the Holy Land; these privileges to continue in force so long as the said brothers John and James shall survive.

"But inasmuch as it would be difficult for these our letters to come to the notice of all who may be concerned in them, our pleasure is, that the printed copies of them also, after having been subscribed by the hand of a Notary Public, and stamped with the seal of a Church dignitary, shall be received everywhere with the same full and implicit confidence as if these presents had been exhibited or shown.

"Given at St. Peter's, Rome, under the seal of the Fisherman, May 13, 1580, in the eighth year of our Pontificate.

"CÆS. GLORIERIUS."

The above Bull is taken from O'Sullivan's "Compendium of the [R.] Catholic History of Ireland," (Tom. 2, lib. iv. cap. 17,) and it may also be seen in the History of Romish Treasons, by Henry Foulis, B.D." London. 1681, p. 306.

It may be necessary to illustrate the effect of the Romish intrigues, by adverting to some of the rebellions, whose histories prove that these insurrections did not arise from what has been unjustly called "Protestant bigotry," and at the same time demonstrate that the confiscations which took place were the inevitable result of treason, on the broadest and most dangerous scale. Whenever these confiscations are now adverted to, the cause is studiously concealed; the direful civil wars and desolation kept up by a few feudal chieftains is sedulously kept out of view; and it is never even hinted that life as well as property was forfeited for unprovoked and bloody rebellions—aided by foreign invasions.

About the year 1580, Stukeley, an adventurer of English birth, proceeded from Ireland to Rome, and persuaded Pope Gregory XIII. that he might create a son of his—Giacomo Buoncompagno—King of Ireland. The Pope created Stukeley Marquis of Leinster, Earl of Wexford and Carlow, and Baron of Ross. One thousand Italian robbers were pardoned by the Pope, on consideration of their aiding Stukeley's designs. Philip of Spain agreed to pay this banditti, not being then aware that the

Pope's son was his rival for the Sovereignty of Ireland. Stukeley was killed in Africa, along with Don Sebastian, whom he accompanied in an expedition, on the promise of subsequent aid from Portugal, in Ireland.

Fitzmaurice, (Geraldine,) in conjunction with Saunders, an English Ecclesiastic, and Allen, an Irish Priest, prevailed on the Pope to organise another invasion of Ireland. A Bull was drawn up, addressed to all the Prelates and Princes of Ireland, exhorting them to assist Fitzmaurice; a banner was solemnly consecrated; Saunders was invested with the dignity of Legate; a holy benediction was pronounced; and, with supplies of money, the "*Champions of the faith in defence of the holy Church*" were sent to Philip, who was to provide the necessary armament.

Fitzmaurice landed in Kerry with eighty Spaniards, and some English and Irish fugitives. They were joined by Sir John Desmond, who carried on a most harassing warfare, on one occasion surprising and destroying 200 of the British army. The *Papal* banner was hoisted, 700 Spaniards and Italians arrived as a reinforcement, with arms and ammunition for 5000 men, and with a considerable sum of money. The Papal troops defeated the Deputy Lord Grey, at Glendalough; and it was not until a considerable naval and military armament was despatched from England that this Popish invasion was subdued. Desmond, the chief of the insurrection, was killed by one Kelly, in a hut, whither he had fled as a fugitive; his head was brought to the Earl of Ormond, who transmitted it to England, where it was impaled on London Bridge. Thus ended the Desmond race, after four centuries of strife and fitful grandeur, with the assumed title of Princes. The lands forfeited by Desmond's rebellion for the Pope, are said to have amounted to 574,628 acres.

The rebellions of Tirowen, commonly called Hugh Earl of Tyrone, form a prominent feature in the history of Ireland. Like all other Irish insurrections since the period of the Reformation, their avowed chief object was the *supremacy of the Bishop of Rome in Ireland, and the dominance of the Romish form of religion.*

Hugh Tyrone, although of illegitimate birth, was recognised

as the active head of an ancient sept or clan. He received an English education, and improved an ordinary person by a polished exterior. His temper was subtle, insinuating, and readily accommodated to the wild manners of his countrymen, as well as to the graces of a court.

By great plausibility, Tyrone induced the Parliament, Perrot the Lord Deputy, and, finally, Elizabeth (who was much pleased with his manners, protestations of loyalty, and coincidence with her sentiments), to grant him, by letters patent under the Great Seal of England, the title and inheritance of John O'Nial, who had been attainted, and his estate vested in the Crown. The Earldom of Tyrone and its large possessions being obtained, the next step was to get permission from the Lord Deputy to maintain six companies always ready for military service; a permission which the government incautiously granted. Tyrone, by changing the men as soon as they were disciplined and had learnt the use of arms, and substituting others, soon made all his people familiar with martial tactics.

Under the pretence of building a spacious mansion-house (considered in those days a mark of civilisation and a test of allegiance), Tyrone was permitted to import a vast quantity of lead for cisterns and battlements, &c. The Ulster Scots were aided by Tyrone in their petty excursions, and a pledge exacted of their aid being given in return whenever required. At this period the storm which dispersed the Spanish Armada drove seventeen of its ships, containing 5400 men, on the north and north-west coast of Ireland. Tyrone incurred the suspicion of having entered into a formal treaty with the Spaniards, and of having concerted schemes for another invasion. Other Irish Lords, including O'Ruarc of Breffany, openly avowed their attachment to Spain, and defended the Spaniards against the Lord Deputy.

Tyrone, in order to throw Elizabeth off her guard respecting the suspicions of his treachery and treason, repaired again to England, lulled the fears of the Queen, and induced the Earl of Ormonde and Sir Christopher Hatton to become his sureties; and he returned to Ireland to mature his treachery and plans, fortified by the unsuspecting kindness and promises of Elizabeth.

On the appointment of Sir William Russell, son to the Duke of Bedford, to the office of Lord Deputy, in place of Fitzwilliam, A.D. 1594, Tyrone commenced his insurrection in the north-west and west, and Sir John Norris, a distinguished officer, was sent against him, with 3000 men. Tyrone alternately fought or negotiated, as best suited his purpose. At Blackwater Fort he obtained a complete victory over Sir Henry Bagnal, when fifteen hundred of the Queen's troops and thirteen gallant officers were slain; and the fort, with the royal artillery, ammunition, and provisions, fell into the hands of the rebels.

This action raised high the renown of Tyrone. Various other chiefs joined him—including O'Donnel, Prince of Tyrconnel or Donegal; Maguire, the Lord of Fermanagh; and Magauran, the titular or self-styled Romish Archbishop of Armagh, who was employed by the Pope as his agent, for the purpose of exciting the Irish to exertions in the cause of the Romish religion. This warlike prelate was killed in Connaught, whither he had proceeded to organise the forces of Tyrone; so also was a Romish Vicar Apostolic, named M'Egan, who issued excommunications against all who should give quarter to prisoners of the Queen's army, and who finally fell in battle, leading a troop of cavalry, with a sword in one hand and a breviary and beads in the other! Elizabeth despatched Essex to Ireland as her Lord Deputy, with the fullest powers of delegated sovereignty, and aided by a force of 20,000 men. About this time, Elizabeth received a letter from James of Scotland, informing her that Philip, King of Spain, with whom Tyrone was in secret intelligence, had prepared "twelf thousand men for Irland against the beginning of Aprile next, under the conduct of one Dom Jehan de Cordua; as also, that all the fencible men of Spain and Portugall are quinted, and of every fyfte men of thame is composed ane armie of fourtie thousand men; and for thaire transporting, thaire is aboute the number of threttie shippes and argousiers prepared and brocht out of Italie, besides a number of his own cuntrie shippes, making in all fourscore great shippes and twentie pinnaches."

The Earl of Essex effected nothing against the rebels; while Tyrone received supplies of money and ammunition from Spain,

and promises of speedy reinforcements. Tyrone issued a manifesto, 15th Nov. 1599, in which he declared himself the champion of the Romish faith, and dwelt exclusively on the interests of the Roman Catholic religion. He also made a pilgrimage to the Holy Cross of Tipperary. In conjunction with the titular Earl of Desmond and Florence MacCarthy, he wrote to Clement, praying him to take the Irish Church into the protection of Rome, and to excommunicate that incurable heretic, Elizabeth. Clement, then Bishop of Rome, sent over to Tyrone a Spanish Ecclesiastic named Don Matteo Oviedo, on whom he had the audacity to confer the title of Archbishop of Dublin. Oviedo was the bearer of supplies, and also of a hallowed plume which Clement declared belonged to a "Phoenix," and which he was desirous to crown Tyrone with, as a token of his parental affection and reverence for the "*Prince of Ulster*." The Bishop of Rome also aided him by issuing the following "Bull" against the "Heretics," or Protestants, and granting "plenary pardons and remission of all their sins" to those who would follow Tyrone and his army, who are described by the Court of Rome as "*the assertors and champions of the Catholic faith*." The Bull, which is similar to the one granted, in 1580, by Gregory XIII. to James Geraldine, runs thus—

BULL OF POPE CLEMENT VIII. EXCITING THE IRISH TO JOIN IN THE
REBELLION OF HUGH O'NEILL.—A.D. 1600.

"To All and Singular, our Venerable brethren, the Archbishops, Bishops, and Prelates; also to our beloved children, the Princes, Earls, Barons, and People of the Kingdom of Ireland, Health and Apostolical Benediction.

"Whereas we have learned, that in pursuance of the exhortations addressed to you this sometime past, by the Popes of Rome our predecessors, and by ourselves and the Apostolic see, for the recovery of your liberty, and the defence and preservation of it against the heretics, you have with united hearts and efforts, followed, and supplied with aid and assistance, first James Geraldine of worthy memory, (who exerted himself to the best of his power with most spirited resolution, so long as he lived, to shake off the cruel yoke of slavery imposed upon you by the English deserters from the Holy Roman Church;) after that, John Geraldine, kinsman of the said James; and most recently our beloved son, the noble Lord Hugh, Prince O'Neill, styled Earl Tyrone, Baron of Dungannon, and Captain General of the Catholic army in Ireland: and Whereas further, we learn that the Generals themselves and their soldiers, have in progress of time, the hand of the Lord of Hosts assisting them, performed very many noble exploits in valiant combat with the enemy, and are still ready for the like hereafter;

" We therefore, (to encourage you, and the General, and soldiers aforesaid, to exert yourselves with the more alacrity for the time to come likewise, to put your shoulder to this expedition against the aforesaid heretics,) desiring to bestow upon you spiritual graces and favours, after the example set us by our predecessors aforesaid, and in dependence on the mercy of Almighty God, and the authority of Blessed Peter and Paul, his Apostles, Do mercifully grant in the Lord, to all of you and singular, (if truly penitent and confessed, and likewise refreshed with the Holy Communion, if it be possible,) who shall follow the aforesaid General Hugh and his army, the assertors and champions of the Catholic faith, and who shall join yourselves to them, or give them help in this expedition by counsel, countenance, military stores, rams, and other implements of war, or in any manner whatsoever ; and also to the said General Hugh and his soldiers all and singular, we grant, a plenary pardon and remission of all their sins, and the same indulgences as have been usually allowed by the Popes of Rome to persons setting out for the war against the Turks, and for the recovery of the Holy Land : our decretals concerning the not granting of indulgences in such form, and on the occasion of receiving the Jubilee year's indulgences, and any other apostolic constitutions and ordinances to the contrary, (if this be requisite) notwithstanding.

" But inasmuch as it would be difficult for these our presents to come to the knowledge of all who may be concerned in them ; our will is, that the printed copies of them also, having been subscribed by the hand of a Notary Public, and confirmed by the seal of a Church Dignitary, shall be received everywhere with the same reliance on their authority, as would be placed in these presents.

" Given at St. Peter's, Rome, under the seal of the Fisherman, April, 18, 1600, in the ninth year of our Pontificate.

" M. VESTRIUS BARBIANUS."

The above Bull is taken from Collier's Church History ; see the collection of Records at the end of that work. No. 97.

Let us pause for a moment to comment on these proceedings. Tyrone, an illegitimate son—and even, if legitimate, not the real head of his sept—is invested by Elizabeth with an earldom and vast possessions ; he is forgiven many offences at different times ; and great local powers are conferred on him. Without even any alleged grievance, he enters into alliances with the King of Spain and the Bishop of Rome, for the destruction of that power to which he had on several occasions taken a solemn oath of fealty ; and he earnestly laboured for the overthrow of a religion by which he had not been persecuted, but under which he had experienced the greatest toleration and freedom. " Let us," says Tyrone, " join altogether to deliver the countrie from the infection of heresy, and for the planting of the Roman Catholic religion." And in his correspondence with the Lord Deputies, he insisted that the Roman Catholic religion should be the established, exclusive, and national religion of Ireland. The war was not

therefore merely against English rule, or for ambitious objects. It was a war of religion, and amply illustrates the absolute necessity of the penal laws, which were only brought into effective operation when life and property were no longer secure for those who differed from the *Roman Catholic* faith.

Lord Mountjoy, who succeeded the Earl of Essex, A.D. 1600, in the government of Ireland, proceeded vigorously against Tyrone, who had captured Lord Ormonde, and cut off Sir Warham St. Leger and Sir Thomas Norris. Tyrone, beaten in several actions, was obliged to retire to his fastnesses. In 1602, the Spanish fleet, under Don Juan D'Aguila, with 6000 of the best troops of Spain—then deemed invincible—appeared off Cork, and finally anchored in Kinsale and in Baltimore. Fortunately, Lord Mountjoy had dispirited Tyrone and his followers in the North; so that the Spaniards, who were animated with the hope of finding the whole kingdom burning with the same religious devotion “to destroy the heretics,” were disappointed at the reception they experienced.

The Spaniards took several forts, which it was asserted were “*held for Christ and the King of Spain*,” and Tyrone, with the remnant of his northern forces, proceeded to the aid of the Spaniards, who were reinforced by six ships, under the command of Alphonzo Ocampo, containing 2000 troops with ordnance and ammunition, which were landed at Castlehaven. Intelligence also arrived that more troops and supplies would follow. The whole country, from Kinsale and Limerick westward, declared in favour of the invaders. All the Irish and several of the English race cast off the mask of submission; and the cry of “*Ireland for the Irish*” was raised by Tyrone in 1603—as it now is—under the pretended garb of “peace” and “loyalty,” in 1843.

Tyrone with his army cut off communication with Cork. Elizabeth, however, made the most strenuous efforts for the preservation of Ireland. The Earl of Thomond was despatched from England with 1000 men; 2000 infantry and some cavalry landed at Waterford; and Admiral Sir Richard Leviston arrived at Cork with ten ships of war, 2000 infantry, and supplies of military stores. It is not necessary to detail the military proceedings; suffice

it to say, that the Lord-Deputy first defeated Tyrone, with the loss of 1200 slain and 800 wounded; the Spaniards were routed, hemmed in, and finally capitulated and evacuated the country.

Tyrone now presented himself before the Lord-Deputy Mountjoy, and on his knees made the most unqualified submission, renouncing for ever the name of O'Nial, with the titles and estates thereto appertaining. Scarcely had he done so, and obtained pardon, when he heard of the death of Elizabeth, on which he burst into tears, denouncing his precipitation, and lamenting the opportunity of striking another blow. Every effort was, however, made to conciliate Tyrone; on the accession of James, an act passed the Irish Parliament, A.D. 1603 (Jac. 1, p. 3, m. 12), in which, after reciting the offences of Tyrone, yet, in consideration of his "unfayned repentance," and having "abandoned his adherence to all forreinyne prynces, and offered himself in his oune person to doe service upon any other rebels within that realme of Ireland," he was "confirmed into his state and condition of a good subject and in the rancke and dignitie of an earle," and so forth. The act prohibited any stigma being for the future cast on Tyrone for the past, and he was restored into royal grace and favour.

But Tyrone was too deeply imbued with the spirit of Romanism to remain quiescent; he engaged along with the Earl of Tyrconnel and other Irish lords and gentlemen of the North in a new plot and treason; assistance was solicited from Spain and Brussels, and the war was to commence by surprising the Castle of Dublin, and murdering the Lord Deputy and his council. These proceedings were being organised at the same time as the gunpowder plot was forming in England (A.D. 1605); but the plot being discovered, Tyrone and Tyrconnel fled to the Continent, never to return; and the vast tracts of country which they and other traitors held in Ulster were escheated to the Crown,* on which

* By an act of the Irish Parliament, 33rd Henry VIII. Sess. 2, ch. iv., nobility was constituted a fortification of the realm. Grantees of the Crown confederating to the amount of treason with rebels, attempting war or invasion, transgressing in any part their duty of allegiance, or not performing the covenants in their letters patent, forfeit their honours, lands, &c. These covenants were ordered to be inserted in all gifts or grants by the Crown.

James proceeded to plant Ulster with Scotch and English colonies ; one of the wisest measures—excepting the Union—ever adopted for Ireland.

During the reign of James I. no laws were proposed in Ireland against the professors or teachers of Popery ; even the bill for keeping the anniversary of the 5th of November for ever was silently laid aside ; invidious acts against the native Irish were repealed ; Tyrone was pardoned his last rebellion ; and Sir James Gough, one of the recusant Papist deputation to England, gave out, on his return, that he had the King's commands to the Deputy for allowing free exercise of the Romish religion, provided only they should entertain no priests who should advocate the deposing power of the Pope. This toleration did not bear any mark of religious persecution. But these lenient proceedings emboldened the Papists to make still greater efforts for the restoration of their supremacy ; hence the gunpowder plot and various other treasons ; and the organisation of another rebellion by the lately pardoned Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel.

During the reign of James, the Pope organised a distinct Romish Church for Ireland which did not before exist, and which in the ensuing reign, and indeed ever since, has been the fruitful parent of dire and innumerable ills.

The origin of this new Romish hierarchy in Ireland, and which it is artfully, but falsely, asserted belongs to the "ancient religion," is thus described by Philip O'Sullivan, a Romish Author, who, in 1621, was living an exile at the Court of Spain, and who admits that, in 1621, all the Irish sees were occupied by Protestants, and that there were but four nominal or titular bishops connected with the Romish Church in Ireland, two only of whom resided in Ireland, and the other two abroad.

"In Ireland likewise," says O'Sullivan, "there are some still attaching themselves to the religious orders ; still more are receiving ordination for the sacred office. These administer the sacraments, assist such as are firm in the faith, establish the wavering, support the falling, raise up the downcast ; they expound the Holy Gospel, preach to the people, expose the artful designs of the heretics. The more frequently they are ordered to quit the kingdom, the more readily they remain in it, and even flock together to it. To avoid being observed by the English, they dress themselves in the apparel of lay persons, and represent themselves, some as merchants, or

medical men, some as knights equipped with sword and dirk, others under other characters and pretences.

"But in order that there may be priests in all parts of the kingdom to attend to the cure of souls, a salutary plan has been set on foot ; for the better understanding of which we are to recollect, that in Ireland there are four archbishoprics and a large number of bishoprics ; and that at the present day (A.D. 1621) they are all held by ringleaders of heresy, (*i. e.* Protestant bishops,) and that (R.) Catholic prelates are not appointed to their titles unless in some few instances, for this reason, that without the ecclesiastical dues it seems that such a number of bishops could not support their rank and consequence. For which reason four (titular) archbishops who have been consecrated by the Roman pontiff, are appointing priests, or clerks, or persons of the religious orders, for vicars-general in the suffragan bishoprics, with the sanction of the apostolic see. These latter again appoint others for the charge of the parish churches. And Eugene Macmagauran, the (titular) archbishop of Dublin, and David O'Carney, of Cashel, encountering great perils and immense labours, are personally feeding the sheep belonging to their archbishoprics. While Peter Lombard, (the titular) archbishop of Armagh, and Florence O'Melconry, of Tuam, (who for many reasons is unable to live safe from the English in Ireland,) have entrusted the care of their provinces to vicars."

Many other statements might be quoted to prove that the existing Romish Church is an innovation ; that it is not the ancient Church of Ireland, but that, on the contrary, the existing established or Protestant Church is, as near as time and circumstances will permit, the pure church which existed in Ireland previous to the Synod of Cashell (A.D. 1172), and anterior to the success of Romish and foreign priests and creeds in Ireland.

We may now proceed to an examination of the disastrous consequences that followed the formation of a Romish Church in Ireland—as exemplified by the rebellion, and the massacre of the Irish Protestants in 1641, and in subsequent years.

The religionists, now termed "*Roman Catholics*," were, properly speaking, "*Dissenters*" from the reformed or *restored* Church of Christ ; and but for the intrigues and discontent of the Bishop of Rome and his emissaries, they would have gradually merged into the Established Church, or formed an inconsiderable body of dissenters, after the manner of the Presbyterians.

But Papacy had, by means of Wickliff, Huss, Luther, and other reformers, received a deadly blow, and it was resolved to make the most powerful efforts for the renewed domination of the crafty Italians at Rome, who viewed England and Ireland as the richest domains for plunder, and for the extension of their spiritual

control over men. Ireland, by reason of the character of the people, its insularity, and its distance from the seat of supreme government, and the predominance in its parliament of members not strongly opposed to the subtile pretensions of the Court of Rome, was deemed the most fitting field for the concentration of the intrigues and force of Rome, whose Bishop, Pope Urban VIII., by a Bull, in 1626, exhorted the Irish to die rather than take that "*pestilent oath of supremacy to an usurper, who had wrested the sceptre of the Catholic Church from the vicar of Christ.*" With blasphemies such as these the susceptible minds of the people of Ireland were continually filled, and the most sanguinary principles were daily inculcated from the altar by Romish priests.

The favour with which Charles I. was said to regard the Romish religion; his preference for arbitrary to constitutional power; the influence which his Queen, Henrietta, a *Romanist*, and daughter of Henry IV., held over the mind of the king,—all conspired to encourage the measures of the Bishop of Rome. And let it not be said that those who were in favour of the Romish doctrines were at this time oppressed; on the contrary, *a majority of the Irish House of Commons were Roman Catholics*, and the Roman Catholic Peers sat in the Council; many of the magistrates and sheriffs were of the Romanist persuasion; any statutes against the "*Recusants*," (as the Romanists were then termed), were a dead letter; the Protestants and the Recusants lived intermixed; both went publicly to their places of worship during the reign of James I. and Charles I., down to the morning of Saturday, 23rd October, 1641, when the massacre of the Protestants commenced. I repeat, that previous to this rebellion, and notwithstanding the conduct of the Romanists and their rebellions and foreign intrigues in the reign of Elizabeth, the Romanists laboured under no disadvantages inseparable from a state religion. They were simply required by law, under a penalty of one shilling, to go to the National Church, and *hear the Scriptures read and taught, conformable to the usage of primitive Christians.* Even this enactment was not enforced.

The prospect of disorder, rebellion, and weakness in England,

was, in the reign of Charles I., as in the reign of Victoria I., hailed with delight by the foreign or Romish party in Ireland. Charles I. sent over Lord Falkland as his deputy, with secret instructions as to the Papists (or followers of the Pope). The more tolerant that Falkland became, the more encroaching and exacting became the Papists. The Protestants were alarmed, Falkland was recalled, and Archbishop Loftus, Lord Ely the chancellor, and Richard Lord Cork the treasurer, were appointed the Lords Justices. They endeavoured to stop the encroachments of the Papists, but were soon commanded to desist by Charles ; this was hailed as a triumph by the Papists; and a fraternity of Carmelites, in the habit of their order, made a public procession, celebrating their forbidden rites in the streets of Dublin. The Archbishop of Dublin, and the chief magistrates of the city, ordered some troops to disperse them, but the Carmelites and their followers fought the soldiers, and compelled their retreat.

The objects sought by the Court of Rome were the same as those now professed—namely, “*Ireland for the Irish.*” This pithy but comprehensive expression meant that Ireland was no longer to be a part of England, and that the Romish, and not the English Church, was to be supreme. To this was added the formation of an Irish republic under the spiritual sway of the Pope. These objects were first concealed, and, as it will be subsequently seen, were afterwards openly avowed.

The vigorous despotism of Strafford for a time kept down the attempt to carry these ideas into execution ; but the Court of Rome warily ever bides its time : it is immaterial who may be Pope or Bishop of Rome—the *same principles* are sedulously, quietly, but effectively maintained and put in force when the opportunity serves. For fourteen years previous to 1641, the Irish rebellion was in course of organisation by emissaries dispersed throughout Ireland. In 1634, Heber M'Mahon, an Irish clergyman, gave information to Strafford of a general rising being intended, and which was to be assisted and headed from abroad. Strafford, a man of bold character, and whose secret instructions from Charles were to get the support

of the Roman Catholics, little heeded the information—made some ordinary preparations, and directed the proceedings of the Irish agents abroad to be watched and reported to him.

The plans of the conspirators were organised on the Continent, and their Ecclesiastical agents were poured, swarm after swarm, into Ireland. The English ministry received intimation of an unusual ferment among the Irish at the foreign Courts, and that some conspiracy was forming. Vane, the Secretary of State, was directed to inform the Lords Justices that “there had passed from Spain and other foreign parts an unspeakable number of Irish Churchmen for England and Ireland, and some good old soldiers, under pretence of raising levies for the King of Spain, and that it was whispered by the Irish Friars in that kingdom, that a rising was shortly to be expected in Ireland.” Vane added, particularly, “in Connaught.”

The necessary precautions were immediately taken in Connaught, which prevented the rebellion arising there; but all the other parts of Ireland, being unsuspected, were neglected.

The principal avowed actors at the beginning of the rebellion in Ireland, were Sir Phelim O’Nial, who had been educated in England, at Lincoln’s Inn, had been a Protestant, but relapsed into Popery and alienage from England. Richard Plunkett, also educated in England, Lord M’Guire, and Roger Moore who had been much abroad, and when there had been imbued with a hatred of Protestantism and England, which were then synonymous. The family of Moore was at one time powerful, and had been expelled from their possessions during the reign of Mary.

Roger or Rory O’Moore was graceful in person, of engaging manners, of ready pliability to the habits around him, apt at discerning the characters of his associates, ambitious, vain, accomplished, and brave. He was therefore naturally beloved by his countrymen: songs in his praise were everywhere sung, Irish military standards were wrought with his name, and the national countersign was “*God, our Lady, and Roger Moore.*”

Moore was the chief agent of the Court of Rome in the rebellion, and he scrupled at no falsehood or act to ensure the success

of the diabolical scheme which the Pope had entrusted to his management.

On Strafford's execution, the Lords Justices of Ireland were Sir William Parsons, an intriguer, and Sir John Borlase, an aged and indolent soldier. The period was deemed favourable, and several meetings of the confederates were held, when the day for the general rising was first fixed for the 5th October, 1641; but it was subsequently resolved that on the 23rd October, the Castle of Dublin should be surprised, and that, if possible, on the same day, all the forts and garrisons throughout the country should be simultaneously seized. The more moderate of the Papists recommended that the English and Protestants, when at their mercy, should be simply banished, as the Moors had been from Spain: and it was a pretty generally adopted idea, "as soon as Ireland was conquered, that an army of 30,000 men should be sent into England, aided by supplies from France and Spain, to reduce the whole island of Britain to the Pope's obedience, and afterwards to chastise the Hollanders."* In Ireland the design was to repeal every English statute, to establish the Roman Catholic religion and hierarchy in affluence, pomp, and power; to expel the British settlers, and reinvest all the old proprietors, or their descendants, with their former estates; to refuse all connection or intercourse with England, and to confiscate the goods of all who opposed the new order of things. The more politic gave out that they were "taking up arms to support the royal authority against the rebellion of the people of England," and a spurious document, with an old seal of the king's attached, was circulated to give authenticity to the report. At a meeting of the Romish clergy, they deliberated and settled affairs as if they were already masters of Ireland.

The discovery of the intended rebellion was as remarkable as that of the Gunpowder Treason. On the eve of Friday, 22d October, 1641, the Lords Justices had not the slightest idea of

* See *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniæ*, ab A.D. 1152 usque A.D. 1827, Part I. page 60. Almost every statement in this Chapter will be found confirmed and amply detailed in the Official Record from which these facts are taken.

one of the most wide-spread conspiracies probably ever organised, —so powerful is the Romish faith over even the tongues of its supporters. In the Castle of Dublin there were but eight warders and forty halberdiers; but there were also 1,500 barrels of gunpowder, arms, match and bullet, accoutrements for 10,000 men, and thirty-five pieces of artillery; all of which the rebels eagerly expected to possess. On the 22d, and in the evening, a Protestant named Owen O'Conally was incautiously made acquainted with the plans that were to be adopted on the following morning; and, after narrowly escaping with his life, he hurried off to the Castle and acquainted the Lords Justices. Instant steps were adopted; several of the principal conspirators in Dublin — including M'Guire and M'Mahon — were seized; despatches were sent to the Lords President of Munster and of Connaught to provide for the common safety, and the Earl of Ormond was summoned to repair to Dublin with his troops. But all communication with the North was cut off; the conspirators rose at the appointed time in their different quarters, and were generally successful.

On the evening of 22d October, Sir Phelim O'Nial invited himself and his friends to sup with the brave and hospitable old General Lord Caulfield, the governor of Charlemont Castle, then a place of great consequence. They were received with the most cordial hospitality; and while at supper, on a signal given, the noble host, his family, and the castle were simultaneously seized, and the place was ransacked. Sir Phelim then hastened to Dungannon Fort, which he soon occupied. The town and castle of Mountjoy were seized by some of his followers. Tanderagee was surprised by the sept of O'Hanlon; Newry was betrayed to Sir Conn Magennis; almost all Fermanagh was occupied by Roger M'Guire; the sept of Mahon seized every place of strength in Monaghan; Lurgan was surrendered on conditions by Sir Wm. Brownlow; O'Reily and the sheriff, his brother, who were Roman Catholics, and then representatives in the Irish Parliament for the county of Cavan, headed their followers and occupied several forts and castles which were surrendered to them. The

county of Longford was summoned to arms by its Popish sheriff; and every castle, house, and plantation of the Protestant inhabitants were seized. Leitrim followed this example; and within eight days the rebels were complete masters of eight entire counties, and nearly of two others; and Sir Phelim O'Nial was at the head of 30,000 men, great quantities of arms, ammunition, and stores having fallen into the hands of the rebels.

The Protestants everywhere mingled with the Papists, on the most friendly terms; and, without any real or assumed superiority, were so completely stupified and confounded with the suddenness of the insurrection, that they were incapable of any combined efforts for the mutual defence; those who heard of the commotions in their neighbourhood remained at home to protect their families and property, and thus fell, one by one, an easy prey to the rebels. In conformity with the hypocritical pretence of the present day, and its existing and most dangerous agitation, so, in 1641, the cry at first was, "*a peaceable revolution*," "*no bloodshed*," "*no personal violence*," "*loyalty to the sovereign*."

Mr. Rowley Lascelles, in his valuable *official Reports*, "*Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniæ*," printed in 1826-7, records the following awful but authentic facts, and which will amply explain why the penal laws were *subsequently* rigorously enacted against the Romanists—not merely because they were of a different form of religion, but because no man's life was safe from their conspiracies and horrible plots:—"Upon the repulse of Sir Phelim O'Nial from the castle of Augher, he ordered *all the British Protestants in three adjacent parishes to be put to the sword*. Upon his defeat at Lisburn, *Lord Caulfield, O'Nial's former host, and fifty other prisoners were murdered*. Others of their prisoners, on pretence of forwarding them to the nearest British Settlement, were *goaded forward like beasts of burthen by their guards; some were inclosed in a house or in a castle, to which fire was set, with a savage indifference to their cries, and a fiendish-like triumph over their expiring agonies! Sometimes the captives were drowned in the first river they arrived at; ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY WERE AT ONCE THROWN HEAD-LONG FROM THE BRIDGE OF PORTADOWN; Irish ecclesiastics*

encouraging this deed by their presence. The very women, it is said, embred their hands in the blood of these helpless hostages; even children were seen playing unconsciously with their feeble hands in gore!"

Such is the dreadful but true statement made by the late Mr. Rowley Lascelles, of the Middle Temple, who was appointed by Government a few years since to examine the Irish State Records and Rolls, and whose work has been printed by Government as an authentic document.

It would be painful to narrate the demoniac deeds of this unprovoked rebellion; but in order that the allegation respecting the origin of the penal laws may be fully understood, the following extract from the "Annals of Ireland," with the official evidence, is given:—

By Sir Phelim O'Nial's express order, Lieutenant James Maxwell, brother to Dr. Robert Maxwell, afterwards Bishop of Kilmore, was dragged out of his bed, raving in the height of a burning fever, driven two miles, and murdered; his wife, great with child, stripped stark naked, and drowned in the Blackwater—the child half born. Mr. Starkey, aged an hundred years, was, with his two daughters, stripped naked, the daughters forced to support and lead their father, and, having gone three quarters of a mile, they were all three drowned in a turf pit. (*Dr. Maxwell's Examination*, p. 9, and *Examination of Captain John Perkins, of the County Tyrone*, pp. 6, 7.)

Five hundred Protestants were murdered at Armagh, besides forty-eight families in the parish of Killaman. (*Captain Perkin's Examination*, p. 6, and *Anthony Strafford's Examination at Armagh*, p. 2.)

Three hundred Protestants were stripped naked, and put into the church of Loughgall, whereof about an hundred were murdered in the church, amongst whom was John Gregg, who was quartered, and his quarters thrown in the face of his father Richard Gregg. The said Richard Gregg was then murdered, having received seventeen or eighteen wounds, and his body was quartered in the presence of his unfortunate wife, Mrs. Alice Gregg, who made an affidavit of the foregoing circumstances before Dean Jones, and the other Commissioners appointed for the purpose of ascertaining the cruelties practised by the rebels. (*See Borlase's Appendix*, p. 111.)

Fifteen hundred Protestants were murdered in three parishes in the County of Armagh. (*James Shaw's Examination*, p. 1.)

Two-and-twenty Protestants were put into a thatched house in the parish of Kilmore, and there burned alive. (*Examinations of Smith, Clerk, Fillis, Stanhaw, Tullerton, Machet, and Constable, of the County of Armagh, and also of Captain John Perkins, of the County of Tyrone.*)

The Rev. Mr. Robinson, his wife, and three children, were drowned. Mr. William Blundell was drawn by the neck in a rope up and down the Blackwater, at Charlemont, to make him confess his money, and in three weeks after, he, with his wife and seven children, were drowned. Forty-four other persons were murdered,

at several times, in the same place, where, among other horrible acts, a wife was compelled to hang her own husband. (*Examinations of Edward Saltenstall, George Littlefield, and Margaret Bromley, of Armagh.*—See *Borlase's Appendix*, p. 110.)

One hundred and eighty Protestants were drowned at the bridge of Callon, and one hundred more in a Lough near Ballymacilmurrough. (*Captain Anthony Strafford's Examination at Armagh*, p. 2.)

Fifty Protestants were murdered at Blackwater church. The wife of Arnold Taylor, great with child, had her belly ripped up, and was then drowned—Thomas Mason was buried alive—the brains of three Protestants were knocked out with a hatchet in the church of Banburb—eight women were drowned in the river near the same church—and Mrs. Howard and Mrs. Franklin (both great with child,) were murdered with six of their children. (*Examinations of Fillis, Stanhaw, Frankland, Smith, Clerk, Tullerton, Price, Harcourt, and Parry, of the County of Armagh.*)

In the County of Tyrone, the Rev. John Mather, and the Rev. Mr. Blyth, though they had Sir Phelim O'Nial's protection, were murdered with SIXTY PROTESTANT FAMILIES of the town of Dungannon. (*Examinations of John Perkins, Esq., of the County of Tyrone, and Captain Anthony Strafford, of the County of Armagh.*)

Between Charlemont and Dungannon, about 400 were murdered, and 206 were drowned in the Blackwater and the river of Banburb. Thirteen were murdered in one morning by Patrick MacCaware, of Dungannon. Two young rebels killed one hundred and forty women and children, and the wife of Bryan Kelly, of Loughall, murdered five-and-forty with her own hands. Robert Bickerdick and his wife were drowned in the Bwatelack, where Thomas and James Carlisle, and ninety-eight persons were put to death. Three hundred were put to death on the way to Coleraine, by order of Sir Phelim O'Nial and his brother Tirlagh, and three hundred were drowned in one day, at a mill-pool in the parish of Killamoon. (*See the Examinations of Carlisle, Perkins, and Stratford; or Borlase's Appendix*, p. 123.)

In this dreadful persecution, those who through fear had conformed to Popery, though few in number, did not escape the fury of the rebels—but they were the last who were cut off. The rebels about this time, lest they should be charged with more murders than they committed, commanded their *Priests* to bring in a true account of them—from which it appeared, that from the 23rd of October, 1641, to the month of March, 1643, *one hundred and fifty-four thousand Protestants were murdered*, whether in Ulster, or the whole kingdom, Doctor Robert Maxwell, who saw the return, darst not venture to inquire. (*Dr. Maxwell's Examination*, p. 7.)

“ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FOUR THOUSAND PROTESTANTS MURDERED.” !!!—Pages—volumes indeed—might be filled with these dreadful deeds, which were perpetrated under the sacred name of religion, which was used as a means of hardening the heart to the cries of suffering humanity.

Hume, in the sixth volume of his History, page 410 to 436, styles this insurrection as a rebellion without provocation, and worthy to be held in perpetual detestation and abhorrence. The English, as heretics abhorred of God, were marked out by the priests for slaughter; and, of all actions, to rid the world of

these declared enemies to Romish faith and piety, was represented as the most meritorious deed ; and while their victims were in the agonies of death, the shouts and imprecations of their demoniac assassins rung in their ears, that their present sufferings were but the commencement of eternal torments.

Well indeed has it been observed by Mosheim* that “ the maintenance of all liberty, civil and religious, depends on circumscribing Popery within proper bounds, since Popery is not a system of innocent speculative opinions, but a *yoke of despotism* : an enormous mixture of priests and princely tyranny, designed to enslave the consciences of mankind, and to destroy their most sacred and invaluable rights.”

The greater part of Ireland was at the mercy of the Papists in 1642 ; the life and property of no Protestant was safe, and the Bible was everywhere, and in a most ignominious manner, burnt or destroyed.

The Lords of the Pale—namely, Lords Fingal, Gormanstown, Slane, Louth, Dunsany, Trimleston, and Netterville, although at first professing peace and loyalty, soon openly co-operated with the rebels, and with about one thousand principal gentlemen, joined Roger Moore (who styled himself the Champion of Church and State), at the Hill of Tara, from whence manifestoes were sent into Connaught and Munster. The establishment of Ireland as a “ Romish nation” was now carried into effect ; a general synod of all the Romish clergy of Ireland was convened at Kilkenny, in May, 1642.

The first act of this assembly was to declare the rebellion “both *just and necessary*.” They ordained provisional courts subordinate to a *great national council* ; sent embassies to foreign powers, and in particular to the Bishop of Rome, to solicit further aid ; framed an oath of association in appointing the members of the supreme council, and appointed a general assembly of the *Nation* in October, 1642, of which Lord Mount Garret was chosen President. The “ *Nation* ”—consisting of Popish spiritual and temporal lords, with special Popish deputies from every county and

* Appendix to Ecclesiastical History of the 18th Century, page 59.

city in the possession of the rebels—met at Kilkenny, 25th Oct., 1642. It continued its sittings as a parliament from day to day, and was divided into an upper and lower house.

It will be perceived that the project of 1842-43—of having 300 delegates of the “Nation” in Dublin, at the “Repeal Hall,” is quite in unison with the proceedings of 1642. The records of this Popish assembly at Kilkenny are now before me, and the coincidence of the measures there adopted is exactly in accordance with the avowed and unavowed but known objects and intentions of the present Repealers. A supreme council was formed out of twenty-four persons, to be chosen by the general assembly. This council was to exercise the executive and judicial powers, and a guard of five hundred infantry and two hundred cavalry was assigned for the protection of the council.

A great seal for the “Nation” was ordered; “all persons of whatsoever nation adhering to the English to come from them to the Romanists by the end of November.” On the 28th October, 1642, “a committee appointed to inquire how money and munition come from foreign parts hath been disposed of;” on the same day, ordered, that “Mr. Baron shall bring into this house, in writing, the proposition and messages from foreign parts, committed to him from the Pope’s Nuncio and others.” A committee of the Earl of Castlehaven, Viscount Gormanstown, and representatives from each province, were appointed “to lay down a model of civil government;” the oath of association was ordered to be administered to every person, by all the priests in their respective parishes.

Nov. 13th, 1642. “30,000*l.* in money to be applotted, and levied forthwith in Leinster, for the public service.

“14 th. Supreme council to have the disposition and management of the admiralty of the seas for the public use and service.”

Commissioners were appointed to negotiate with foreign princes and states; coin was ordered to be struck; the members of the assembly were ordered to be paid so much per day; an institution and order of knighthood concerning the honour of St. Patrick was ordered to be prepared; martial government was established

in different districts, and the rebellion was styled a "*holy war*." I have also before me "the instructions to be observed and pursued by the Lord Bishop of Fernis, and Nicholas Plunkett, Esq., commissioners appointed and authorized by and in behalf of the confederated Roman Catholics of Ireland in the Court of Rome," dated "Kilkenny, 18th January, 1647," and also those to France and Spain, of the same date; they are signed by all the Roman Catholic Prelates and others; but it would be superfluous to quote these treasonable papers.

It should be remembered that this rebellion and its consequences occurred *before there was any civil war in England*. Innocent X. was at this time Bishop of Rome; he rejoiced at the rebellion in Ireland, and sent over to Ireland as his Minister, or Nuncio, John Battista Rinuncini, Archbishop of Fermo, a Florentine, of noble birth, eloquent and graceful, but of a fierce and superstitious fanaticism. Rinuncini, who arrived at Kilkenny 12th November, declared that he was the instrument appointed by Providence for the "reconversion of the British islands," and soon took upon himself supreme authority in Ireland. For a time there was a murderous contest between the forces of Lord Ormond on behalf of Charles, and of General Preston on behalf of the Council,—and of various other chiefs, viz., Owen O'Nial, Lord Inchiquin, the Scottish General Monroe, Lord Blaney, and others; but in these times, as in all similar contests in Ireland, the arts and intrigues of the Papacy prevailed over every competitor. Mr. Lascelles, in his official report,—after narrating the defeat of Ormond, aided by the Marquess of Clanricarde and Lord Digby,—says, "Soldiers and officers, the gentry as well as the country people, flocked round this vain prelate (Rinuncini), breathing vengeance against the Ormondists (the supporters of the English monarchy) and clamouring for *religion*, for the *clergy*, and the *Pope's Envoy*. In a moment, all that power which the confederated Roman Catholics had so long exerted—the whole dignity and authority of their assemblies, together with the authority of their councils, were utterly dissolved and lost. *A few ecclesiastics seemed absolute lords of the island*, and were so to all

intent and purposes. The Nuncio (Rinuncini) made his public entry into Kilkenny *with all the pomp of royalty; and all affairs, civil and ecclesiastical, were resigned to his absolute control.*" The Members of the Supreme Council (the rebel or popular Council assembled at Kilkenny, and mentioned at page 347) and other promoters of the treaty (a treaty of peace with Ormond) were imprisoned; and Rinuncini wrote to Rome for instructions respecting the ceremonial between the Papal Minister and the Chief Civil Governor of Dublin, whom Rinuncini was about to appoint.

To trace the progress of the rebellion up to the arrival of Cromwell, in 1649, would be beyond the limits of this work; suffice it to say, that the bonds of civil society were utterly broken. Murder and pillage, under the pretence of religion, stalked with hideous fury through the land: there was no principle of Royalty, or Puritanism, or Parliamentism, in the ascendant—nothing but Romanism in its most intense bigotry, but without even the poor advantage of its temporal as well as moral despotism, triumphed. Several hundred thousand people perished by the sword, by fire, by famine, and by pestilence,* until the whole nation was more like a set of infuriated savages broke loose from restraint than like a congregation of human beings. To Oliver Cromwell belongs the merit of having restored order, of having secured peace, and of having re-established the foundations of civil society.

Cromwell landed in Dublin, 15th August, 1649, with a veteran army, a formidable train of artillery, a good supply of money and military stores. Previous to the arrival of the Protector, the Prince of Wales was proclaimed King of Ireland, and Prince Rupert was expected with a fleet and succours. The statesman-like mind of Cromwell saw at a glance, that terror must be diffused at once throughout Ireland, as a speedy means of restoring order and peace. His first act in Dublin was one of clemency—he offered "*indemnity and protection to those who would*

* Seventeen thousand Protestants perished by the plague in Dublin, in one summer only, not to mention the casualties by war, famine, and disease. From 1641 to 1651, Ireland lost *one-third* of its population.

submit to the Parliament; and having regulated all matters, whether civil or military, he appointed Sir Theophilus Jones Governor of Dublin, and took the field with 10,000 men. The city which had most engaged the attention of both parties was Drogheda; its position on the high road to Ulster—the strength of the fortifications, which were well defended by a large body of picked troops under the command of a distinguished Roman Catholic officer, Sir Arthur Aston, aided by many other skilful officers, and with ample supplies of provisions and military stores to sustain the longest siege, rendered its immediate capture an object of the highest importance, and decisive of the fate of Ireland. Instead of sitting down to a formal siege, which his enemies expected, Cromwell summoned the Governor to surrender at discretion, and on receiving a refusal he opened a cannonade for two days. A breach being effected, the British troops twice attempted to enter, and were twice repulsed. Cromwell headed his men on the third assault: the contest was most fierce; but the besiegers were finally triumphant; and the garrison, it is said, were put to the sword, the fight having only ceased when there were no longer living but a few of the brave and infatuated defendants. The effect of this terrible slaughter was soon manifest: in a brief period, Trim, Dundalk, Carlingford, Newry, Lisburn, Belfast, and Coleraine, in the North,—Wexford and Ross, in the East,—the chief garrisons of Munster—declared for Cromwell:—Carlow, Kilkenny, Carrick, Waterford, Dungarvan, Clonmel, Naas, Athy, Maryborough, Castledermot, and other places, were all reduced; and in six months, of which four were in the winter season, Ireland was saved from final ruin.

The short-sighted moralist may condemn the fearful slaughter at Drogheda; but, in reality, it was an act of mercy to all Ireland. During the recent commotions at Bristol and Nottingham, a few efficient rounds of grape-shot, and a vigorous charge of cavalry—by which a few score of unfortunate human beings might have suffered—would at once have suppressed the riots, and saved the lives of many hundreds. This apparent severity is therefore an act of mercy. Thus was it with Cromwell: the example of

Drogheda was a death-blow to his foes ; he knew well that the battle of Worcester had yet to be fought ; Scotland was to be conquered ; and the salvation of the three countries depended on the success of Cromwell's efforts to restore the dominion of the law in Ireland.

England, Scotland, and Ireland, owe a great debt to Oliver Cromwell, whose bones lie buried where Tyburn-Gate once stood, and whose character has yet to be impartially written. Like all men of great minds, Cromwell believed himself a chosen instrument in the hands of Providence. Wise in council, brave in the field, hating foreigners and Papal domination, and ardently attached to England and her religion, Cromwell collected the fragments of broken regal power ; and although surrounded by anarchy and intrigues at home, and by enemies abroad, he gave peace to our distracted borders ; consolidated more firmly than they had ever before been the interests of England, Ireland, and Scotland ; and, as he himself proudly boasted, "*made the hair of an Englishman's head feared and respected in every part of the world.*"

The lands of Sir Phelim O'Nial and other rebels were most justly confiscated, and given principally to the soldiers who had restored order, and to those who had advanced money for the army and Government. If men possessed of property will rebel and unhinge the whole fabric of society, it must not be deemed tyranny to confiscate the estates of the rebels ; for this is one of the best safeguards for the quiet enjoyment of property, and the maintenance of a stable Government.

The benefits which Cromwell conferred on Ireland were so great, that it is stated by Leland, the Roman Catholic historian, that many of the clergy did not scruple to insinuate, that if they must submit to an *heretical Government*, they might as well submit to Cromwell as to Ormond. Some were said to have even offered up prayers for the success of the Parliamentary General. So effectual were the measures adopted by Cromwell, that Mr. Lascelles notes, "it is remarkable that in less than two years after Clanrickarde had left Ireland, (in 1652, by which the ten years'

rebellion was terminated), the new Government seemed perfectly established." Lord Clarendon says, there were numerous buildings raised for ornament, as well as use, with orderly and regular plantations of trees, fences, and inclosures *made throughout Ireland*.

Purchases, too, were commonly made at very valuable rates, and jointures settled on marriages, with all other conveyances executed as in a country which had been long in peace, and was now likely to remain in tranquillity.

The Protector summoned forty Representatives from Ireland to the British Parliament, and thus in reality the interests of both countries were consulted. Mr. Lascelles, although strongly objecting to the arbitrary and unconstitutional Government of Cromwell, after adverting to his clemency towards the Roman Catholics, says: — "Cromwell's Government of Ireland now (A.D. 1653) and afterwards, under his son, was the most popular that country ever experienced before or since. In the administration of justice, and in all matters as between man and man only, his administration was worthy of the greatest legislator, and of the best king."

It is very remarkable, that Cromwell's Government of Scotland is, by the confession of all writers, allowed to have been the most popular in that country also.

Finally, the administration of Cromwell in Ireland was "singularly able, discreet, and popular," and "addresses were transmitted from the inhabitants of every county in Ireland, expressing their resolution of adhering to the Protector against all those who, from their particular animosities, would endeavour to re-imbroil the State." Yet it is among the calumnies of the present day to vilify the Irish Government of Cromwell, and thus endeavour to influence the minds of the ignorant and prejudiced against the British and Protestants.

At the period of the Restoration, an Irish Parliament was assembled in Dublin, and a resolution was passed by the Commons, that no man should sit in that house who had not taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The Roman Catholics refused to

do so, and were rightly excluded; but it was not on *religious* but on *civil* grounds that they were excluded. The terms "*Irish rebel*" and "*Irish Roman Catholic*" were at that time synonymous, and those who had suffered by ten years' desolating civil war, commenced by the Romanists without cause, and aided by the Bishop of Rome and the Kings of Spain and France, would have been false to their country, if, after the past melancholy events and the fatal experience they possessed, they had neglected the obtainment of some bulwark for the preservation of peace and of civil liberty.

To designate these wise and indispensable precautions against future rebellions as "Protestant bigotry" and "religious animosity" is a gross perversion of truth. But although the Romanists refused to disavow allegiance to any other chief except their Sovereign, yet they were not interfered with in the free exercise of their religion, which was then celebrated in Dublin with extraordinary splendour. Commissions of the peace were granted to professed Papists, and Popish aldermen and a Popish common council existed in Dublin. Charles II. was in heart a Roman Catholic, as far as his libertine life would allow him to profess any religion; and he was disposed to grant every claim that the Romanists might make.

During the reign of Charles, plots against Protestantism were always hatching in Ireland, and his death alone prevented the completion of a most formidable conspiracy, as wide-spread as that of 1641, but better organised. It was resolved to recal the Duke of Ormond, to "remodel the army in Ireland," that is, form it of Romanists. Richard Talbot, champion of the Popish party, was to be invested with the Lord Lieutenancy. The details of this plot were never fully divulged; the Duke of York was one of the chief leaders: but Providence in its mercy saved Ireland from another massacre, at a period when the Papists were to the Protestants as *fifteen to one*.

We now arrive at the events of the reign of James II., who ascended the throne, February 6, 1685; and whose reign fortunately lasted (like that of Mary) for only a brief period, namely,

two years and a half. Bred a Roman Catholic by his mother, James made the most violent efforts for the restoration of the Romish power. The Earl of Castlemain was sent as his agent to the Pope, with the submission of the King, to prepare for the real subjection of England to Rome. The King attended mass in state. Four Romish Bishops were consecrated in the King's chapel, and then despatched throughout the country as "Apostolic Vicars." Six Protestant Bishops were thrown into the Tower for their defence of the Protestant religion, and various other acts were done, not only against the Established Church, but also in conformity with the true spirit of Popery against the liberties of the people. But in Ireland, where the number of Protestants was still so few, the measures adopted for the elevation of Popery were most alarming.

The Roman Catholics were proportionally elated, and the Protestants depressed, on the accession of James. Ormond, the Protestant, was recalled, and Forbes, Lord Granard, appointed Deputy. James, in a letter under his own hand, assured Granard that nothing should be done to prejudice the established religion: a promise neither kept nor intended to be kept. The Irish Militia which had been embodied, armed, and disciplined by the Duke of Ormond, and composed entirely of Protestants, were next compelled to give up their arms, and this at a time when there were strong rumours of another Protestant massacre like that of 1641. Bands of robbers, called informers, started up and swore that various Protestants had formerly spoken against the King when Duke of York; and any Roman Catholic, whether from revenge, interest, or prejudice, could thus cause the imprisonment of a Protestant and the confiscation of his property.

A petition for a general reversal of the outlawries, occasioned by the rebellion of 1641, was prepared and received; the great seal of Ireland was taken from Primate Boyle; three Protestant Judges, without any objection whatever being alleged against their conduct, were removed and replaced by three Roman Catholics—Rice, Nugent, and Daly; and these, with other Popish lawyers, were admitted into the Privy Council, without

being required to take the oath of supremacy. The King refused to fill the vacant Archbishopric of Cashel, as the revenues of this and of other sees were to be given to the Romanists. Orders were issued by the King for the Priests to appear publicly in the habits of their order; the Protestants were prohibited to treat of *controversial* subjects from the pulpit; Roman Catholics were ordered to be admitted into all Corporations, and into the offices of Sheriff and Justices of the Peace: and Richard Talbot, now Earl of Tyrconnel, a Romanist, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Several Corporations were dissolved; others were compelled, or induced, to resign their Charters; the pension (then almost its sole subsistence) of Dublin University was stopped; and the heads of a Bill were framed under pretence of relieving the distressed and injured Irish, which unbinged the whole settlement of the country, and gave the King absolute discretion over the entire landed property of Ireland!

The effect of these proceedings was soon manifested. It was openly declared that not one Protestant would be left in the army; and now that the Romanists had arms, they would soon take the land. *Tenants were cautioned not to pay any rents to ENGLISH Landlords, and the Popish Clergy forbade the payment of tithes to PROTESTANT incumbents.* On Lord Clarendon's delivering over his Deputyship to the Earl of Tyrconnel, he embarked for England, and was attended or followed by "*fifteen hundred Protestant families.*" Many merchants sold their effects, and abandoned a country where they clearly foresaw the re-establishment of Popery and a convulsion of the Government. This was the very course which the Papists wished; then, *as now*, their object was to disgust and drive all Protestants and moderate men of property from Ireland,—to intimidate many by the murder of some—and to do so under pretence of grievances about land, and not on account of religion.

It is unnecessary to follow the proceedings of James, which led to his final expulsion from England on 31st December, 1688; but so well were his plans laid in Ireland, that, upon the landing of the Prince of Orange, at Torbay, Tyrconnel, the Lord Deputy,

issued commissions for levying troops; the Priests urged their followers to fly to arms; and in every quarter of Ireland an armed rabble started up, who called themselves the "King's soldiers." The Protestants received intelligence of an intended general massacre; some fled to the coasts, and crowded in any vessel they could obtain, to England, abandoning, for the sake of their lives, their lands, houses, property, and business. Others took refuge in walled towns and Protestant garrisons; collected the arms still left among them, and resolved to die in defence of their religion and liberty. The cities of Londonderry and Enniskillen finally became the only strongholds for the Protestants, and English interest; the whole of Ireland being in the hands of the Roman Catholics; and Tyrconnel, the Roman Catholic Lord-Lieutenant, was at the head of an army of nearly 40,000 rebels.

James, aided by France and Rome, resolved on attempting to create a separate and Popish kingdom in Ireland. On 12th March, 1689, attended by fourteen ships-of-war, six frigates, and three fire-ships, James landed at Kinsale; his body-guard consisting of 1200 Irish, English, and Scottish Roman Catholics, with one hundred French officers, and attended by the Count d'Avaux as ambassador from the King of France. Tyrconnel met James at Cork, where, to show his zeal for the Romish Sovereign, he executed a Protestant magistrate, who ventured an opposition. James made a triumphal entry into Dublin, with the "Host" borne before him in solemn procession, which he devoutly adored, to the delight of the attending Priests. The first thing done was to prohibit any Protestant being a Member of the Privy Council; the Fellows and Scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, were turned out of the University by the soldiers of James; the communion plate, library, furniture, and property (of some o'noxious members in particular) were seized; the College chambers converted into prisons; and the College chapel into a magazine. Christ Church, Dublin, and other places, were converted into Roman Catholic chapels; and the Protestant clergy, for the most part, were deprived of their ordinary subsistence. A mock Parliament was convened in Dublin, in which various new Popish

peers, and those whose outlawries were reversed, sat; a Bill for repealing the Acts of Settlement passed, with a preamble, which exculpated the Irish from the rebellion of 1641; and with a clause, declaring *forfeited the estates of all those dwelling in any of the three kingdoms since 1st August, 1688*, who did not acknowledge James, or who aided or corresponded with those in rebellion against him. Another Act of this *truly Irish* Parliament involved in one undistinguished attainder all the adherents of King William, and affected to preclude James from the power of pardoning after 1st November, 1689. A third Act *vested the personal estates of absentees in the King*. And it should be added, that not more than *five* Protestants were permitted to assemble together. Such was an Irish Parliament under James II. Such would be another Irish Parliament under any leader who would *even promise* to hold Ireland in subjection to Rome,—destroy the Protestant religion,—and to separate Ireland from Great Britain.

Space is not afforded me to trace, even in outline, the details of the struggle between James and William in Ireland; it is impossible, however, to examine the dreadful history of this war between Protestantism and Papacy without seeing the protecting power of supreme Providence over the advocates of a pure worship. A small city like Londonderry, defended not by soldiers, but by its citizens, and suffering from treachery within, although perishing for want of even the most loathsome food, and daily destroyed by pestilence, withstood for months the furious cannonades of James at the head of twenty thousand troops, and was finally triumphant. At the battle of the Boyne, where the fate of England as well as that of Ireland was decided, William was wounded, and had repeated, (almost miraculous,) escapes with his life. Under Divine permission, William, at the head of 36,000 brave, experienced, disciplined, and well-appointed English, Dutch, and Danish troops, finally expelled James from Ireland, and Dublin became again the chief seat of British Government. Drogheda, Waterford, Duncannon, Wexford, and Clonmel, were next taken possession of by William in person; Marlborough, after some severe losses, reduced Cork and Kinsale; Ginckel (one of

William's generals), with 18,000 men attacked and beat St. Ruth (a French general), and Sarsfield, advantageously posted at Aughrim, and commanding 20,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry; who had been (just previous to the battle) promised by their priests "the most ravishing prospects of eternal life," if they would slay the heretics.

Limerick, which William had besieged in vain in 1690, capitulated in September 1691, to General Ginckel, after the besiegers, in a terrible assault, had made a lodgment within ten yards of Thomond Bridge, and slain 600 of the enemy, whose bodies filled the bridge up to the battlements, driven about 150 into the river, who perished, and taken 126 officers and soldiers prisoners. Two days after the surrender of Limerick, a formidable French fleet arrived in the river Shannon, for the relief of General Sarsfield and the Irish and French garrison; the fleet had on board 10,000 men, with abundant supplies of arms, ammunition, stores, and provisions. The capitulation of Limerick terminated the hopes of James in Ireland, and the unhappy country which, for many years, had been made the arena of foreign intrigues and Popish influence and plots against England, again enjoyed a temporary repose under the British government.

Before passing from this subject, a brief allusion may be made to what is called the "Treaty of Limerick," meaning the terms on which the garrison capitulated, and which it is erroneously alleged were violated by the Protestants. An abstract of the act of Parliament (William III. ch. 2,) is now before me; and I perfectly agree with Mr. Lascelles, as stated in his official report, that "*All the conditions were on his part punctiliously fulfilled by William.*" The first conditions sought by the Limerick garrison were too extravagant; the second, which were conceded, were, that the Irish Roman Catholics should enjoy their religion as in the reign of Charles II.; that all included in the capitulation should enjoy their estates, callings, and professions as in that reign under the acts of settlement and explanation; their gentry should be allowed the use of arms, and that no oaths should in the meantime be required of any except the oath of allegiance

Free liberty was given to all to retire with their effects to any other country, and the Irish army were to be permitted to enter into any foreign service, and to be conveyed by the British government to any part of the Continent at the cost of government. Although William was then engaged in a dangerous Continental war, he refused to avail himself even of the observation that the act for the conveyance of the Irish troops abroad was surreptitiously inserted into the treaty; and rather than delay the performance even of this stipulation, disdaining all scruples as well as apprehensions of any kind, the king put his own service to considerable inconvenience, the numbers to be conveyed to the Continent being so considerable that it required three several fleets of transports for their embarkation. The Parliament which met after the treaty of Ryswick confirmed the articles of the Limerick capitulation, taking the year 1666, the date of the act of settlement, as also the last sitting of any regular Parliament in Ireland, as the standard whereby to declare the legal state of the Roman Catholics. "In all history there is not perhaps so distinct and perfect evidence of a treaty fulfilled *beyond the letter of it* as this very treaty of Limerick. There cannot be a more signal instance of disingenuous assurance and want of candour than for any person at this day to select the transaction of the Treaty of Limerick as an imputation of the good faith of the English King, or of the Irish Parliament." *

The report of the commissioners appointed to examine into the Irish forfeitures, stated that the number of persons outlawed on account of James's rebellion in 1689, was 3,921; and that the lands forfeited contained 1,060,792 (Irish) acres, and that some of these lands had been restored to the old proprietors by virtue of the capitulations of Limerick and Galway; others by reversal of outlawries, and by royal pardons. It will thus be seen that rebellions against the constituted authority for Papistical objects were the parents of the confiscations in Ireland, as well as of the Penal Laws.

We may pass over the events during the reigns of Queen Anne

* Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniæ, vol. i. p. 95.

and her successors; whether the object were that of a Pretender to the throne of England, or the aiding of a foreign enemy against the British Empire, the Irish Papists have ever been the class to be used by artful intriguers. The invasions of the French at Carrickfergus in 1760 (at the very period when the Duke of Bedford openly professed to favour the Roman Catholics); at Bantry in 1796 (consisting of 20 ships of the line, 15 frigates and transports for 20,000 men),* at Killala in 1798, were, under Providence, frustrated as to any serious results, by the efforts of the Protestants of Ireland and of the British government; so also the unprovoked Popish rebellion of 1798, which was very near being a successful massacre and insurrection throughout the island.

The singular and unnatural society termed "United Irishmen," was, at its commencement, free from religious differences; but, ere long, the evil genius of Ireland (Romanism) triumphed, and a bloody rebellion ensued, in which deeds were perpetrated that would disgrace a herd of demons. Mr. Rowley Lascelles, in his official report states, that after the battle of Ross, in 1798, and when the insurgents had taken Wexford, "The rebels, after causing *thirty* of their prisoners to be either picketed or shot at the hall-door of Scullabogue House, forced the remainder—to the number of *one hundred and eighty-four persons, men, women, and children*, mostly *Protestants*,—into a barn, when they deliberately consumed the barn with every living being therein by fire!" A Roman Catholic priest—Father Philip Roche,—was named by the rebels

* The French armament for the invasion of Ireland in 1796, at the invitation of the Irish rebels, consisted of twenty ships of the line, fifteen stout frigates, with the requisite number of transports for an army whose numbers were estimated at 15 to 25,000 men. Of this formidable squadron, seventeen sail—of which ten were ships of the line, anchored in Bantry Bay, 24th December, 1796. An overruling Providence saved Ireland from a terrific struggle, by scattering the hostile fleet in a storm, and inspiring the commanders with doubt and want of concord, so that the remnant only of this grand armament, part being destroyed by tempests, and part by the British squadron off Brest, returned to France, and without effecting a landing in Ireland.

This circumstance of a projected and nearly successful invasion within the memory of the present generation, ought to teach reflecting Irishmen that, with a separate Legislature and apparent distinct nationality, Ireland would ever be a temptation to a hostile Power, and probably the battle-field of Europe.

their commander-in-chief. At the battle of Arklow, in 1798, where the rebels had 20,000 men (of whom 5000 were armed with muskets, and the remainder with formidable long pikes, sustained by three pieces of well-served artillery), a Roman Catholic priest, named Father Michael Murphy, was killed by a cannon-shot within thirty yards of the British lines, while leading on a furious assault of his men, under which the royal troops quailed and were very nearly routed. At Gorey, which was in the possession of the rebels in 1798, the *Protestant Church was sprinkled and daubed with the blood of two Protestants*, who were ignominiously massacred therein, after which the rebels destroyed the sacred edifice. In Kildare, the rebels put to death Mr. Crafford, a Protestant, by *thrusting a pike upwards through his body, and then roasting him before a slow fire.* "ONE OF HIS YOUNG CHILDREN WAS ALSO PUT TO DEATH IN A SIMILAR MANNER." Mr. Boyd, an amiable, but a Protestant magistrate, had *an iron pin thrust through his nose, his hands tied behind his back, and he was left fastened to a dung-hill until he expired.* One Protestant clergyman was *bled to death in a pig-trough, after which the Roman Catholics danced and washed their feet in his blood!* Let those who believe the charge against the Protestants of Ireland of "religious bigotry," for their reluctance to confer political power on a vast number of uneducated and but *nominally* Christianised Roman Catholics, peruse, as the writer has done, pages upon pages of the most disgusting details of human ferocity, and savage fiend-like barbarity, as practised on the Protestants of Ireland in 1641 and 1798, and they will then see that this charge is, like other statements relating to Ireland, which, from being unscrupulously asserted and widely propagated, have at length been most erroneously supposed to have some foundation in truth.

And let it be remembered that this rebellion arose *after* the elective franchise had been *restored* to the Roman Catholics, and a Roman Catholic College had been established by an act of the Irish Parliament at Maynooth, and after the passing of different acts in favour of the Papists, and removing disabilities—whether as regarded the possession of property or the dictates of

conscience. Indeed, both the British and Irish Parliaments vied with each other in removing with all practicable prudence the disqualifications under which the Romanists laboured, notwithstanding the experience of the past: but this did not prevent the insurrections of 1798 and of 1803.

An examination of the debates in the Irish Parliament will demonstrate most fully that the penal laws had reference to religion only so far as it influences political conduct and public liberty.*

In the debate on the bill introduced by Luke Gardiner, afterwards Lord Mountjoy, into the Irish House of Commons in 1782, "for the further relief of His Majesty's subjects of Ireland professing the Roman Catholic religion," and which had reference to their enjoyment of property, to the free exercise of religion, to education, marriage, and self-defence, Mr. Flood—the violent opponent of the Union—said, "The laws that followed the defeat of King James were *not laws of persecution, but of political necessity.*" * * * "If you give the Roman Catholics equal power with the Protestants, can a Protestant Constitution survive?" * * * "But though we wish to extend toleration to Roman Catholics, we don't wish to shake the government; we should allow them to purchase lands, but we should *carefully guard against their possessing any power in the state.*"

* The rebellion of 1641 taught the thinking portion of the people of Ireland that their future safety depended on a perfect union with England. In the reign of Charles II. there was a Report of the Board of Trade to the Privy Council of Ireland, in which it was expressly recommended "*that endeavours should be used for the Union of the two Kingdoms under one Legislative Power, proportionably as had been heretofore done in the case of Wales.*" This suggestion was disregarded. Again, in 1703, when the Scottish Union was in contemplation, the Irish Parliament petitioned the Queen "*to promote such Union with England as may best qualify the States of this Kingdom to be represented in the Parliament there.*" The Queen's answer, after four months' consideration, was in the negative. In 1707, the Irish Parliament renewed their entreaties, and added, "*May God put it in your royal heart to add greater strength and lustre to your Crown by a still more comprehensive Union.*" The proposition was again refused; as there was a jealousy in England of the machinations of the Irish Roman Catholics, especially as exemplified in their support of James II., when Ireland was declared a "Popish Kingdom." Lord Clare, in the discussion on the Roman Catholic claims, in the Irish Parliament, in 1793, said, "*It was not until the attempt to unite the Parliaments of both countries had proved abortive that the great code of the Popery laws was enacted.*"

Among other arguments used by Mr. Flood, in relation to the observation that Protestants were tolerated in Roman Catholic countries, he said, "*The Protestants in every country acknowledged the Sovereign as head of the Church; whereas Roman Catholics look to a foreign jurisdiction in matters ecclesiastical.*" *

It has given the Author much pain to write this chapter. Willingly would he bury in oblivion the melancholy events in the past history of Ireland; but the falsehoods that have been sedulously promulgated by a few artful persons for their own private gain, the delusions that have been practised on a confiding and generous-minded people, the demoniac deeds to which several of the peasantry are now excited by fearful denunciations against the Sassenagh (Protestant), and the ruin that must inevitably fall on the innocent as well as on the guilty by a perseverance in the existing agitation, demands the publication of truth, for the sake of the well-meaning *Roman Catholics*. Let me be permitted also to express a hope that enlightened and benevolent priests, like Father Mathew, will openly abjure "*Romanism*" and become "*Catholics*"—that they will throw off all domination to a FOREIGN POWER, call a synod of their Clergy† in Ireland, and lay down Christian principles conformable to the early Church of St. Patrick. Irishmen ought to be ashamed of living in subservience to a *foreign bishop*, who has arrogantly assumed an authority which no earthly mortal possesses. Let this abjuration take place, and their Protestant brethren in England and in Ireland will welcome them with tears of joy, the baneful strife which has desolated their native land will terminate for ever, and the "*Catholics*" and the "*Protestants*" will then become one fold, under one Shepherd—nobly emulating each other in deeds of Christian charity, love, and brotherhood.

This Chapter would be incomplete without some information respecting the Protestant Church in Ireland, the amount of

* See Vol. i. p. 295, of *Collectanea Politica*, or the Political Transactions of Ireland, by William Wenman Seward. Dublin, 1801.

† The English Roman Catholics have no hierarchy. The Roman Catholic priests nominate three priests to fill a vacant bishopric; and the Pope elects one of the three at his option.

whose revenues have been so greatly exaggerated. By Parliamentary Return, No. 265, dated 10th May, 1833, it appears that the total number of benefices in the different dioceses of Ireland is 1456, of which the respective values are—465 from 30*l.* to 200*l.*; 118 to 250*l.*; 95 to 300*l.*; 84 to 350*l.*; 89 to 400*l.*; 67 to 450*l.*; 90 to 500*l.*; 66 to 550*l.*; 58 to 600*l.*; 46 to 650*l.*; 44 to 700*l.*; 36 to 750*l.*; 22 to 800*l.*; 23 to 850*l.*; 22 to 900*l.*; 17 to 950*l.*; 12 of 1,000*l.*; 10 of 1,050*l.*; 15 of 1,100*l.*; 10 of 1,150*l.*; 13 of 1,200*l.*; 2 of 1,250*l.*; 5 of 1,300*l.*; 2 of 1,350*l.*; 7 of 1,400*l.*; 2 of 1,450*l.*; 5 of 1,500*l.*; 4 of 1,550*l.*; 5 of 1,600*l.*; 3 of 1,700*l.*; 2 of 1,750*l.*; 2 of 1,800*l.*; 1 of 1,950*l.*; 1 of 2,000*l.*; 1 of 2,050*l.*; 1 of 2,100*l.*; 1 of 2,150*l.*; 2 of 2,200*l.*; 1 of 2,250*l.*; 1 of 2,350*l.*; 1 of 2,450*l.*; 1 of 2,500*l.*; 1 of 2,600*l.*; and 1 upwards of 2,600*l.* Dublin has the greatest number of benefices, viz., 114; Meath, 106; Armagh, 88; Cloyne, 75; Ferns, 63; Derry, 57; Kildare, 50; and so on throughout thirty-three dioceses.

By the Parliamentary Return, No. 81, March 24, 1835, it appears that the number of curates is 365; of whom 51 have less than 50*l.* a year; 240 have less than 100*l.* a year; and 49 have less than 150*l.* a year. There is scarcely a Roman Catholic priest in Ireland with less than 150*l.* a year—the average is 300*l.*

Parliamentary Return, No. 651, August 12, 1833, shows the then gross and net income of parochial benefices, amounting, *gross*, to 526,136*l.*, net 478,346*l.* on 1,184 returns; 272 returns not received.

Parliamentary Return, No. 264, May 10, 1833, shows that the total *gross* income of all the Ecclesiastical Corporations in Ireland is 23,606*l.*, and the expenditure on the canons, vicars choral, choir, repairs of cathedrals, &c., is 21,400*l.*

Parliamentary Return, No. 461, July 31, 1835, shows the total income of the archbishops, bishops, dignitaries, and parochial clergy of Ireland, under the then proposed bill for the “better Regulation of Ecclesiastical Revenue and the Promotion of Religious and Moral Instruction in Ireland,” to be *gross*, 434,372*l.*; net, 414,363*l.*

This statement is very remarkable. It appears that the net income of the whole Protestant Church in Ireland under the *Ecclesiastical Tithe Composition*, is but 266,771*l.* The net revenue from parochial glebe lands is 81,972*l.* But referring to the parliamentary document itself for details, it will be seen that the "*Net Income*" on the "*Amount of Rent Charges payable on behalf of Parochial Clergy*" is no more than 295,121*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* Now, taking the Protestants of Ireland in number at one million, and the church revenue 300,000*l.*, we find that the amount for their spiritual and moral instruction is only six shillings per annum for each Protestant. But when we further consider, that about nine-tenths of the landed property of Ireland belong to the Protestants, on whom the incidence of any taxation must ultimately fall, we are justified in inquiring the actual amount per head throughout Ireland, with reference to the Protestant Church. Taking the inhabitants of Ireland in round numbers at 8,000,000, and the net income of the Protestant Church in round numbers at 400,000*l.*, we find that the whole taxation of Ireland in support of the Established Church is *one shilling per head per annum*. Can this be considered a national grievance? Can this be rightly viewed as a cause of suffering in Ireland?

Lord Bernard, M. P., in an excellent speech during the last Session, on the Protestant Church of Ireland, said:—
 "With reference to the operations of the Church and the application of its wealth, he would not enter into the statements made by the Noble Lord on the previous evening, but merely recite some statistics of a diocese with which he was acquainted. The Diocese of Cork during Bishop St. Lawrence's incumbency had 10 unions broken into 22 benefices, 28 curates promoted, 25 new places of worship erected, 81 scriptural schools; additional resident clergymen—20 rectors, and 23 curates. Since 1831, in Cork, Cloyne, and Ross—new churches, 12; churches building, 2; licensed places of worship from want of churches, 45; glebe-houses built by clergymen, the commissioners being unable to build them, which fact proved the fallacy of a surplus

revenue; in 1726 there were but 141 glebe houses; in 1800, after nearly a century, but 295: in 1820 there were 768 glebe-houses, an increase of 473 in 20 years; in 1806, resident beneficed clergy, 693; curates, 560; in 1830 the number was nearly doubled, amounting to 1,200, with about 750 curates, a total of about 2,000; in 1843 the number of officiating clergy exceed 2,000, with church property reduced 70,000*l.* per annum, and a quarter from the remainder. The reduction of clerical income since 1833, amounting to 40*l.* per cent., has prevented the dissolution of unions and employment of additional curates. On the other hand, in his evidence before the Lords, Dr. Doyle stated the average income of the Roman Catholic clergy of Kildare and Leighlin to amount to 300*l.* per annum; the income of the Scottish clergy averaged 200*l.* per annum, exclusive of house and glebe. The building of glebe-houses, except from private sources, had ceased since 1833; one of the very strongest arguments that the revenues of the church of Ireland were insufficient to support the clergy of that church; he need only appeal to the fact, that at the present moment there was an institution in existence for establishing additional curacies in that country. He was a member of that association, and was sure that if its funds were sufficient ten times as many clergymen could be instantly employed. He called upon hon. gentlemen to remember, that at the time of the Emancipation Act, as far as pledges and words could go—and pledges were supposed to bind any national party,—they had the assurance of the Roman Catholics of Ireland that they would be content if they got their civil privileges, and there was their sworn evidence before the committee of the House of Lords that they had not a wish or intention to interfere with the property of the Protestant Church of that country.”

The Protestant clergy are well-educated gentlemen, scattered over Ireland, and with their refinement of mind, and hospitality of feeling, may each be viewed as an oasis in the desert. In many districts I found the Protestant and Roman Catholic clergymen of the parish living on the most amicable terms; exchanging the friendly intercourse of life, and ready to aid each other in

works of charity and goodness. It is earnestly to be hoped that this good feeling and Christian principle may be perpetuated and extended ; and that in future the only rivalry between the Protestant and "Catholic" creeds will be, which shall do the greatest amount of good to the poor and destitute.

The points substantiated in the preceding pages are—

1st—That the early Irish Church was a pure church, and for several hundred years after its formation not only free from the domination of the Bishop of Rome, but in direct hostility to its doctrines. Consequently, that the "*Ancient Church of Ireland*" is the Apostolic—and not the "*Romish Church*," which was one of dissent and innovation. The "Protestant Church," as it is now called, is therefore the pure and ancient Faith and Apostolic Church of Ireland, and, as such, entitled to claim the hereditary endowments for its Ministers in the same manner that they are vested in the Ministers of the Established Church in England.

2nd—That the penal laws and the confiscation of property that have taken place in Ireland since the Reformation, were not the result of so-called "religious bigotry," or of "English tyranny," but the inevitable consequence of many and most formidable rebellions to destroy the lives of all those who professed the pure and ancient Faith of the country, and to abolish the free and constitutional principles of the land.

3rd—That the Irish Church as by Law Established is essential to the maintenance of public liberty,—equally conducive therefore to the peace, happiness, and civil liberty of the Roman Catholics and other Dissenters,—and merely adequate in income to the existing due fulfilment of its sacred and national functions.

PART VII.

CONCLUSION.—IMPERIAL AND FEDERAL ALLIANCE.

CHAPTER XIII.

Imperial and Federal Alliances ; — Effects of each Illustrated ; — Royal and Legislative Incorporations of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland ; Parallel Proceedings in 1798 and 1843 ; — Disastrous Consequences of a Separation, and Imperative Necessity for Preserving the British Empire in its REGAL and LEGISLATIVE UNION.

I HAVE now brought to a conclusion a detailed examination of the charges preferred against England ; and an impartial public will decide whether those charges be true or false, and whether the Legislative Union has been a curse or a blessing to Ireland.

Although this work has been enlarged beyond the original intention, and several important documents still remain unpublished,* yet there is one subject requiring a few words of expla-

* It may be necessary to observe that the statistics and documents in this work are all derived from Parliamentary Papers or public documents. *Not one figure has been obtained from Government.* The materials from whence the work is prepared may be purchased at Messrs. Hansards', the Printers to the House of Commons, and are thus accessible to all. *Without the slightest aid from any individual* these materials have been unsolicitedly collected, prepared, and printed in a few weeks by incessant labour day and night, sustained solely by a consciousness that the subject was of national importance, and deserved prompt and serious consideration. A large part of the work was in the hands of the printer, and printed *before* the suppression by Government of the Clontarf Meeting—October, 1843. Ten years ago, in 1833, the Author published a work entitled "Ireland as it was—is—and ought to be ;" which, at the time, effectually aided in suppressing the Repeal agitation ; and while advocating the maintenance of the Union, he has also unceasingly urged an investigation of the real wants of Ireland, and an application of those remedies for her relief to which she is most justly entitled. The necessity for condensation has prevented the addition of various interesting matter, while the special nature of the question discussed, has precluded an investigation of the resources of Ireland, and of the means proposed for the advancement of that country.

nation—namely, the nature of a “Federal” and an “Imperial” Union, in reference to the propositions set forth by the Irish Repealers.

The space and time afforded for the discussion of this topic are very limited, but the facts detailed in the preceding pages demonstrating so fully the great and manifold advantages derived by Ireland from the Imperial Legislative Union with Great Britain, render this branch of the subject of comparatively minor importance. A few general propositions may be premised to illustrate the point under discussion.

In all States desirous of permanence, *Supreme* legislation must exist somewhere, for the purpose of giving force and authority to the executive government. If the seat of supreme power be distant from the places governed, then subordinate legislatures may be created with delegated powers for local purposes. But those inferior legislatures must necessarily act in complete conformity and obedience to the supreme authority from whence they have their origin, and by whose sanction they exist; they are, therefore, liable at any moment to be abrogated, and their rights may be revoked at the will of the originating power, to whom they owe their existence and continuance.

This general principle applies more particularly to an *Imperial* Government, like that of England, which is spread over a vast extent of the globe, and comprises various nations, speaking diverse languages, and differing in their degree of civilisation. Such a government is peculiarly adapted to a free people, with constitutional rights duly appreciated, vigilantly protected, and in its democratic influence balanced by a limited monarchy, an hereditary aristocracy, and an established uniformity of religion identified with the State.

A *Federal* Government, on the other hand, consists of a union of several States, claiming each equal rights, authority, and power; with independent legislatures,—scarcely acknowledging any controlling authority, either in the form of an individual ruler, or of a supreme assembly, and bound together more by mutual inclination than by any governing power acting in unity.

for the general good. The United States of North America may be viewed as an example of what is termed a *Federal* Government. As the revolted colonies were first confederated, they were too loosely united to form a general body, and the necessity of constituting a supreme assembly, or congress, at Washington was soon felt. Still more recently—as in the case of M'Leod—one State by its act (New York) had nearly involved every other State in war with England. Congress have now passed an act compelling each State to submit such questions to the general government and Congress at Washington. Thus, step by step, the government at Washington will become an Imperial Government, or, if not, a dissolution of the Union will take place, feuds, and ultimately war, will ensue between the different States—Northern and Southern,—several fierce democratic republics will be created, and finally some military despot will crush each republic, and consolidate all into an absolute government. If no Imperial Representative government, with a limited monarchy and hereditary aristocracy, be established in the United States—such will be the inevitable result of several States holding separate parliaments. It is the cycle of events in unison with the passions of mankind, and in conformity with the history of all nations, Pagan or only nominally Christian.

It is obvious, on reflection, that the *Federal* Union is a primary stage of society, and an *Imperial* Government a marked and indispensable step towards civilisation. The history of mankind amply illustrates the truth of this observation. A Federal Union has in it no principle of preservation; discordant interests soon arise; petty passions, private jealousies, local feuds, exercise a baneful influence; direful contests arise; and, after long and harassing wars and desolation, the union of federalised states is either disintegrated into separate and hostile governments, or the iron heel of despotism crushes the discordant materials into an indiscriminate mass, to be ruled by brute force at the mercy of an individual tyrant. In all ages and in all countries such has been the inevitable course of federalised states. Athens had her federal allies in the Ægean Sea, and was destroyed. So also

Sparta subsequent to the Peloponnesian war. Carthage and her republican federation also fell, as did Rome and its Italian and foreign municipia. Egypt, Syria, and Lydia were federally allied to the Persian monarchy. Hindostan was a collection of federal states, nominally under the authority of the Great Mogul, on our arrival in India; but the whole peninsula, with one hundred and fifty million of inhabitants, rapidly yielded to British sway on the slightest pressure of our power. Turkey, Egypt, and Syria is another illustration of the effect of federalisation, although differing in degree from that of other states. So also the Germanic Union, the Swiss Cantons, the Italian States, and the Union of Hungary and Austria, under one crown; all either feeble and ineffective for general defence against a common enemy, or daily threatening a separation of their union, or a concentration of despotic power. The Netherlands, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the Duchy of Milan, were separate States with local Governments, but under a common head—the King of Spain; each was placed under a viceroy, the *Alter ego* of the Sovereign, with delegated powers. The inevitable result was a separation, although originating from various causes. This, however, strengthens my argument. It demonstrates that there is in the body politic, as in the human body, a dissolving ingredient always at work,—requiring care, vigilance, counteractives, and continual restoratives, all under the control of a single organ, adapted for their reception, which influences the power of the executive whence emanate the functions of thought for the government of the whole frame. These remarks hold equally good whether applied to a conjunction of several representative states, or to an assembly of several nations under a despotism. Napoleon attempted the federal alliance of several states, under his own control as Emperor of France, namely, the kingdoms of Spain, Italy, Naples, Holland, Westphalia, and the Confederation of the Rhine. Even his master-mind failed, notwithstanding the vast military power which he despotically wielded, and that the sovereigns of the different states were either allied to him by blood, or creatures of his own formation. Our own country affords a

remarkable illustration of the two forms of government, federal and imperial, in its different stages of civilisation. When the Romans first landed, A.D. 83, they found England and Wales divided into *seventeen* separate kingdoms, with a nominal ruler over all. The result was that each kingdom fell separately and rapidly a prey to the invaders. On the withdrawal of the Romans, (A.D. 446,) the different Saxon chiefs founded different dynasties, and divided England into seven kingdoms, but the weakness and imperfection of this federation were felt on the incursions of the Danes, and a single sovereignty was established in England under Egbert, (A.D. 827,) from whom Queen Victoria is lineally descended.

The foundations of the power of England were now laid; and the *Imperial Union* of the remainder of the British Isles was the consequent result. Up to the year A.D. 1282, Wales was a separate kingdom from that of England; and the Welsh possessed their own language, laws, customs, and sovereignty. As might be expected, there was constant dissension and hostilities between the two countries. Periods of foreign war or internal disturbance in England were sure to be accompanied by Welsh aggressions, ravaging incursions, and imperious demands. Edward I. wisely determined to put an end to this source of national weakness; and on Llewellyn, the Welsh king, refusing to do homage for his sovereignty to Edward, an English force was marched into the country, Llewellyn was slain in battle, the Welsh Kingdom was destroyed, Wales was annexed as a Principality to the English Crown, national animosity and distinctive rights were abolished, and the people were united under one Sovereign, one government, and one code of laws.

Edward I. wisely refused to permit any Parliament* to be

* The first authentic record of any assembly or parliament being held in Ireland was in the third year of the reign of Edward II., at Kilkenny, A.D. 1310; and the same year, there was another assembly or parliament held at Kildare. These assemblies were for local purposes, and for the purposes of registering and enforcing the orders and edicts of the Sovereign and Parliament of England. The relative numbers of the English, Oastmen, and Celts, or Irish, in Limerick, after the junction of Ireland to the throne of England, is shown by an entry in the *Rotulus Placitorum* of Edward II. (A.D. 1201): "*Recognitio facta per sacramentum, 12 Anglorum, et 12 Ostmannorum, et 12 Hibernensium, de terris, ecclesiis, et cæteris pertinentiis ad Limericensem ecclesiam spectantibus.*"

assembled in Ireland. In the eighth year of his reign, the Irishmen in Ireland petitioned the King, that His Majesty would, out of his special grace, grant that they might for the future use and enjoy in Ireland the "*lawes and customes of England*." Edward, then bent on uniting England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland in one kingdom, would do nothing therein without the advice and consent of the *English inhabitants* in Ireland, whom he commanded by a certain day to assemble, and to examine whether it would be for his and their damage to grant the petition, and further to certify unto him, the King, their opinion thereof, under the seal of his Chief Justice in Ireland or his Lieutenant, before his next Parliament at Westminster, that he might by the advice of his Council do what should be thought expedient therein. The extant roll of this is marked [Pat. 8 Ed. 1. m. 13 Hibern']. There is no answer on record to this petition. But in this and subsequent reigns there are records of licenses granted by special favour "to some particular Irish, to use the laws of England there, and to be tried by them," which is evidence that no such general license as petitioned for was granted.

After the union of Wales with England, the next legislative and social improvement to be desired was a similar incorporating union between England and Wales on the one part and Scotland on the other. The necessity of this measure was long felt; and the want of a union between the two countries gave rise to frequent wars, bitter feuds, and desolating incursions along the borders of England and Scotland. The masculine, patriotic, and prescient mind of Edward I. clearly perceived the manifold advantages of conjoining Scotland as well as Wales and Ireland in one government; and by the nomination of Baliol as his Deputy in Scotland, and his formidable invasions of that country at the head of one hundred thousand men (A.D. 1296), he prepared the way for its final annexation to the English Crown. When on his deathbed, his last injunction to his son was, never to rest until Scotland, like Wales, was reduced to one sovereignty. The weakness of his successor (Edward II.) and the foreign wars of Edward III. prevented the completion of this desirable measure. The wary policy of Henry VII., which

induced him to marry the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. (A.D. 1485), and thus blend indissolubly the hitherto antagonistic Houses of York and Lancaster, also led this subtle and politic monarch to marry his eldest daughter Margaret to James IV., King of Scotland. Their son, James V., was succeeded by his only child, the beautiful but unhappy Mary, who was driven from the throne of Scotland by her own subjects for her crimes. On the death of Elizabeth without issue, the crowns of England and Scotland were united in the person of James VI. King of Scotland (the son of Queen Mary), who now became James I. of England.

But, although the thrones of Scotland and England were thus filled by one Sovereign, two separate parliaments still existed—the materials for disunion and animosity remained, and an occasion was soon found (A.D. 1627) for open hostilities. War was formally declared by Charles I. (previous to the Civil Wars) between England and Scotland as between two foreign nations, *although the two kingdoms were united under one sovereign*. Thus also would it be, were an endeavour now made to rule Ireland by a separate parliament, although under one crown. Cromwell, after conquering Scotland, wisely caused an Act of the English Parliament to be passed, abolishing Royalty in Scotland, annexed it as a conquered province to England and Wales, and, as he also had done with regard to Ireland, empowered Scotland to send a certain number of representatives to the English Parliament. During the tyrannical and dissolute reign of Charles II., parliaments were again unfortunately permitted to be held in Scotland and in Ireland, thus perpetuating the great evil of separate legislatures which Cromwell had prudently abolished. The expulsion from England of James II., and the wars in which William III. was engaged in Ireland and in France, prevented attention being devoted to the state of Scotland; but after the accession of Anne, and the arrangement of preliminary articles (the Union being opposed in both countries), a final incorporation of the legislature of Scotland with that of England and Wales happily took place A.D. 1707, a century after the union of the two

Crowns, and the title of Great Britain was assumed. Scotland was to send forty-five representative Members and sixteen Peers to the United Legislature; a communion of privileges and advantages was declared; the Scotch Courts of Judicature remained intact; perfect freedom of trade and intercourse was ordained, and all laws except those which concerned private rights were to be similar throughout the United Kingdoms.

The only remaining measure for the perfect consolidation of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, was the abolition of the *dependent* and *subordinate* legislative Assembly of Ireland and the complete incorporation of that country with Great Britain. From the period of the landing at Waterford of Henry II. (A.D. 1172), Ireland was a mere dependency of the British Crown, with a subordinate government and subordinate legislature, but with no distinctive rights or coequal powers.* In

* In referring to the distracted state of Ireland in the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, it is forgotten, or studiously concealed, that intestine feuds among the native Irish themselves were the most frequent causes of disturbance. It was also unfortunate that the followers of Henry II. were principally Norman chieftains, imbued with all the feudal feelings of the age. A rivalry soon arose between these Teutonic races, the Celtic, Norman, and Oastmen chiefs, or heads of Septs, who sided with the Kings of Connaught, or Meath, or Ulster, as interest or passion predominated. Thus, the English, as the Anglo-Normans were called, soon became "*ipsis Hibernicis Hiberniores*;" and made war against each other at pleasure, and not unfrequently they threatened the Sovereign or his Deputy. The Geraldines, the Desmonds, Butlers, and many others, who are now claimed as "Irish," were Englishmen who settled in Ireland, and became feudal barons. Mr. Lascelles, in his Report—referring to the year A.D. 1333—says, "English freeholders in whole bodies at a time threw off their name, character, dress, and language, and became Irish. *Desmond himself, an English baron, and a descendant too of an English baron*, expelled all the English settlers from his immense estates, which were soon occupied by his Irish followers; he became an Irish chieftain, acknowledging no other title or law." Desmond obtained the title of Earl from Edward III., erected his demesnes in Tipperary into a Palatinate, and held a *Parliament at Kilkenny at the very moment the Lord-Lieutenant had convened another in Dublin*.

The English chiefs, thus converted into Irish Barons, erected their separate estates into County Palatines. Sir John Davis says, that "the absolute Lords of these Palatinates made barons and knights, exercised high justice in all points within their territories, erected courts for civil and criminal causes, and for their own revenues, in the same form in which the king's courts were established; they constituted their own judges, seneschals, sheriffs, coroners, and escheators: so that the king's writs did not run in their counties which took up more than two parts of

1782, this *dependent* condition was raised into a sort of federal alliance,—that is, the Irish Parliament was allowed to initiate legislative measures; but their confirmation depended on the will of the sovereign, and on the signature of an English Minister who was responsible to the British and not to the Irish Parliament. The Irish Lord Lieutenant was also appointed by and subject to the British Ministry; and in 1789 (after the loudly proclaimed independence of Ireland), the Duke of Buckingham, then Viceroy, refused to carry to the Prince of Wales the addresses of both Houses of Parliament, on the ground of his oath of office to the English Government.

Even this partial federal alliance would have caused a final separation, had not an Imperial Union taken place in 1800. This measure (as stated at page 363) had long been sought and petitioned for by the Irish people and Parliament, in the reign of Charles II., in 1703 (before the Scottish Union), and in 1707, but was refused by the British Parliament and Sovereign. Time and circumstances—so essential to the growth and development of sound opinions—compelled in 1800 the adoption of a union between Great Britain and Ireland, as the only alternative to a political and national separation; and a century after the junction of the *independent* Scotch Legislature, the *dependent and subsequently federalised* Irish Legislature was incorporated with that of England, Wales, and Scotland: thus at last conjoining all four in *one United Kingdom, under one Crown and one Parliament*. The immense benefits of this quadruple union have been gradually but surely developing for many years; and since the commencement of the present century, the four Kingdoms or States conjoined in the representative legislature under one Sovereign have defied a world in arms; United Britain has

the English colony, but ran only in the church lands lying within the same, which were therefore called the *Crosse*, wherein the sheriff was nominated by the King." In fact, they considered themselves lords over the life and property of all their feudatories. To talk, therefore, of an *Irish* Parliament at this period, and under *such a regime*, is a burlesque. The O'Briens, O'Connors, and O'Nials pursued the same independent course as the Desmonds, Fitzgeralds, and Ormonds, and for want of a complete legislative incorporation, the country was for centuries a scene of continued feudal warfare.

become the arbitress of Europe, and the sovereign of the largest, richest, and most wide-spread empire that ever existed on earth.

An Imperial Government thus constructed and surrounded by representative delegates in one parliament, enables a constitutional monarch to rule, with equity, power, and permanence, over a much larger extent of territory than can be done under the despotism of any sovereign, however able and enlightened; or under any republic, whether federalised or in unity.

Such an administrative system is, in fact, a most important advance in the science of legislative and of executive government, and is equally removed from the two extremes of individual tyranny or of general weakness; while it is at the same time conducive to that equipoise of popular liberty and of regal prerogative so essential to the maintenance of public freedom and of national supremacy.

It is contended, however, by the Repeal Agitators that Ireland is at perfect liberty to dissolve at any time the legislative connexion with England, Scotland, and Wales, and that the "Repeal of the Union" is merely the repeal of an Act of Parliament, and neither difficult nor culpable. But the several junctions of four sovereignties and four legislatures cannot be viewed as mere "Acts of Parliament," which it is lawful for any individual or body of individuals to repeal. The Union of Ireland, as well as of Scotland, is a *solemn compact,—a binding obligation, formed by mutual agreement and by mutual sacrifices for the benefit of all parties;* it has a *moral* and constitutional, as well as a legal authority and power; and as it is not possible to replace the contracting parties to the same relative position in which they stood previous to the Union, and by the fulfilment of which great benefits have been conferred at least on one of the parties to the Union (Ireland), so it is *impossible to dissolve the Union, except by force of arms, and the consequent defeat and death of one or other party.*

A treaty contracted by two *independent nations* may be broken at any time, by either of the contracting parties without the consent of the other, and they may return to the neutral or hostile state in which they had previously existed. Their

sovereigns and legislatures are distinct,—their rights equal,—and they acknowledge no common superior to coerce both. There is, therefore, no analogy whatever between such a case and that of the legislative incorporation of the United Kingdom; and nothing but the complete destruction of the British monarchy and of those rights, duties, and principles which are anterior and of primary importance to even individual sovereignty, can sever the Legislative Union of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.

It is, therefore, highly culpable to declare to the people of Ireland, as is now being done by the leader of the Repeal Agitation, that the only step requisite for the abolition of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, is “the issuing by the Queen of writs for the assembling of an Irish Parliament.” The Sovereign of these realms has no more legal power to commit such an act than has the author of the above quoted assertion. James II. convened an Irish Parliament in Dublin (see page 357), but had he not subsequently fled from the kingdom, his life would have been the penalty of his treason.

In 1745, the son of the Pretender, aided by the Scotch Peers Kilmarnock, Cromartie, Balmerino, and others, proclaimed in Edinburgh the dissolution of the Union between England and Scotland. Many of them were beheaded, on Tower Hill and elsewhere, for their rebellion and attempt to subvert the established institutions of the State and the Union of the two countries.

In order, however, to disguise the real objects of those who govern the mass in Ireland, it is occasionally contended that they are merely seeking the establishment or restoration of a “*Domestic Legislature!*”

Blind or shallow must be the politician, who can be imposed on by so flimsy a pretext for the dissolution of the empire. The very language used exposes the fallacy; the emphatic declaration is, that “Ireland must be a kingdom again, and no longer a province;” and that “*the claim of any body of men, other than King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance!*” Does this language convey the idea of a desire for a mere local assembly? Is the erection of Ireland into an “independent kingdom, or nation,”

consistent with the idea of a DOMESTIC Legislative Assembly for internal purposes? 'Tis true that a few years ago the latter proposition was merely advocated, but it was only to familiarise the public mind to the ulterior object now avowed—namely, a Legislature *totally independent* of Great Britain, and having Ireland and England connected by no other link than that of the crown,—a link which, at the first feasible opportunity, might be snapt asunder, without immediate convulsion. Within a few days of each other, two distinct ideas were expressed by the leader of the Repeal Agitation—namely, an *independent* legislature for Ireland, and a *domestic* one :—

“Ireland must be a nation again, and no longer a province ; the claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is illegal, unconstitutional, and a grievance.”
—*Dublin Freeman's Journal*.

“The principle of *domestic* legislation has been extended to every place which England has colonised ; I was looking for Catholic emancipation as the first step necessary to be taken for the establishment of a domestic legislature.”—
Dublin Morning Register.

It would not be surprising that such ideas should emanate from a simpleton ; but certainly could not be expected from an artful individual for any good purpose towards his country.

But according to the most recent proposed constitution for Ireland—as vaguely laid down by the leader of the Repeal Agitation in November 1843, in a letter addressed to Mr. Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham—the people of Ireland for all practical purposes would cease to be subjects of the British Crown, for they would cease to be subject to the legislative authority of the Imperial Parliament, to which the Crown itself is subordinate. It is stated in this unconstitutional letter that—

“*The Irish Parliament would influence the appointments of the servants of the Crown in Ireland, and the exercise of the prerogative would therefore be under the control of the Irish Parliament, which would have Supreme Legislative Authority, and might reject treaties and tariffs made by the Crown !*”

Indeed, the Repealers have already issued demi-official announcements of the treaties that the “*Irish Government* would be prepared to enter into, with France, Belgium, Spain, and Portugal, as soon as ‘Repeal’ is settled, and the independence of Ireland finally established.”

Without pausing to comment on this treasonable language and proceedings, it may not be unimportant to reflect that the certain and speedy effect of establishing in Ireland a separate Legislature (if such a proposition could by any possibility be accomplished), would be the formation of a fierce and unbridled democracy, or the organisation of an official or a local oligarchy, which would be to a great extent independent of the people and of the supreme authority—unless the ruling power bought the oligarchy, and used it as an instrument for corrupting the Legislature. Domestic faction, petty ambition, and individual intrigues, would become the engrossing objects of public interest, and the evils of the past six hundred years would be revived in all their desolating influences, with augmented power, and with concentrated perniciousness. No separation of Ireland from Great Britain could take place without the consent of the people of England; and nothing but force and an inability to subdue Ireland would ever induce them to consent to an independent Legislature in Ireland, even with the nominal link of the Crown; for no British Minister would now undertake to govern two distinct Legislatures—consisting of two Houses of Commons and two Houses of Lords—and with a constant struggle in both countries for democratic ascendancy. The attempt, therefore, to construct what is absurdly or artfully called a “Domestic Legislature” in Ireland, would end in civil war. Whether the issue of this were ultimately in favour of the “Repealers” or not, the result would be equally disastrous for Ireland. If against them, a vast number of our fellow-citizens must inevitably perish; military law would be established; the progress of civilisation be entirely stopped; the penal laws be re-enacted; and all the property of the rebels and their abettors would be confiscated. Ireland would be thrown back at least a century in her career. Supposing, however improbable such an idea may be, that the Repealers obtained their wish—“Ireland for the Irish”—that is, that the lower classes of society, with their few leaders, obtained supreme authority in Ireland; have they calculated that probably one-third of the present inhabitants of Ireland would perish by the

sword, by fire, and by pestilence ; that the fleets and armed gun-boats of England would lay waste not only the coasts but many of the interior navigable districts ; that society would be resolved into its primary elements, and the worst passions of our nature roused into a fierce fury, which ages would not quell ? In whatever aspect the subject be viewed—whether as a successful rebellion, which is almost an impossibility, or as a defeated insurrection, which is almost a physical certainty—the result must be disastrous for Ireland. The very geographical position of Ireland to the westward of Great Britain, would render its legislative separation a question of paramount importance to England, for she would then be ever open to hostile attacks from foreign foes, or to internal insurrections and intrigues, which would be utterly subversive of domestic peace and national happiness. This is fully demonstrated in the previous chapter—respecting the French, Spanish, and Romish intrigues in Ireland since the Reformation.

But to no portion of Her Majesty's subjects is the Union between Great Britain and Ireland of more inestimable value than to the poorer classes of society in Ireland, whose feelings and passions are now stimulated to madness, by artful appeals to their national pride. Adam Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations," published in 1775, when advocating an "incorporating union" between Great Britain and the North American Colonies, as had been then done with Scotland, justly remarks, "*By the union with England the middling and inferior ranks of the people of Scotland gained a complete deliverance from the power of an aristocracy which had always before oppressed them:*" and he added the suggestion that "*By the union with Great Britain the greater part of the people of all ranks in Ireland would gain an equally complete deliverance from a much more oppressive aristocracy.*"

Although but a comparatively brief period in the age of a nation has passed since the Union, yet much has been done for the people, as this work demonstrates; and much more would be done by the Imperial Legislature, but for the conduct of the Repealers—the misled as well as misleading "friends" of Ireland. There

is nothing to prevent a perfect incorporation of the people of Great Britain and of Ireland but the continuance of this destructive agitation, in which the most perverted statements are put forth, in the hope of exciting national animosities.

The similitudes between Great Britain and Ireland are those of language, laws, currency, municipalities, franchises, taxation, &c.; in the latter instance, and in the permission to issue one-pound notes, the difference being in favour of Ireland. This similitude does not exist between Great Britain and other parts of the empire. In the Colonies there are various laws and languages:—Hindoo, Mahomedan, Dutch, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Venetian, and Greek. Hence, not only distance, but discordant materials, prevent the legislative incorporation of the Colonies with the United Kingdom. Yet it is insidiously asserted that Ireland is worse off than the Colonies which possess domestic legislatures. Now it is precisely because Canada, Jamaica, &c., are distant provinces, with *no representatives in the Imperial Parliament*, that they possess local assemblies; but those local assemblies are bound by the decrees of the King, Lords, and Commons at home; if otherwise, they would not be domestic legislatures—they would be independent. A domestic legislature is bound by the general regulations of the parent Government; it has no voice in questions of state policy, or in the executive functions of Government.

The “Domestic Legislatures” of the Colonies may at any time be revoked or abrogated by the Crown and Parliament, as was the case recently with those of Jamaica and Canada; and it is absurd to pretend that the Repealers merely want such a legislature as the Colonies have.

The Crown and the Imperial Parliament decide the form of government to be established in the British Dependencies, appoints the governors and the councils, regulates intercourse with other parts of the empire, as well as with independent States, exercises a veto for two years’ duration on all acts passed in the local legislature of the Dependency, which the Governor convenes and prorogues at pleasure;—appoints officers from home to fill all the higher departments of the Government, the Law, the Church, and

even for the collection of customs; and where a legislative council, (imitative of the House of Lords) exists along with a legislative assembly, (imitative of a House of Commons,) the Crown nominates the members of Council at its pleasure, "*quamdiu se bene gesserint.*"

Space is not afforded me to discuss this subject further: sufficient has been said to demonstrate the beneficial effects of an Imperial Union between England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, by which each have enjoyed advantages they never could have otherwise obtained, and domestic peace has been preserved, while strife, rebellion, and warfare existed, until the incorporation of legislative as well as regal powers was completed. These observations are, however, made rather for the consideration of some well-meaning people who do not see through the pretences of the "Repeal Agitation," and who think that a "Federal Union" might be tried. To such persons the facts throughout the whole of this work will, it is hoped, be a sufficient answer; and they will also see that the attempted federal union between Great Britain and Ireland in 1782 led to a bloody rebellion, which left no alternative but a complete incorporation or separation.

The great majority of the reflecting people in the United Kingdom are now however penetrating the designs of the Repeal leaders; they see the studied reason for inventing falsehoods which will engender national hatred.

It would be unnecessary to quote instances, or to refute the pretended massacre at Mullaghmast—which is merely a specimen of numerous other equally fallacious "facts" by which it is earnestly striven to foment strife between Englishmen and Irishmen. This however is but part of the old system as shown by the concluding passage of the annexed unrepealed Act of the Irish Parliament:—

"10th Henry VII., chap. xiii.—Inasmuch as diverse persons have assembled with banners displayed against the lieutenant and deputy of Ireland, supposing that it was not treason so to do, and many times the deputy hath bin put to reproch, and the commonweal set in adventure; therefore be it ordained and enacted by this present parliament, that whatsoever person or persons, from this day forward, cause, assemble, or insurrection, conspiracies, or in anywise procure or stirre Irishry or Englishry to make warre against our Sovereign Lord the

King's authority—that is to say, his lieutenant or deputy, or justice, or *else in any manner procure or stir the Irishry to make warre upon the Englishry, be deemed traytor atteynte of high treason*, in likewise as such assemble an insurrection had been levied against the King's own person.”—*Dublin Library Copy of Irish Statutes.*

There can be no doubt in the mind of any man who looks beyond the circle of passing events, that the main design of the present agitation, is ultimately “to stir up the Irishry to make warre upon the Englishry.”

I have shown in the preceding pages (Part VI.), that the language of the rebels in 1641 was similar to the Repeal language of the present day. Such was also the case in the rebellion of 1798, which was organising for seven years before it broke out into open violence against the Government. In 1791, the Society of United Irishmen was announced, with the *ostensible* objects of Parliamentary Reform and Roman Catholic Emancipation; beneath these objects was the intended establishment of an *Irish Republic*; which was subsequently openly avowed.

In June, 1791, the object of the “United Irishmen” was stated to be “to form a Summary of the national will and pleasure in points most interesting to national happiness; and when this summary is formed, to put its doctrine as speedily as may be into practice will be the purpose of this Central Society or Lodge, from which other lodges in the different towns will radiate.” The course of external business was as follows; it has evidently been copied by the “LOYAL NATIONAL REPEAL ASSOCIATION, of 1843:—1st. “Publication in order to propagate their principles and effectuate their ends.” “Inflammatory papers dispersed through the country, to encourage their proceedings.” “Various seditious and treasonable publications, vilifying and degrading the Government and Parliament; and with persevering industry issuing these and all other similar publications at the cheapest rate among the lowest orders, which could alienate their minds from the duties of allegiance, and inculcate the principles of insubordination and revolt.” This is done most extensively by the Repeal Association, who have several newspapers in Dublin and throughout the provinces in their pay or interest. Large sums are also spent in printing, and widely disseminating

throughout Ireland, books, tracts, songs, and pamphlets, containing the grossest falsehoods. It is calculated that, nine chances to one, these falsehoods are never refuted; and if some be detected, the lie has answered its purpose. It is one of the most melancholy features in the state of Ireland to witness, the barefaced vile calumnies propagated against England, without their truth being even questioned.

2nd. "*Communication with the different towns to be kept up; and every exertion used to accomplish a NATIONAL CONVOCATION OF THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND, who may profit by past errors, and by many unexpected circumstances.*"

Every large town or district in Ireland has now its affiliated organization in communication with the chief sedition Lodge in Dublin; and the rapidity with which information of any important event is transmitted is remarkable. By means also of the signal-fires, a sort of telegraphic despatch is organised throughout Ireland which may readily be converted into the most deadly purposes.

3rd. "*Communication with similar societies abroad.*" Numerous Repeal Lodges are now formed and hold their weekly meetings in various parts of England and Scotland, in the United States of America, and in Paris. From these auxiliaries large sums of money are constantly transmitted to Dublin, with letters full of encouragement. Many of the peaceable and loyal people in Ireland are more alarmed at the prospect of foreign support, than at internal treason. Arms, ammunition, and men have been offered, as well as money; but these the Repeal leaders for the present prudently and ostentatiously reject. The "*unexpected circumstances*" are not yet quite favourable for an open declaration. It is politic to cry "Peace, Peace," until the fitting opportunity for "War, War," arrives.

4th. On the 14th July, 1791, (the Anniversary of the French Revolution), the members of the Society were to declare their determination "*to maintain the rights and prerogatives of their nature as men, and the right of prerogative of Ireland as an INDEPENDENT PEOPLE.*"

England had already, in 1782, granted to the greatest possible extent the independent legislative rights of Ireland. But the same language of claiming "*independence*" and alleging grievances, is now held as was the case previous to all the other rebellions in Ireland. The Irish Parliament reported, 30th August, 1798, that "impudent falsehoods and calumnies were industriously propagated, representing the means to which the Government and Parliament *were compelled to resort for the suppression of midnight robbery and murder, and for the discomfiture of rebellion, as the source of these complicated evils.*" To the present moment it is falsely asserted, that the British Government purposely caused the rebellion of 1798, to produce a Union between both countries !

6th. On 25th January, 1793, the United Irishmen declared themselves, in an address to the "Irish nation," as a "*Civic Union.*" This address contains a plan of equal Representation of the people of Ireland in the House of Commons, and declares that "*no property qualification shall be necessary to entitle any man to be a representative.*" See Part V. of this work, page 269, for a similar declaration from the Repealers, to whom the existence of property in any hands but their own seems an intolerable grievance.

7th. In 1796 *the mask of Reform was thrown off, Republicanism was determined on, and a new organization was adopted.* The original Civil organization was so arranged, that at any moment the members could be converted into *military array under their respective leaders.* The Secretary of each Society was the petty officer or serjeant; the Delegate of *five* Societies, or lower baronial Committee, was a Captain, with 60 men under his command; the Delegate of *ten* lower baronial Committees to the upper or district Committee, was a Colonel, with a battalion of 600 men under his command.

The Colonels of each county sent in the names of three persons to the Executive Society in Dublin; one of these three was appointed by the Executive Adjutant-General of the county; and his duty was to receive and communicate all orders from

Dublin throughout his district. This is exactly the course now adopted by the "Loyal National Repeal Association," whose "*Wardens*" have adopted a most effective system of *civil*, and *peaceable*, organization, ready at any moment to be converted into a *military* and *hostile* demonstration.

The most ordinary observer could not fail to witness this military organization at the recent "Monster Meetings" in Ireland; and which was *rather* prematurely officially announced and advertised at the Clontarf Meeting. The array is aided by banners and "Temperance Bands," and bodies of men on horseback distributed in different directions to maintain order. Every five men are under the surveillance of one, who is answerable for the good conduct of the other four: the "Repeal Wardens" have complete control, and are obeyed implicitly. A wave of the white wand is sufficient to clear a passage, or restore order, without a word being spoken. Hence, during the vast assemblages of the last nine months, under the pretence of petitioning (as was done also in 1797), not the slightest accident has occurred. The common people were recently told at the Repeal Banquet at Limerick to Mr. Smith O'Brien (who is now hailed as the lineal descendant of Brien Boru, King of *all* Ireland), that this avoidance of any accident or disturbance was "*miraculous, and a proof that Heaven favoured their cause!*" In a country where superstition is mistaken for religion, crafty leaders are always ready to inculcate such ideas; and they are sure to be aided by a priesthood whose livelihood depends, to a great extent, on the credulity of their flocks.

To proceed with the 8th analogy:—In 1790, as at present, every member of the society paid a subscription, which was used to defend any of the associates if tried by Government, and "*to extend the Union.*" "*Sums of money to a considerable amount were levied upon the Roman Catholics in all parts of the Kingdom, by subscriptions and collections at their chapels and elsewhere.*" [See the Repeal Rent of 1843 and preceding years.] As in the existing "Loyal National Repeal Association," the Society was divided into Committees of Finance, Correspondence, &c.; an annual

subscription of one guinea was demanded, and a common seal was adopted. *Each country Committee had a Treasurer and Secretary, whose business it was to collect SO MUCH MONEY PER WEEK from each member, which was paid by the different delegates of the different Societies progressively from one to the other, till it reached the head department in Dublin.*

The shilling subscriptions and "Repeal Cards" issued by the Repeal Wardens in the different districts of Ireland, is an improvement on the system adopted by the incipient rebels of 1796:

9th. *"The general direction was for each person to arm himself; such as could afford it, with fire-arms and ammunition; others with pikes."*

This is the case at the present moment. Large quantities of arms and ammunition are concealed in Ireland; some buried in the earth or in caves, or concealed beneath the houses. The peasantry are also taught that pitchforks and scythes may rapidly be converted into destructive weapons; and, during the "Tithe Campaigns," several of the police were killed by these implements. During the Polish war, whole regiments were armed with scythes. The pike-head is rapidly manufactured, and in the hands of a body of infuriated men a most terrific instrument at a charge, whether on cavalry or infantry.

The people of Ireland are now encouraged to prepare for a general insurrection, by the Repeal leader, whose sickening cry of "peace and tranquillity" is so nauseating. This will be further seen by the following extract from one of his treasonable harangues to the people:—

"Let no man tell me that the period will not shortly arrive when we shall NOT BE UNARMED (Loud cries of 'Hear, hear, hear!') There is no liberty if every man is not allowed to carry his own arms; every householder should have his own arms; and I hope we will see the day when they will WEAR UNIFORM at their own expense. (Hear, hear!) We shall take the place of the National Guard of other countries; and look to doing AT PRESENT without arms. I hope that every village in Ireland will have eighteen, twenty, ay fifty volunteers. (Hear, hear!) It may be asked, DO I INTEND TO HAVE THE VOLUNTEERS ARMED AGAIN? I answer that I DO. (Great cheer-

ing.) *I love the institution of a National Guard, and every man of character and responsibility should be armed."*

Previous to the Popish rebellions and massacres of 1641, of 1689, of 1798, and of 1803, precisely similar sentiments were promulgated.

It would be tedious to specify further the remarkable analogies between those disastrous periods and the present, but a few other points of resemblance require notice.

11th. In 1796 the Dublin Executive engaged in organising the rebellion, declared to the French Government, *that the Roman Catholic Priests had ceased to be alarmed at the calumnies which had been propagated of French irreligion, and were well affected to the cause; that some of them had rendered great service in propagating, with DISCREET ZEAL, the system of the Irish Union."*

It is so precisely at the present. Two Roman Catholic Priests, styling themselves "Archbishops," and the majority of the subordinate Priesthood (with the honourable exception of the excellent Father Mathew and a few others) are the prominent supporters of the Repeal agitation.*

How short-sighted the Romish Church is! Its prelates and its clergy do not see that Romanism cannot stand before democracy. In France, in Spain, and in Portugal, the triumph of the people was the prelude to the downfall of Papal authority—the confiscation of the monasteries, and the degradation of the clergy.

* A suggestion has been made that it would be advisable to take the Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland into pay. Whether any sum of money would alter the character of the Church of *Rome* is very doubtful; if the priests and people of Ireland would throw off all allegiance to a Foreign Power and become again an *Irish Church*; disseminating the Bible, praying and preaching in the mother-tongue, and conforming to the early ordinances of the pure and Apostolic Church, the whole subject would be deserving serious consideration.

It has been calculated that the Romish Clergy in Ireland receive—"For annual confessions, 30,000*l.*; for christenings per annum, 33,333*l.*; unctions and burials, 60,000*l.*; marriages, 360,000*l.*; prayers for purgatory, 100,000*l.*; collections at chapels, 541,632*l.*; curates' collections, 22,500*l.*; college at Maynooth (Government grant), 9,000*l.*; making a total of 1,426,465*l.*"—*Manchester Times*.

It is estimated that there are 4,000 priests in Ireland. 1,426,465*l.* would give an average annual income of 365*l.* which is double the amount of the Established Church in England or Ireland.

Can they expect a different result in Ireland? If a repeal of the Union were effected, a democratic government would ensue,—atheism and anarchy would go hand in hand throughout the Romish population,—and the spiritual power of the priesthood would be utterly destroyed. But without even obtaining the Repeal as sought, the Romish Church, by mixing personally in political and rebellious strife, is rapidly aiding its own downfall.

12th. *"The seduction of the military was attempted: and printed papers circulated amongst the privates and non-commissioned officers, urging them to insubordination and revolt."** *"Repeated attempts have been made to seduce the king's troops, of all descriptions, from their allegiance, and to deter his Majesty's loyal subjects from enrolling themselves in the Yeomanry corps."*†

The newspaper organs of Repeal are attempting the same course now; and in particular the Repeal leaders endeavour to sap the fidelity of the non-commissioned officers, by artful speeches at public dinners and Repeal meetings, whereat those faithful servants of the Crown are told that they are the worst-used men in the world; and it is plainly intimated to them that they ought to act as the non-commissioned officers of the Spanish army recently did, and overturn the Government. The articles printed in the *"Pilot," "Nation,"* and *"Freeman's"* (what an abuse of the word 'free!') *Journal* on this subject, are most insidious and dangerous.

13th. *"Resolved, that we will pay no attention whatever to any suggestion that may be made by either House of Parliament to divert the public mind from the grand object we have in view, as nothing short of the complete emancipation of our country will satisfy us,"* &c.—[Irish Union, 1797.]

This language is now daily uttered in Ireland, and during the last session, the Repeal leader, in order to mark more effectually his contempt for the Imperial Parliament, refused to attend its sittings, and advised his followers also to abstain from attending

* See vol. iii. of Seward's *"Collectanea Politica,"* published in 1804, in Dublin, and by Phillips, St. Paul's Church Yard. This valuable and impartial work contains all the details now quoted.

† See Report of Select Committee of the Irish Parliament, August 30th, 1798.

an assembly which he says "*has been packed with the most flagitious bribery to OPPRESS AND CRUSH THE IRISH NATION. From them (Englishmen or Scotchmen), there is neither redress or even hope.*"*

14th. *While the rebellion of 1798 was gradually organising, "scarcely a night passed without numerous murders; in many places, the local inhabitants were obliged to fly for shelter into the garrison towns." "Measures were pursued to intimidate the resident gentlemen of the country, by midnight attacks, in order to drive them from their houses, or to enforce their connivance or support."*†

The fearful massacre at Finnoe, the murder of Lord Norbury and others, the burnings and threatenings at the Marquis of Waterford's, illustrate the pursuance and revival of the diabolical system of 1798, which, as declared by the rebels themselves, had for its sole object the subversion of the Monarchical Constitution in Church and State, and the separation of Ireland from Great Britain.

For the sake of the people of Ireland itself, irrespective of England, it is indispensable that the treasonable combination, termed the "Loyal National Repeal Association," be finally crushed; there can be no amelioration attempted until this hot-bed of sedition be suppressed, and its wily and artful leaders imprisoned or banished, unless they return to the quiet pursuits of honest industry, instead of battenning on the follies and crimes of their countrymen.

No Government in Europe or in America, past or present, would tolerate the system of political-religious agitation that has been pursued in Ireland for the past ten years; and which, if continued, will render civil war, however sanguinary, preferable for the loyal and well-disposed part of Ireland. Brute force, the assembling of men in serried array and in countless masses, and the falsehoods daily prepared and disseminated by an efficiently organised assembly in Dublin, is rapidly destroying confidence between man and man, and undermining the whole fabric of Government, and of society.

* See Repealers' "Address to the Inhabitants of the Countries subject to the British Crown."—Preface, p. ix.

† See Report from the Secret Committee of the Irish Parliament, Aug. 30, 1798.

The tendency of such combinations as have been organised for repealing the Union, is thus shown by that truly great patriot, Washington, in a parting address to his countrymen, dated 17th September, 1796, when declining being again elected President, and adverting to the duty of every individual to obey the established Government which they had contributed to form :—

" All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations AND ASSOCIATIONS, under whatever plausible character, with the real character to DIRECT, CONTRoul, COUNTERACT, or AWE the REGULAR DELIBERATION and ACTION of the CONSTITUTED AUTHORITIES, are DESTRUCTIVE of this FUNDAMENTAL principle, and of FATAL TENDENCY. They serve to organise faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force ; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small, but ARTFUL and ENTERPRISING MINORITY OF THE COMMUNITY ; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common counsels, and modified by mutual interests.

" However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likly, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, BY WHICH CUNNING, AMBITIOUS, AND UNPRINCIPLED MEN WILL BE ENABLED TO SUBVERT THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE, AND TO USURP FOR THEMSELVES THE REINS OF GOVERNMENT ; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion."

There can scarcely be a doubt in the mind of any loyal and intelligent British subject, that at any cost, at any sacrifice, whether of blood, or of wealth, this most desolating and most pernicious agitation in Ireland must be suppressed ; it is political suicide for England, even as regards herself, to permit its continuance ; for the effect of such lawless demonstrations—of such marked contempt of the constituted authorities—of such an utter violation of the decencies of civilised language (in the foul epithets applied to the ministers of the Crown, and to the whole British nation) of such an entire abuse of the privileges of Constitutional freedom as have emanated from the Irish Repealers—*will sooner or later be felt throughout Great Britain.*

"Repeal Lodges" are now being formed in almost every town in England and Scotland, aided by Roman Catholic priests, whose names appear among the leaders. The names of these lodges, and their organisation and contributions to Ireland, are before me, and they indicate a formidable extent of combination. It is not,

therefore, by the mere prosecution of an individual, whose pecuniary wants and rapacious extravagance, and that of his family and followers, urge them to sustain an agitation by which they receive at least 50,000*l.* a year, that this demoralising agitation is to be destroyed, and life and property secured in Ireland. The evil ought to be extirpated from the root. If an act of the Imperial Legislature were passed, declaring that all persons found guilty of aiding or promoting in any way the Repeal of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, as by law established, be transported beyond the seas, and their property be confiscated to the Crown, peace would be established in Ireland. There can be no doubt that the Imperial Legislature would promptly rally round the Minister, who would at once adopt this bold, just, and indispensable line of action. On the 25th February, 1834, *five hundred and twenty three members of the United House of Commons declared their determination to preserve for ever the Union inviolate*, and they responded to the echo the assertion of the leading British minister (Lord Althorp) in that House, that "civil war was to be preferred to a Repeal of the Union." Ten years have elapsed, and Ireland is still subject to the same agitation, the effects of which are now beginning to be manifested by the perpetration of the most atrocious crimes.

Most fully has it been shown in the preceding pages of this work, that there is not a shadow of truth in the allegations put forth by the Repeal leaders against the Union, but that this calumniated measure, even amid the many drawbacks of long continued and emaciating agitation, has been the means of conferring the greatest benefits and blessings on Ireland. *No sane person would for a moment permit an incendiary or a madman to go through his house with a lighted torch in his hand, crying "PEACE, PEACE,—TRANQUILLITY, TRANQUILLITY!"* It is worse than weakness or folly, therefore, to permit the continuation of dangerous proceedings having for their object the accomplishment of a separation of Ireland from England; the minister who would longer tolerate this treasonable or insane incendiarism, would betray his trust to the Crown, and connive at the inevitable dismemberment and destruction of the British Empire.

APPENDIX.

A.

AN ACT FOR THE UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Whereas, in pursuance of his Majesty's most gracious recommendation to the two houses of Parliament in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, to consider of such measures as might best tend to strengthen and consolidate the connexion between the two kingdoms, the two houses of the Parliament of Great Britain, and the two houses of the Parliament of Ireland, have severally agreed and resolved, that in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British Empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, into one kingdom, in such manner and on such terms and conditions as may be established by the acts of the respective Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

And whereas, in furtherance of the said resolution, both houses of the said two Parliaments respectively, have likewise agreed upon certain Articles for effectuating and establishing the said purposes, in the tenor following :—

ARTICLE FIRST.—That it be the first article of the Union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, and for ever, be united into one kingdom, by the name of “the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland,” and that the royal style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom and its dependencies, and also the ensigns, armorial flags and banners thereof, shall be such as his Majesty by his royal proclamation under the great seal of the united kingdom shall be pleased to appoint.

ARTICLE SECOND.—That it be the second article of union, that the succession to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the succession to the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of union between England and Scotland.

ARTICLE THIRD.—That it be the third article of union, that the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be styled “The parliament of the united Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.”

* Passed in the 40th year Geo. III. ch. xxxviii.

ARTICLE FOURTH.—That it be the fourth article of union, that four lords spiritual of Ireland, by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland, elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of lords of the parliament of the united kingdom, and one hundred commoners, (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the university of Trinity college, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom.

That such act as shall be passed in the parliament of Ireland previous to the union, “to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said parliament,” shall be considered as forming part of the treaty of union, and shall be incorporated in the acts of the respective parliaments, by which the said union shall be ratified and established.

That all questions touching the rotation or election of lords spiritual or temporal of Ireland to sit in the parliament of the united kingdom, shall be decided by the house of lords thereof; and whenever by reason of an equality of votes in the election of any such lords temporal, a complete election shall not be made according to the true intent of this article, the names of those peers for whom such equality of votes shall be so given, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the clerk of the parliaments, at the table of the house of lords, whilst the house is sitting, and the peer or peers whose name or names shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the parliaments, shall be deemed the peer or peers elected, as the case may be.

That any person holding any peerage of Ireland now subsisting, or hereafter to be created, shall not thereby be disqualified from being elected to serve, if he shall so think fit, or from serving, or continuing to serve, if he shall so think fit, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, in the house of commons of the united kingdom, unless he shall have been previously elected as above to sit in the house of lords of the united kingdom; but that so long as such peer of Ireland shall so continue to be a member of the house of commons, he shall not be entitled to the privilege of peerage, nor be capable of being elected to serve as a peer on the part of Ireland, or of voting at any such election; and that he shall be liable to be sued, indicted, proceeded against, and tried as a commoner, for any offence with which he may be charged.

That it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, and to make promotions in the peerage thereof, after the union, provided that no new creation of any such peers shall take place after the union, until three of the peerages of Ireland, which shall have been existing at the time of the union, shall have become extinct, and upon such extinction of three peerages, that it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, to create one peer of that part of the united kingdom, called Ireland; and in like manner so often as three peerages of that part of the united kingdom, called Ireland, shall become extinct, it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one other peer of the said part of the united kingdom; and if it shall happen that the peers of that part of the united kingdom, called Ireland, shall, by extinction of peerages or otherwise, be reduced to the number of one hundred, exclusive of all such peers of that part of the united kingdom, called Ireland, as shall hold any peerage of Great Britain, subsisting at the time of the

union, or of the united kingdom created since the union, by which such peers shall be entitled to an hereditary seat in the house of lords of the united kingdom, then and in that case it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that part of the united kingdom, called Ireland, as often as any one of such one hundred peerages shall fall by extinction, or as often as any one peer of that part of the united kingdom, shall become entitled by descent or creation to an hereditary seat in the house of lords of the united kingdom, it being the true intent and meaning of this article, that at all times after the union, it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to keep up the peerage of that part of the united kingdom, called Ireland, to the number of one hundred, over and above the number of such of the said peers as shall be entitled by descent or creation to an hereditary seat in the house of lords of the united kingdom.

That if any peerage shall at any time be in abeyance, such peerage shall be deemed and taken as an existing peerage, and no peerage shall be deemed extinct, unless on default of claimants to the inheritance of such peerage, for the space of one year from the death of the person who shall have been last possessed thereof, and if no claim shall be made to the inheritance of such peerage, in such form and manner as may from time to time be prescribed by the house of lords of the united kingdom, before the expiration of the said period of a year, then and in that case such peerage shall be deemed extinct, provided that nothing herein shall exclude any person from afterwards putting in a claim to the peerage so deemed extinct, and if such claim shall be allowed as valid by the judgment of the house of lords of the united kingdom reported to his Majesty, such peerage shall be considered as revived, and in case any new creation of a peerage of that part of the united kingdom, called Ireland, shall have taken place in the interval, in consequence of the supposed extinction of such peerage, then no new right of creation shall accrue to his Majesty, his heirs or successors, in consequence of the next extinction which shall take place of any peerage of that part of the united kingdom, called Ireland.

That all questions touching the election of members to sit on the part of Ireland in the house of commons of the united kingdom, shall be heard and decided in the same manner as questions touching such elections in Great Britain now are, or at any time hereafter shall by law be heard and decided, subject nevertheless to such particular regulations in respect of Ireland, as from local circumstances the parliament of the united kingdom may from time to time deem expedient.

That the qualifications in respect of property of the members elected on the part of Ireland, to sit in the house of commons of the united kingdom, shall be respectively the same as are now provided by law, in the cases of elections for counties and cities, and boroughs respectively, in that part of Great Britain, called England, unless any other provision shall hereafter be made in that respect by act of parliament of the united kingdom.

That when his Majesty, his heirs or successors, shall declare his, her, or their pleasure for holding the first, or any subsequent parliament of the united kingdom, a proclamation shall issue under the great seal of the united kingdom, to cause the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, who are to serve in the parliament thereof on the part of Ireland, to be returned in such manner as by any act of this present session of the parliament of Ireland shall be provided, and that the Lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain shall, together with the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons so returned as aforesaid on the part of Ireland, constitute the two houses of the parliament of the united kingdom.

That if his Majesty, on or before the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, on which day the union is to take place, shall declare, under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain, then the said lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain shall accordingly be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain, and they, together with the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons so summoned and returned as above, on the part of Ireland, shall be the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of the first parliament of the united kingdom, and such first parliament may, (in that case) if not sooner dissolved, continue to sit so long as the present parliament of Great Britain may now by law continue to sit, if not sooner dissolved: Provided always, that until an act shall have passed in the parliament of the united kingdom, providing in what cases persons holding offices or places of profit under the crown in Ireland, shall be incapable of being members of the house of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom, no greater number of members than twenty holding such offices or places as aforesaid, shall be capable of sitting in the said house of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom; and if such a number of members shall be returned to serve in the said house, as to make the whole number of members of the said house holding such offices or places as aforesaid more than twenty, then and in such case the seats or places of such members as shall have last accepted such offices or places shall be vacated, at the option of such members, so as to reduce the number of members holding such offices or places to the number, twenty; and no person holding any such office or place shall be capable of being elected, or of sitting in the said house, while there are twenty persons holding such offices or places sitting in the said house; and that every one of the lords of parliament of the united kingdom, and every member of the house of commons of the united kingdom, in the first and all succeeding parliaments, shall, until the parliament of the united kingdom shall otherwise provide, take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration, and take and subscribe the oath now by law enjoined to be taken, made and subscribed by the lords and commons of the parliament of Great Britain.

That the lords of parliament on the part of Ireland, in the house of lords of the united kingdom, shall at all times have the same privileges of parliament which shall belong to the lords of parliament on the part of Great Britain, and the lords spiritual and temporal respectively on the part of Ireland, shall at all times have the same rights in respect of their sitting and voting upon the trial of peers as the lords spiritual and temporal respectively on the part of Great Britain; and that all lords spiritual of Ireland shall have rank and precedence next, and immediately after the lords spiritual of the same rank and degree of Great Britain, and shall enjoy all privileges as fully as the lords spiritual of Great Britain do now, or may hereafter enjoy the same, the right and privilege of sitting in the house of lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of sitting on the trial of peers excepted; and that the persons holding any temporal peerages of Ireland, existing at the time of the union, shall, from and after the union, have rank and precedence next, and immediately after all the persons holding peerages of the like orders and degrees in Great Britain subsisting at the time of the union; and that all peerages of Ireland, created after the union, shall have rank and precedence with the peerages of the united kingdom so created, according to the dates

of their creations ; and that all peerages, both of Great Britain and Ireland, now subsisting, or hereafter to be created, shall in all other respects from the date of the union be considered as peerages of the united kingdom, and that the peers of Ireland shall as peers of the united kingdom, be sued and tried as peers, except as aforesaid, and shall enjoy all privileges of peers as fully as the peers of Great Britain ; the right and privilege of sitting in the house of lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and the right of sitting on the trial of peers only excepted.

ARTICLE FIFTH.—That it be the fifth article of union, that the churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one protestant episcopal church, to be called “The united church of England and Ireland ;” and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said united church shall be and shall remain in full force for ever, as the same are now by law established for the church of England ; and that the continuance and preservation of the said united church, as the established church of England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the union ; and that in like manner the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church of Scotland shall remain, and be preserved as the same are now established by law, and by the acts for the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.

ARTICLE SIXTH.—That it be the sixth article of union, that his Majesty’s subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing as to encouragements and bounties on the like articles, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country respectively, and generally in respect of trade and navigation in all ports and places in the united kingdom and its dependencies ; and that in all treaties made by his Majesty, his heirs and successors, with any foreign power, his Majesty’s subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges, and be on the same footing as his Majesty’s subjects of Great Britain.

That from the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country to the other, shall cease and determine ; and that the said articles shall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other, without duty or bounty on such export.

That all articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country (not hereinafter enumerated as subject to specific duties), shall from thenceforth be imported into each country from the other free from duty, other than such countervailing duties on the several articles enumerated in the schedule, No. I. A. and B. hereunto annexed, as are therein specified, or such other countervailing duties as shall hereafter be imposed by the parliament of the united kingdom in the manner hereinafter provided ; and that for the period of twenty years from the union, the articles enumerated in the schedule, No. II. hereunto annexed, shall be subject, on importation into each country from the other, to the duties specified in the said schedule, No. II. And the woollen manufactures, known by the names of old and new drapery, shall pay on importation into each country from the other the duties now payable on importation into Ireland.

Salt and hops, on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, duties not exceeding those which are now paid on importation into Ireland ; and coals on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, shall be subject to burthens not exceeding those to which they are now subject.

That calicoes and muslins shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable on the same, on the im-

portation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight; and from and after the said day the said duties shall be annually reduced by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, so as that the said duties shall stand at ten per centum from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one; and that cotton yarn and cotton twist shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable upon the same on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight; and from and after the said day the said duties shall be annually reduced by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, so as that all duties shall cease on the said articles, from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen.

That any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, which are or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are composed, may be made subject, on their importation into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and reasonable in respect of such internal duty or duties on the materials, and that for the said purposes the articles specified in the said schedule, No. I. A. and B. shall be subject to the duties set forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminished, or increased in the manner herein specified, and that upon the export of the said articles from each country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given equal in amount to the countervailing duty payable on such articles on the import thereof into the same country from the other, and that in like manner in future, it shall be competent to the united parliament to impose any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off or diminish such existing countervailing duties as may appear on like principles to be just and reasonable, in respect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, or of any new or additional duty on any materials of which such article may be composed, or of any abatement of duty on the same, and that when any such new or additional countervailing duty shall be so imposed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback equal in amount to such countervailing duty shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively from the same country to the other.

That all articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, when exported through the other, shall in all cases be exported subject to the same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture.

That all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods into either country, shall, on their export to the other, be either drawn back, or the amount (if any be retained) shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they shall be so exported, so long as the expenditure of the united kingdom shall be defrayed by proportional contributions; provided always, that nothing herein shall extend to take away any duty, bounty, or prohibition which exists with respect to corn, meal, malt, flour, or biscuit, but that all duties, bounties, or prohibitions on the said articles may be regulated, varied, or repealed from time to time as the united parliament shall deem expedient.

[Here follows a schedule of sixteen pages, detailing the amount of duties to be levied in Great Britain and Ireland on imports and exports into or from each kingdom on various articles, such as apparel, glass, paper, coaches, cabinet ware,

pottery, &c., the duty in each country respectively was *ten per cent.* As all these duties have been abolished, and the commerce between Great Britain and Ireland placed on the footing of coasting trade, it is unnecessary to reprint the schedules.
—R. M. MARTIN.]

ARTICLE SEVENTH.—That it be the seventh article of the union that the charge arising from the payment of the interest and the sinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively, except as hereinafter provided.

That for the space of twenty years after the union shall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively towards the expenditure of the united kingdom in each year shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain, and two parts for Ireland; that at the expiration of the said twenty years the future expenditure of the united kingdom, (other than the interest and charges of the debt to which either country shall be separately liable,) shall be defrayed in such proportion as the parliament of the united kingdom shall deem just and reasonable, upon a comparison of the real value of the exports and imports of the respective countries upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of revision, or on a comparison of the value of the quantities of the following articles consumed within the respective countries on a similar average, *viz.* beer, spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco, and malt, or according to the aggregate proportion resulting from both these considerations combined, or on a comparison of the amount of income in each country estimated from the produce for the same period of a general tax, if such shall have been imposed on the same descriptions of income in both countries; and that the parliament of the united kingdom shall afterwards proceed in like manner to revise and fix the said proportions according to the same rules or any of them at periods not more distant than twenty years, nor less than seven years from each other, unless previous to any such period the parliament of the united kingdom shall have declared as hereinafter provided, that the expenditure of the united kingdom shall be defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the like articles in both countries.

That for the defraying the said expenditure, according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland shall hereafter constitute a consolidated fund which shall be charged in the first instance with the interest of the debt of Ireland, and with the sinking fund applicable to the reduction of the said debt, and the remainder shall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the united kingdom to which Ireland may be liable in each year.

That the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will be liable, shall be raised by such taxes in each country respectively as the parliament of the united kingdom shall from time to time deem fit; provided always, that in regulating the taxes in each country, by which their respective proportions shall be levied, no article in Ireland shall be made liable to any new or additional duty by which the whole amount of duty payable thereon would exceed the amount which will be thereafter payable in England on the like article.

That if at the end of any year any surplus shall accrue from the revenues of Ireland after defraying the interest, sinking fund, and proportional contribution and separate charges to which the said country shall then be liable, taxes shall be taken off to the amount of such surplus, or the surplus shall be applied by the parliament of the united kingdom to local purposes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may arise in the revenues of Ireland in time of peace, or

invested by the commissioners of the national debt of Ireland in the funds, to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland at compound interest, in case of the contribution of Ireland in time of war: Provided that the surplus so to accumulate shall at no future period be suffered to exceed the sum of five millions.

That all monies to be raised after the union by loan in peace or war for the service of the united kingdom by the parliament thereof, shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportion of their respective contributions; provided that if at any time in raising their respective contributions hereby fixed for each country, the parliament of the united kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contributions in one country within the year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole or any part of the loan raised on account of the one country than of that raised on account of the other country, then such part of the said loan, for the liquidation of which different provisions shall have been made for the respective countries shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions.

That if at any future day the separate debt of each country respectively shall have been liquidated, or if the values of their respective debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, and of the sinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and to the period within which the whole capital of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund) shall be to each other in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each country respectively, or if the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion shall not exceed one-hundredth part of the said value, and if it shall appear to the parliament of the united kingdom that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each to the future expenditure of the united kingdom, it shall be competent to the parliament of the united kingdom to declare that all future expense thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be so defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth from time to time as circumstances may require to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand.

That from the period of such declaration, it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future expenditure of the united kingdom, according to any specific proportion, or according to any of the rules hereinbefore prescribed, provided nevertheless that the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country shall be chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionably as above, shall until extinguished continue to be defrayed by separate taxes in each country.

That a sum not less than the sum which has been granted by the parliament of Ireland, on the average of six years immediately preceding the first day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred, in premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufactures, or for the maintaining institutions for pious

and charitable purposes, shall be applied for the period of twenty years after the union to such local purposes in Ireland, in such manner as the parliament of the united kingdom shall direct.

That from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all public revenue arising to the united kingdom from the territorial dependencies thereof, and applied to the general expenditure of the united kingdom, shall be so applied in the proportions of the respective contributions of the two countries.

ARTICLE EIGHTH.—That it be the eighth article of union, that all laws in force at the time of the union, and all the courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations and regulations from time to time as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require ; provided that all writs of error and appeals depending at the time of the union, or hereafter to be brought, and which might now be finally decided by the house of lords of either kingdom, shall from and after the union be finally decided by the house of lords of the united kingdom, and provided that from and after the union there shall remain in Ireland an instance court of admiralty for the determination of causes civil and maritime only ; and that the appeal from sentences of the said court shall be to her Majesty's delegates in his court of chancery in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland ; and that all laws at present in force in either kingdom which shall be contrary to any of the provisions which may be enacted by any act for carrying these articles into effect, be from and after the union repealed.

And whereas the said articles having by address of the respective houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland been humbly laid before his Majesty, his Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve the same, and to recommend it to his two houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland, to consider of such measures as may be necessary for giving effect to the said articles : In order therefore to give full effect and validity to the same be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the said foregoing recited articles, each and every one of them, according to the true intent and tenor thereof, be ratified, confirmed, and approved, and be, and they are hereby declared to be, the articles of the union of Great Britain and Ireland, and the same shall be in force and have effect for ever, from the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one : provided that before that period an act shall have been passed by the parliament of Great Britain for carrying into effect, in the like manner, the said foregoing recited articles.

II. And whereas a bill, entitled, *An Act to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said parliament*, has passed the two houses of the parliament of this kingdom, the tenor whereof is as follows : "An Act to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said parliament." Whereas it is agreed by the fourth article of the union, that four lords spiritual of Ireland, by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland, elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of lords of the parliament of the united kingdom, and one hundred commoners, (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of

Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs,) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom ; be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said four lords spiritual shall be taken from among the lords spiritual of Ireland in the manner following, that is to say, that one of the four archbishops of Ireland, and three of the eighteen bishops of Ireland, shall sit in the house of lords of the united parliament in each session thereof, the said right of sitting being regulated as between the said archbishops respectively by a rotation among the archiepiscopal sees from session to session, and in like manner that of the bishops by a like rotation among the episcopal sees ; that the primate of all Ireland for the time being shall sit in the first session of the parliament of the united kingdom ; the archbishop of Dublin, for the time being, in the second ; the archbishop of Cashel, for the time being, in the third ; the archbishop of Tuam, for the time being, in the fourth, and so by rotation of sessions for ever ; such rotation to proceed regularly and without interruption from session to session, notwithstanding any dissolution or expiration of parliament ; that three suffragan bishops shall in like manner sit according to rotation of their sees, from session to session, in the following order : the lord bishop of Meath, the lord bishop of Kildare, the lord bishop of Derry, in the first session of the parliament of the united kingdom ; the lord bishop of Raphoe, the lord bishop of Limerick, Ardfer, and Aghadoe, the lord bishop of Dromore, in the second session of the parliament of the united kingdom ; the lord bishop of Elphin, the lord bishop of Down and Connor, the lord bishop of Waterford and Lismore, in the third session of the parliament of the united kingdom ; the lord bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, the lord bishop of Cloyne, the lord bishop of Cork and Ross, in the fourth session of the parliament of the united kingdom ; the lord bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora, the lord bishop of Kilmore, the lord bishop of Clogher, in the fifth session of the parliament of the united kingdom ; the lord bishop of Ossory, the lord bishop of Killala and Achonry, the lord bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, in the sixth session of the parliament of the united kingdom ; the said rotation to be nevertheless subject to such variation therefrom, from time to time, as is hereinafter provided : that the said twenty-eight temporal lords shall be chosen by all the temporal peers of Ireland in the manner herein after provided ; that each of the said lords temporal so chosen and entitled to sit in the house of lords of the parliament of the united kingdom during his life, and in case of his death, or forfeiture of any of the said lords temporal, the temporal peers of Ireland shall, in the manner herein after provided, choose another peer out of their own number to supply the place so vacant.

III. And be it enacted, That of the one hundred commoners to sit on the part of Ireland in the united parliament, sixty-four shall be chosen for the counties, and thirty-six for the following cities and boroughs ; *videlicet*, for each county of Ireland, two ; for the city of Dublin, two ; for the city of Cork, two ; for the college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, one ; for the city of Waterford, one ; for the city of Limerick, one ; for the borough of Belfast, one ; for the county and town of Drogheda, one ; for the county and town of Carrickfergus, one ; for the borough of Newry, one ; for the city of Kilkenny, one ; for the city of Londonderry, one ; for the town of Galway, one ; for the borough of Clonmel, one ; for the town of Wexford, one ; for the town of Youghal, one ; for the town of Ban-

donbridge, one ; for the borough of Armagh, one ; for the borough of Dundalk, one ; for the town of Kinsale, one ; for the borough of Lisburne, one ; for the borough of Sligo, one ; for the borough of Catherlough, one ; for the borough of Ennis, one ; for the borough of Dungarvan, one ; for the borough of Downpatrick, one ; for the borough of Coleraine, one ; for the town of Mallow, one ; for the borough of Athlone, one ; for the town of New Ross, one ; for the borough of Tralee, one ; for the city of Cashel, one ; for the borough of Dungannon, one ; for the borough of Portarlington, one ; for the borough of Enniskillen, one.

IV. And be it enacted, That in case of the summoning of a new parliament, or if the seat of any of the said commoners shall become vacant by death or otherwise, then the said counties, cities, or boroughs, or any of them, as the case may be, shall proceed to a new election ; and that all the other towns, cities, or corporations, or boroughs, other than the aforesaid, shall cease to elect representatives to serve in parliament ; and no meeting shall at any time hereafter be summoned, called, convened, or held for the purpose of electing any person or persons to serve or act, or be considered as representative or representatives of any other place, town, city, corporation, or borough, other than the aforesaid, or as representative or representatives of the freemen, freeholders, householders or inhabitants thereof, either in the parliament of the united kingdom or elsewhere (unless it shall hereafter be otherwise provided by the parliament of the united kingdom) and every person summoning, calling, or holding any such meeting or assembly, or taking any part in any such election or pretended election, shall, being thereof duly convicted, incur and suffer the pains and penalties ordained and provided by the statute of provision and præmunire made in the sixteenth year of the reign of Richard the Second.

V. For the due election of the persons to be chosen to sit in the respective houses of the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland ; be it enacted, That on the day following that on which the act for establishing the union shall have received the royal assent, the primate of all Ireland, the lord bishop of Meath, the lord bishop of Kildare, and the lord bishop of Derry, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be the representatives of the lords spiritual of Ireland in the parliament of the united kingdom for the first session thereof ; and that the temporal peers of Ireland shall assemble at twelve of the clock on the same day as aforesaid, in the now accustomed place of meeting of the house of lords of Ireland, and shall then and there proceed to elect twenty-eight lords temporal to represent the peerage of Ireland in the parliament of the united kingdom in the following manner, that is to say, the names of the peers shall be called over according to their rank, by the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, who shall then and there attend for that purpose, and each of the said peers who previous to the said day, and in the present parliament, shall have actually taken his seat in the house of lords of Ireland, and who shall there have taken the oaths, and signed the declaration, which are or shall be by law required to be taken and signed by the lords of the parliament of Ireland, before they can sit and vote in the parliament thereof, shall, when his name is called, deliver, either by himself or by his proxy (the name of such proxy having been previously entered in the books of the house of lords of Ireland, according to the present forms and usages thereof), to the clerk of the crown or his deputy (who shall then and there attend for that purpose), a list of twenty-eight of the temporal peers of Ireland, and the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, shall then and there publicly read the said lists, and shall then and there cast up the said lists, and publicly declare the names of the twenty-eight lords who shall be chosen

by the majority of votes in the said lists, and shall make a return of the said names to the house of lords of the first parliament of the united kingdom, and the twenty-eight lords so chosen by the majority of votes in the said lists shall, during their respective lives, sit as representatives of the peers of Ireland, in the house of lords of the united kingdom, and be entitled to receive writs of summons to that and every succeeding parliament; and in case a complete election shall not be made of the whole number of twenty-eight peers, by reason of an equality of votes, the clerk of the crown shall return such number in favour of whom a complete election shall have been made in one list, and in a second list shall return the names of those peers who shall have an equality of votes, but in favour of whom, by reason of such equality, a complete election shall not have been made; and the names of the peers in the second list for whom an equal number of votes shall have been so given, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the clerk of the parliament of the united kingdom, at the table of the house of lords thereof, whilst the house is sitting, and the peer whose name shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the parliament, shall be deemed the peer elected, and so successively as often as the case may require; and whenever the seat of any of the twenty-eight lords temporal so elected, shall be vacated by decease or forfeiture, the chancellor, the keeper, or commissioners of the great seal of the united kingdom, for the time being, upon receiving a certificate under the hand and seal of any two lords temporal of the parliament of the united kingdom, certifying the decease of such peer, or on view of the record of attainder of such peer, shall direct a writ to be issued under the great seal of the united kingdom, to the chancellor, the keeper, or commissioners of the great seal of Ireland, for the time being, directing him or them to cause writs to be issued by the clerk of the crown in Ireland, to every temporal peer of Ireland who shall have sat and voted in the house of lords of Ireland before the union, or whose right to sit and vote therein or to vote at such elections, shall on claim made in his behalf, have been admitted by the house of lords of Ireland, before the union, or after the union, by the house of lords of the united kingdom; and notice shall forthwith be published by the said clerk of the crown, in the London and Dublin Gazettes, of the issuing of such writs, and of the names and titles of all the peers to whom the same are directed, and to the said writs there shall be annexed a form of return thereof, in which a blank shall be left for the name of the peer to be elected, and the said writs shall enjoin each peer within fifty-two days from the test of the writ to return the same into the crown office of Ireland, with the blank filled up by inserting the name of the peer for whom he shall vote as the peer to succeed to the vacancy made by demise or forfeiture, as aforesaid, and the said writs and returns shall be bipartite, so as that the name of the peer to be chosen shall be written twice, that is once on each part of such writ and return, and so as that each part may also be subscribed by the peer to whom the same shall be directed, and likewise be sealed with his seal of arms, and one part of the said writs and returns so filled up, subscribed and sealed as above, shall remain of record in the crown office of Ireland, and the other part shall be certified by the clerk of the crown to the clerk of the parliament of the united kingdom, and no peer of Ireland except such as shall have been elected as representative peers on the part of Ireland in the house of lords of the united kingdom, and shall there have taken the oaths and signed the declaration prescribed by law, shall, under pain of suffering such punishment as the house of lords of the united kingdom may award and adjudge, make a return to such writ, unless he shall, after the issuing thereof, and before the day on which the writ is returnable, have taken

the oaths, and signed the declaration, which are or shall be taken by law required to be taken and signed by the lords of the united kingdom, before they can sit and vote in the parliament thereof, which oaths and declarations shall be either taken and subscribed in the court of chancery of Ireland, or before one of his Majesty's justices of the peace of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, a certificate whereof signed by such justices of the peace, or by the register of the said court of chancery, shall be transmitted by such peer, with the return, and shall be annexed to that part thereof, remaining of record in the crown office of Ireland; and the clerk of the crown shall forthwith after the return day of the writs, cause to be published in the London and Dublin Gazettes, a notice of the name of the person chosen by the majority of votes, and the peer so chosen, shall during his life be one of the peers to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of lords of the united kingdom; and in case the votes shall be equal, the name of such persons who have an equal number of votes in their favour, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the clerk of the parliament of the united kingdom, at the table of the house of lords whilst the house is sitting, and the peer whose name shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the parliament shall be deemed the peer elected.

VI And be it enacted, That in case any lord spiritual being a temporal peer of the united kingdom, or being a temporal peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, shall be chosen by the lords temporal to be one of the representatives of the lords temporal, in every such case during the life of such spiritual peer, being a temporal peer of the united kingdom, or being a temporal peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, so chosen to represent the lords spiritual, the rotation of representation of the spiritual lords, shall proceed to the next spiritual lord without regard to such spiritual lord so chosen a temporal peer, that is to say, if such spiritual lord shall be an archbishop, then the rotation shall proceed to the archbishop whose see is next in rotation; and if such spiritual lord shall be a suffragan bishop, then the rotation shall proceed to the suffragan bishop whose see is next in rotation.

VII. And whereas by the said fourth article of union, it is agreed, that if his Majesty shall, on or before the first day of January next, declare under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain, then the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain shall accordingly be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain; be it enacted for and in that case only, That the present members of the thirty-two counties of Ireland, and the two members for the city of Dublin, and the two members for the city of Cork, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be by virtue of this act, members for the said counties and cities in the first parliament of the united kingdom, and that on a day and hour to be appointed by his Majesty under the great seal of Ireland, previous to the said first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, the members then serving for the college of the holy Trinity of Dublin, and for each of the following cities or boroughs, that is to say, the city of Waterford, city of Limerick, borough of Belfast, county and town of Drogheda, county and town of Carrickfergus, borough of Newry, city of Kilkenny, city of Londonderry, town of Galway, borough of Clonmel, town of Wexford, town of Youghal, town of Bandon Bridge, borough of Armagh, borough of Dundalk, town of Kinsale, borough of Lisburn, borough of

Sligo, borough of Catherlough, borough of Ennis, borough of Dungarvan, borough of Downpatrick, borough of Coleraine, town of Mallow, borough of Athlone, town of New-Ross, borough of Tralee, city of Cashel, borough of Dungannon, borough of Portarlinton, and borough of Enniskillen, or any five or more of them, shall meet in the now usual place of meeting of the house of commons of Ireland, and the names of the members then serving for the said places and boroughs shall be written on separate pieces of paper, and the said papers being folded up, shall be placed in a glass or glasses, and shall successively be drawn thereout by the clerk of the crown or his deputy, who shall then and there attend for that purpose, and the first drawn name of a member of each of the aforesaid places or boroughs, shall be taken as the name of the member to serve for the said place or borough in the first parliament of the united kingdom, and a return of the said names shall be made by the clerk of the crown or his deputy, to the house of commons of the first parliament of the united kingdom, and a certificate thereof shall be given respectively by the said clerk of the crown or his deputy, to each of the members whose name shall have been so drawn ; provided always, That it may be allowed to any member of any of the said places or boroughs by personal application to be then and there made by him to the clerk of the crown or his deputy, or by declaration in writing under his hand, to be transmitted by him to the clerk of the crown previous to the said day so appointed as above, to withdraw his name previous to the drawing of the names by lot, in which case or in that of a vacancy by death or otherwise, of one of the members of any of the said places or boroughs at the time of so drawing the names, the name of the other member shall be returned as aforesaid, as the name of the member to serve for such place in the first parliament of the united kingdom ; or if both members for any such place or borough shall so withdraw their names, or if there shall be a vacancy of both members at the time aforesaid, the clerk of the crown shall certify the same to the house of commons of the first parliament of the united kingdom, and shall also express in such return whether any writ shall then have issued for the election of a member or members to supply such vacancy ; and if a writ shall so have issued for the election of one member only, such writ shall be superseded, and any election to be thereafter made thereupon, shall be null and of no effect, and if such writ shall have issued for the election of two members, the said two members shall be chosen accordingly, and their names being returned by the clerk of the crown to the house of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom, one of the said names shall then be drawn by lot in such manner and time as the said house of commons shall direct, and the person whose name shall be so drawn, shall be deemed to be the member to sit for such place in the first parliament of the united kingdom ; but if at the time aforesaid no writ shall have issued to supply such vacancy, none shall thereafter issue until the same be ordered by resolution of the house of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom, as in the case of any other vacancy of a seat in the house of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom.

VIII. And be it enacted, That whenever his Majesty, his heirs and successors, shall by proclamation under the great seal of the united kingdom, summon a new parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the chancellor, keeper, or commissioners of the great seal of Ireland, shall cause writs to be issued to the several counties, cities, the college of the holy Trinity of Dublin, and boroughs in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, specified in this act, for the election of members to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom according to the number herein before set forth ; and whenever any vacancy of a seat in the

house of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom for any of the said counties, cities, or boroughs, or for the said college of the holy Trinity of Dublin, shall arise by death or otherwise, the chancellor, keeper, or commissioners of the great seal, upon such vacancy being certified to them respectively by the proper warrant, shall forthwith cause a writ to issue for the election of a person to fill up such vacancy, and such writs and the returns thereon respectively being returned into the crown-office in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, shall from thence be transmitted to the crown-office in that part of the united kingdom called England, and be certified to the house of commons in the same manner as the like returns have been usually, or shall hereafter be certified, and copies of, the said writs and returns attested by the chancellor, keeper, or commissioners of the great seal of Ireland for the time being, shall be preserved in the crown-office of Ireland, and shall be evidence of such writs and returns, in case the original writs and returns shall be lost.

IX. Be it enacted, That the said bill so herein recited, be taken as a part of this act, and be deemed to all intents and purposes incorporated within the same : provided always, that the said herein recited bill shall receive the royal assent, and be passed into a law previous to the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one : and provided also, that if the said herein recited bill shall not receive the royal assent, and be passed into a law previous to the said first said day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, this act, and every part thereof, shall be of no force or validity whatsoever.

X. And be it enacted, That the great seal of Ireland may, if his Majesty shall so think fit, after the union be used in like manner as before the union, except where it is otherwise provided by the foregoing articles, within that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, and that his Majesty may, so long as he shall think fit, continue the privy council of Ireland, to be his privy council for that part of the united kingdom called Ireland.

B.

IRISH MEMBERS WHO VOTED FOR THE UNION ON THE 6TH FEBRUARY, 1800.

[*So far from the measure of an Union being supported merely by the nominees of "rotten" boroughs, it will be seen that the reverse was the case. The union was advocated by the representatives of the Cities and Counties of Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Galway, Kerry, Clare, Mayo, Longford, Leitrim, Carlow, Roscommon, Wexford, Queen's County, Down, Londonderry, Armagh, Belfast, Newry, Kilkenny, Monaghan, Clonmel, and other places.*—R. M. MARTIN.]

Hen. Alex. Londonderry ; Hon. D. Alex. Newtownards ; R. Archdall, Killibegs ; Rd. Annesley, Blessington ; William Bayly, Augher ; J. Beresford, Waterford co. ; J. Beresford, jun. Coleraine ; Col. M. Beresford, Swords ; John Bingham, Tuam ; J. H. Blake, Galway ; Sir James Blackwood, Kileagh ; Sir John Blackguire, Newtown ; Colonel Burton, Clare co. ; Lord Boyle, Cork co. ; Denis Browne, Mayo co. ; S. Stewart Bruce, Lisburne ; George Burdett, Gouran ; George Bunbury, Gouran ; Arthur Browne, Trin. Col. ; Thomas Blighe, Athboy ; James Butler, Kilkenny ; Lord Castlereagh, Down ; George Cavendish ; Sir H. Cavendish, Lismore ; S. B. Chinnery, Bandon ; James Cane, Ratoath ; Thomas Casey, Kilmallock ; Colonel Cope, Armagh co. ; Gen. Craddock, Middleton ; James Crosbie, Kerry co. ; Edward Cooke, Leighlin ; Chas. H. Coote, Queen's Co. ; Isaac Corry, Newry ; Sir James

Cotter, Castlemartyr ; Rd. Cotter, Charleville ; William A. Crosbie, Trim ; A. Creighton, Lifford ; James Creighton, Lifford ; James Cuffe, Tusk ; St. George Daly, Galway ; Patrick Duignan, Armagh ; William Elliott, St. Canice ; General Eustace, Fethard ; Major Eustace, Clonmines ; Lord Chas. Fitzgerald, Ardferit ; Wm. Forward, Johnstown ; Sir G. Fortescue, Trim ; A. Ferguson, Londonderry ; Luke Fox, Mullingar ; F. Fortescue, Monaghan ; R. A. Fitzgerald, Cork co. ; Maurice Fitzgerald, Kerry co. ; J. Galbraith, Augher ; Hen. D. Grady, Limerick ; W. Gregory, Portarlinton ; General Gardiner, Clogher ; William Gore, Carrick ; Richard Hare, Athy ; William Hare, Athy ; Gen. Heneker, Kildare ; Peter Holmes Doneraile ; George Hatton, Lisburne ; Hon. M. G. Hutchinson ; Hon. F. H. Hutchinson, Cork ; Hugh Howard, Johnstown ; William Handcock, Athlone ; J. Hobson, Clonekilty ; Sir Vere Hunt, Askeaton ; Richard Herbert, Granard ; Colonel Jackson, Randleson ; D. Jephson, Mallow ; J. Jocelyn, Dundalk ; William Jones, Coleraine ; Theop. Jones, Leitrim co. ; Gen. Jackson, Randlestown ; Wm. Johnson, Roscommon ; Robert Johnson, Hillsboro' ; John Keane, Youghal ; Jas. Kearney, Thomastown ; Henry Kemmis, Tralee ; William Knot, Taghmon ; James Knox, Taghmon ; Andrew Knox, Strabane ; Sir R. Langrish, Knocktopher ; Thomas Lindsay, Castlebar ; John Longfield, Mallow ; Captain Longfield, Ballinakill ; Montiford Longfield, Cork ; Lord Loftus, Wexford co. ; General Lake, Armagh ; D. Latouche, Newcastle ; General Loftus, Bannow ; F. M'Namara, Killbegs ; Ross Mahon, Granard ; Richard Martin, Lanesboro' ; John M. Mason, St. Canice ; H. D. Massey, Clare co. ; E. M'Naghten, Antrim co. ; S. Moore, Clonmel ; N. M. Moore, Strabane ; Lodge Morris, Dingle ; Sir R. Musgrave, Lismore ; J. M'Clelland, Randlestown ; Colonel M'Donnell, Rathormick ; Richard M'Gennis, Carlingford ; George Miller ; James Mahon ; Edward May, Belfast ; John M'Clean, Bannow ; Thomas Nesbitt ; Sir Wm. Newcomen, Longford ; Richard Neville, Wexford ; Wm. Odell, Limerick co. ; Charles Osborne, Carysfort ; J. M. Ormsby, Gorey ; Sir Chas. Ormsby, Duleek ; F. Packenham, Longford ; Henry S. Prittie, Carlow ; T. Prendergast, Clonekilty ; Richard Pennefather, Cashel ; Col. Packenham, Longford ; Thomas Pepper, Kells ; John Preston, Navan ; Sir R. Quin, Kilmallock ; Sir Boyle Roche, Leighlin ; G. H. Reade, Fethard ; R. Rutledge, Duleek ; James Rowly, Downpatrick ; Abel Ram, Wexford co. ; H. Skeffington, Antrim ; Baron W. Smith, Donegal ; H. Mt. Stanford, Roscommon ; Edward Stanley, Lanesboro' ; John Stewart, Bangor ; John Stratton, Dundalk ; B. Stratford, Baltinglass ; J. Stratford, ditto ; R. Sharkey, Dungarvan ; Sir Geo. Shee, Knocktopher ; J. Savage, Callan ; Colonel Singleton ; Right Hon. J. Toler, Gorey ; F. French, Portarlinton ; Lord Tyrone, Londonderry ; C. Tottenham, New Ross ; R. French, Galway ; Charles French, Newtownlimavady ; William Talbot, Kilkenny ; P. Tottenham, Clonmines ; John Townsend, Castlemartyr ; Robert Tighe, Carrick ; Robert Uniacke, Youghal ; James Verner, Dungannon ; J. O. Vandeleur, Clare ; Colonel Wemyss, Kilkenny ; H. Westenra, Monaghan ; B. B. Woodward, Middleton ; R. Ward, Bangor ; Patrick Walsh, Callan. Total number, 159.

NAMES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS WHO VOTED AGAINST
THE UNION ON THE 6TH FEBRUARY, 1800.

[By referring to the names and to the places represented, it will be seen that the "Orange Party" were the principal opponents of the union, as they dreaded the concession of Roman Catholic Emancipation.—R. M. MARTIN.]

A. Acheson, Armagh co. ; W. B. Armstrong, Wicklow ; M. Archdall, Fermanagh co. ; D. Babbington, Ballyshannon ; John Ball, Drogheda ; William Burton, Carlow

co.; John Claudius Beresford, city of Dublin; Charles K. Bushe, Donegal; William Blakeney, Athenry; H. V. Brooke, Donegal co.; J. M. Barry, Newtownlimavady; B. Balfour, Belturbet; Sir R. Butler, Carlow; Peter Burrowes, Enniscorthy; Jno. Bagwell, Tipperary co.; J. Bagwell, jun., Tipperary; W. Bagwell, Rathcoormick; Lord Corry, Tyrone co.; Lord Clements, Leitrim co.; Lord Cole, Fermanagh co.; James E. Cooper, Sligo co.; R. S. Carew, Wexford city; N. Dalway, Carrickfergus; R. Dawson, Monaghan co.; Francis Dobbs, Charlemont; John Egan, Tallagh; George Evans, Baltimore; R. L. Edgeworth, Johnstown; Sir John Freke, Baltimore; Sir John Faulkner, Dublin co.; Rt. Hon. Jas. Fitzgerald, Kildare; W. T. Fortescue, Louth co.; Right Hon. John Foster, ditto; A. French, Roscommon co.; Thomas Foster, Dunleer; C. Fortescue, Trim; Sir Thos. Fetherston, Longford co.; H. Georges, Meath co.; Henry Grattan, Wicklow; Thomas Gould, Kilbeggan; Hans Hamilton, Dublin co.; Edw. Hardiman, Drogheda; Thomas Hardy, Mullingar; Sir James Hoare, Askeaton; A. C. Hamilton, Ennistimon; William Hume, Wicklow co.; Edward Hoare, Banaher; H. Irvine, Tuls; G. King, Jamestown; J. King, ditto; Hon. G. Knox, Trin. College; Right Hon. H. King, Boyle; G. Lambert, Kilbeggan; J. Latouche, Kildare co.; J. Latouche, jun., Harristown; Robert Latouche, ditto; C. P. Leslie, Monaghan co.; Edward Lee, Dungarvan; Sir Thomas Lighton, Carlingford; Lord Maxwell, Cavan co.; A. Montgomery, Drogheda; Sir J. M^cCartney, Naas; Arthur Moore, Tralee; Lord Mathew, Tipperary co.; Stephen Moore, Kells; John Moore, Newry; Thos. Mahon, Roscommon co.; Charles O'Hara, Sligo co.; S. C. Rowley, Kinsale; Sir E. O'Brien, Clare; J. M. O'Donnell, Ratoath; Hon. Wm. O'Callaghan, Bandon; Rt. Hon. George Ogle, Dublin city; H. Osborne, Enniskillen; Joseph Preston, Navan; Sir John Parnell, Queen's co.; Henry Parnell, Maryboro'; William C. Plunkett, Charlemont; William B. Ponsonby, Kilkenny co.; Major William Ponsonby, Fethard; George Ponsonby, Galway; Sir Lau. Parsons, King's Co.; Rich. Power, Waterford co.; Gustavus Rochfort, Westmeath co.; John Rochfort, Tore; Sir Wm. Richardson, Ballyshannon; William Ruxton, Ardee; John Reilly, Blessington; W. E. Reilly, Hillsborough; C. Rowley, Meath co.; Wm. Rowley, ditto; F. Saunderson, Cavan co.; Wm. Smith, Westmeath co.; James Stewart, Tyrone; W. J. Skeffington, Antrim; F. Savage, Down co.; Francis Synge, Swords; Robert Shaw, Barnew; William Saurin, Blessington; Sir R. St. George, Athlone; William Tighe, Innistigue; Henry Tighe, ditto; Wm. Alcock, Waterford co.; John Taylor, Fethard; T. Townshend, Belturbet; C. Vereker, Limerick city; Owen Wynne, Sligo; John Waller, Limerick; E. D. Wilson, Carrickfergus; N. Westby, Wicklow; John Woulfe, Carlow; T. Whaley, Enniscorthy. Total number, 112.

C.

UNION COMPENSATIONS, IRELAND.

A Return (from the Commissioners under Act 40 Geo. III. cap. 34,) of all Claims for Compensation, on account of Representative Franchises, which they have admitted; to what Amount; and under what Conditions they have awarded Compensation; and what Claims for Allowances, on a similar account, they have Disallowed and Rejected.

[The columns of the conditions and disallowed claims are omitted, as they occupy considerable space, and refer merely to the names of deceased persons and their

executors, by whom the property vested in those persons, as in England, had been devised. The Return is No. 476, was printed by the House of Commons, March 18th, 1805; re-printed by the House of Commons, July 3rd, 1833.—R. M. MARTIN.]

Cloghnckilly—Richard Earl of Shannon, 15,000*l.* *Castlemartyr*—Richard Earl of Shannon, 15,000*l.* *Charleville*—Richard Earl of Shannon, 7,500*l.*; Edmond Earl of Cork, 7,500*l.* *Newcastle*—The Portrieve and Burgesses of the Borough of Newcastle, and the Right Hon. David Latouche, 15,000*l.* *Ballinakill*—Charles Marquis of Drogheda, 15,000*l.* *St. Johnstown, in the County of Longford*—The Right Hon. George Earl of Granard, 15,000*l.* *Mullingar*—George Earl of Granard, 15,000*l.* *Harristown*—The Sovereign Burgesses and Freemen of Harristown, and John Latouche, Esq., 15,000*l.* *Boyle*—Robert Earl of Erris, Executor of Robert late Earl of Kingston, 15,000*l.* *Longford*—Thomas Earl of Longford, 15,000*l.* *Aughur*—John James Marquis of Abercorn, 15,000*l.* *Kilbeggan*—Gustavus Lambart, Esq., 15,000*l.* *Castlebar*—Richard Earl of Lucan, 15,000*l.* *Kilmallock*—Richard Oliver, Esq., 15,000*l.* *Duleek*—The Portrieve and Burgesses of the Borough of Duleek, and the Right Hon. Henry King and Robert French, Esq., Executors and Trustees named in the Will of Henry Bruen, Esq., 15,000*l.* *Taghmon*—The Portrieve and Burgesses of the Borough of Taghmon, and the Right Hon. Henry King and Robert French, Esq., Executors and Trustees named in the Will of Henry Bruen, 15,000*l.* *Carrickdrumrushe*—Robert Earl of Leitrim, 15,000*l.* *Belturbet*—Armar Earl of Belmore, 15,000*l.* *Ballyshannon*—Armar Earl of Belmore, 15,000*l.* *Newtownards*—James Earl of Caledon, 15,000*l.* *St. Johnstown, in the County of Donegal*—Alice Countess of Wicklow, the Right Hon. William Forward, the Hon. Hugh Howard, 15,000*l.* *Banagher*—Right Hon. William Brabazon Ponsonby, 15,000*l.* *Callan*—George Lord Callan, 15,000*l.* *Baltimore*—Sir John Freke, Bart., 15,000*l.* *Dinglecushe*—Richard Boyle Townsend, 15,000*l.* *Carysfort*—John Earl of Carysfort, 15,000*l.* *Rathcormack*—Francis Earl of Bandon, Hayes Lord Viscount Doneraile, and Sampson Stawell, Esq., surviving Trustees named in the Will of William late Lord Riversdale, which bears date the 25th day of June, in the year 1787, 15,000*l.* *Hillsborough*—Arthur Marquis of Downshire, 15,000*l.* *Monaghan*—William Henry Earl of Clermont, Robert Lord Rossmore, Right Hon. Theophilus Jones, and Henry Westenra, Esq., 15,000*l.* *Lifford*—John Earl Erne, 15,000*l.* *Ratoath*—George Lowther, Esq., 15,000*l.* *Fore*—Arthur Marquis of Downshire, 15,000*l.* *Ardfert*—John Earl of Glandore, 15,000*l.* *Gowran*—Henry Welbore, Lord Viscount Clifden, 15,000*l.* *Thomas-town*—Henry Welbore, Lord Viscount Clifden, 15,000*l.* *Clonmines*—Charles Marquis of Ely, by the style of Earl of Ely, and Charles Tottenham, of Ballycurry, in the county of Wicklow, Esq., 15,000*l.* *Bannow*—Charles Marquis of Ely, by the style of Earl of Ely, and Charles Tottenham, of Ballycurry, in the county of Wicklow, Esq., 15,000*l.* *Fethard, in the County of Wexford*—Charles Marquis of Ely, by the style of Earl of Ely, and Charles Tottenham, of Ballycurry, in the county of Wicklow, Esq., 15,000*l.* *Bangor*—Henry Thomas Earl of Carrick, the Hon. Somerset Butler, commonly called Lord Viscount Ikerrin, 7,500*l.*; the Hon. Edward Ward, the Hon. Robert Ward, 7,500*l.* *Jamestown*—Gilbert King, Esq., 7,500*l.*; John King, Esq., the Rev. John King, Archdeacon of Killala, and the Sovereign and Burgesses of the Borough of Jamestown, 7,500*l.* *Killyleagh*—Sir James Stevenson Blackwood, 15,000*l.* *Newborough, otherwise Gorey*—Stephen Ram, Esq., 15,000*l.* *Blessington*—Arthur Marquis of Downshire, 15,000*l.* *Wicklow*—William Tighe, Esq., 15,000*l.* *Cavan*—Theophilus Clements, Esq., 7,500*l.*;

Thomas Nesbitt, Esq., 7,500*l.* *Philipstown*—George Earl of Belvedere, Robert Herbert Earl of Lanesborough, and John King, Esq., and Elizabeth Countess of Lanesborough, his wife, 15,000*l.* *Carlingford*—Arthur Marquis of Downshire, 7,500*l.*; Thomas Moore, William Moore, and Robert Ross Rowan, Esqrs., Guardians of Ross Balfour Moore, Esq., a minor, 7,500*l.* *Innistioige*—William Tighe, Esq., and the Portrieve and Burgesses of the Borough of Innistioige, 15,000*l.* *Dunleer*—The Right Hon. John Foster, 7,500*l.*; Henry Coddington, of Oldbridge, in the County of Meath, Esq., and the Portrieve and Burgesses of the Borough of Dunleer, 7,500*l.* *Askeaton*—Henry Thomas Earl of Carrick, the Hon. Somerset Butler, commonly called Lord Ikerrin, 6,850*l.*; the Hon. Edward Massey, 6,850*l.* Sir Joseph Hoare, Bart., 200*l.*; Sir Vere Hunt, Bart., 1,100*l.* *Charlemont*—Francis William Earl of Charlemont, 15,000*l.* *Midleton*—George Lord Viscount Midleton, and the Sovereign Bailiffs and Burgesses of the Borough of Midleton, 15,000*l.* *Naas*—John Earl of Mayo, the Hon. and Rev. Richard Bourke, the Sovereign Portrieve, Burgesses, and Community of the Borough of Naas, 15,000*l.* *Maryborough*—The Right Hon. Sir John Parnell, Bart., 7,500*l.*; the Right Hon. Charles Henry Coote, 7,500*l.* *Enniscorthy*—Cornelius Lord Lismore, 12,300*l.*; Robert Cornwall, Esq., 2,700*l.* *Atherdee, otherwise Ardee*—Charles Ruxton, Esq., and William Parkinson Ruxton, Esq., 7,500*l.*; William Ruxton, Esq., 7,500*l.* *Doneraile*—Hayes Lord Viscount Doneraile, 15,000*l.* *Lanesborough*—Luke Lord Clonbrock, 15,000*l.* *Kells*—Thomas Marquis of Headfort, by the style of Earl of Bective, 15,000*l.* *Lismore*—William Duke of Devonshire, 15,000*l.* *Tallagh*—William Duke of Devonshire, 15,000*l.* *Newtown Limavady*—Robert Earl of Londonderry, 7,500*l.*; the Hon. Henry Robert Stewart, commonly called Lord Viscount Castlereagh, 7,500*l.* *Killybeggs, otherwise Callebegg*, Henry Earl Conyngham, 15,000*l.* *Athenry*—Theophilus Blakeney, Esq., 15,000*l.* *Athboy*—John Earl of Darnley, 15,000*l.* *Ballinglass*—Edward late Earl of Aldborough in his lifetime, John Earl of Aldborough, by the name of the Hon. John Stratford, the Hon. and Rev. Francis Paul Stratford, and the Hon. Benjamin O'Neal Stratford, 15,000*l.* *Fethard, County of Tipperary*—Cornelius Lord Lismore, 7,500*l.*; Thomas Barton, Esq., the Sovereign and Free Burgesses of the Borough of Fethard, 7,500*l.*; *Trim*—The Hon. William Wellesley Pole, on behalf of Richard Marquis of Wellesley, 15,000*l.* *Tuam*—The Hon. Walter Yelverton, 1,000*l.*; John Lord Clanmorris, 14,000*l.* *Knocktopher*—Sir George Shee, Bart., 1,137*l.* 10*s.*; the Right Hon. Sir Hercules Langrishe, Bart., 13,862*l.* 10*s.* *Granard*—George Fulk Lyttleton, Esq., William Fulk Greville, Esq., 15,000*l.* *Athy*—William Lord Ennismore, 1,200*l.*; William Duke of Leinster, and the Sovereign Bailiffs and Burgesses of the Borough of Athy, 13,800*l.* *Kildare*—William Duke of Leinster, the Sovereign Provosts and Burgesses of the Borough of Kildare, 15,000*l.* *Randalstown*—Charles Henry St. John Earl O'Neill, 15,000*l.* *Strabane*—John James Marquis of Abercorn, 15,000*l.* *Tulsk*—James Caulfield, Esq., guardian of St. George Caulfield, Esq., a minor, 15,000*l.* *Donegal*—Arthur Earl of Arran, and the Hon. Arthur Saunders Gore, commonly called Lord Viscount Sudley, 15,000*l.* *Roscommon*—Henry Lord Mount Sandford, 15,000*l.* *Navan*—John Lord Tara, 7,500*l.* Peter Earl of Ludlow, the Hon. Augustus Ludlow, commonly called Lord Preston, and the Portrieve, Burgesses, and Freemen of the Borough of Navan, 7,500*l.* *Saint Canice*—None, 15,000*l.* *City of Clogher*—None, 15,000*l.* *Old Leighlin*—None, 15,000*l.* *Antrim*—Clotworthy Earl of Massareene, 3,750*l.*; Hon. Henry Skeffington, 3,750*l.* Hon. William John Skeffington, 3,750*l.*; Hon. Chichester

Skeffington, 3,750*l.* Swords — None, 15,000*l.* Total number of Boroughs abolished, 83.

Returned pursuant to an Order of the Honourable House of Commons, dated the 21st day of February, 1805.

BY ORDER OF THE COMMISSIONERS FOR COMPENSATION.

Office of Commissioners for Compensation,
Dublin, 11th March, 1805.

D.

[It has been asserted that large sums were spent in pensioning those who supported the Union ; by the following official return, it will be seen that the pensions were solely for those whose offices were abolished at the Union ; a fair and just measure adopted in every reform or legislative change.—R. M. MARTIN.]

Return to an Order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 28th June, 1842, for a Return of the Names of all Persons to whom Pensions were granted as Compensation for any Office held in Ireland, at or previous to the Act of Union, with the Amount granted in each case ; and of the Names of Persons now receiving such Pensions, with the Amount now payable to each Person.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—The Earl of Clare, Speaker, 3,978*l.* ; the Earl of Mayo, Chairman of Committees, 1,443*l.* ; Lord Glentworth, Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, 379*l.* ; William Meeke, Clerk of the Parliaments, 2,705*l.* ; Thomas Lindsay, Usher of the Black Rod, 964*l.* ; Edward Westby, Master in Chancery, 104*l.* ; Thomas Walker, ditto, 104*l.* ; William Henn, sen., ditto, 104*l.* ; Stewart King, ditto, 104*l.* ; John Gayer, Deputy Clerk of the Parliaments, 651*l.* ; Thomas Burchier, Deputy Clerk of the Crown, 101*l.* ; John Gregg, Clerk Assistant, 780*l.* ; Joseph Griffith, Reading Clerk, 293*l.* ; Henry Minchin, Serjeant-at-Arms, 314*l.* ; Richard C. Smith, jun., Committee Clerk, 231*l.* ; Edmond Fenner, Journal Clerk, 287*l.* ; Bryan Camer, Yeoman Usher, 243*l.* ; William Walker, Additional Clerk, 70*l.* ; Theobald R. O'Flaherty, Clerk in the Parliament Office, 74*l.* ; Charles J. Jolly, Doorkeeper at Great Door, 92*l.* ; John Polding, Doorkeeper to Robe Room, 92*l.* ; Patrick Martin, Doorkeeper to the Clerks' Office 92*l.* ; William Corbett, Doorkeeper to the Speaker's Chamber, 105*l.* ; William Graham, Side Doorkeeper, 92*l.* ; Paul Thompson, Doorkeeper at the New Entrance, 92*l.* ; Geo. Paine, Additional Doorkeeper, 92*l.* ; Patrick Long, Messenger, 91*l.* ; James Cavendish, ditto, 91*l.* ; Michael Quinan, ditto, 91*l.* ; John Tobin, ditto, 91*l.* ; Albinia Taylor, Keeper of the Parliament House, 877*l.* ; Mary Forster, Housekeeper, 472*l.* ; Mary Ann Forster, Housemaid, 20*l.* ; Sir Chichester Fortescue, Ulster King-at-Arms, 290*l.* ; Philip O'Brien, Gatekeeper, 42*l.* ; Richard Taylor, Keeper of the Speaker's Chambers, 50*l.* ; Viscount Clifden, Clerk of the Council, 181*l.* ; Henry Upton, Deputy Clerk of the Council, 104*l.* ; John Patrickson, Deputy Clerk of the Council ; Usher of the Council Chamber ; Solicitor for Turnpike Bills, 421*l.* ; William McKay, Assistant Clerk of the Council, 100*l.* ; John Ebbs and Elizabeth Grant, Doorkeeper and Council Office Keeper, 14*l.* ; John Dwyer, Secretary to the Lord Chancellor, 29*l.* ; John Berresford, Purse Bearer to the Lord Chancellor, 14*l.* ; Andrew Bowen, Water Porter, 4*l.*

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Right Hon. J. Foster, Speaker, 5,038*l.* ; Henry Alex-

ander, Chairman of Committee of Ways and Means, 500*l.*; Sir G. F. Hill, Bart., Clerk of the House, 2,265*l.*; Edward Cooke, Clerk of the House in reversion, 500*l.*; John M'Clintock and W. F. M'Clintock, Serjeant-at-Arms, 1,200*l.*; Edw. Tresham, Clerk Assistant, 504*l.*; George F. Winstanley, Committee Clerk, 250*l.*; Jonathan Rogers, ditto, 250*l.*; James Rafferty, Assistant Clerk, 100*l.*; Dawson Ellis, Superannuated Engrossing Clerk, 140*l.*; Charles H. Tandy, Engrossing Clerk, 398*l.*; Tannley Richardson, Assistant ditto, 150*l.*; William Rafferty, Clerk in the Chief Clerk's Office, Clerk of the Fees and Minutes, 470*l.*; Henry Coddington, Deputy Serjeant-at-Arms, 350*l.*; James Corry, Clerk of the Journals and Records, 660*l.* John Smith, Assistant ditto, 230*l.*; Roderick Connor, Attending Clerk, Journals and Records, 60*l.*; Arthur Hume, Clerk of the Briefs, 100*l.*; John Tudd, Assistant Clerk in Chief Clerk's Office, 63*l.*; John L. Foster, Speaker's Secretary, 10*l.*; George Donlery, Messenger, 68*l.*; Robert Burnside, Back-door Keeper, 48*l.*; Robert Fleming, ditto, 48*l.*; Joseph Doherty, Messenger, 46*l.*; Dennis Smith, ditto, 46*l.*; Lewis Donlery, ditto, 36*l.*; Richard Grace, ditto, 36*l.*; Robert Garland, ditto, 36*l.*; Edward Barne, ditto, 36*l.*; Dennis Brennan, ditto, 36*l.*; Daniel Brennan, Messenger, 36*l.*; Hugh Gahan, ditto, 36*l.*; John Browne, ditto, 36*l.*; Andrew Carson, ditto, 36*l.*; Patrick Ferral, ditto, 36*l.*; Jeremiah Bannen, ditto, 51*l.*; Joseph Morley, ditto, 36*l.*; George Shirley, ditto, 36*l.*; Michael Dalton, ditto, 36*l.*; John King, ditto, 36*l.*; William Browne, Distributor of Votes, 130*l.*; Hugh Higgins, Assistant ditto, 30*l.*; Sarah Conner, Housekeeper ditto, 401*l.*; John Kennedy, Doorkeeper, 168*l.*; John Walsh, ditto, 168*l.*; Mary Conner, House Attendant, 4*l.*; Thomas Seavers, Fire Lighter, 11*l.*; Rodney Wathum, ditto, 6*l.*; Edmond H. Lord Glentworth, Clerk of the Hanaper, 131*l.*; Thomas Bourchier, Deputy ditto, 52*l.*; John Beresford, Purse Bearer to Lord Chancellor, 33*l.*; Albinia Taylor, Keeper of the Parliament House, 140*l.*

MISCELLANEOUS, under 40 Geo. 3, c. 34.—Thos. Pakenham, Secretary to Master-General of Ordnance, 100*l.*; William Pakenham, Clerk to ditto, 50*l.*; Hon. T. Pakenham, Master-General of the Ordnance, 1,200*l.*; Charles Osborne, Junior Counsel to Commissioners of Revenue, 682*l.*; William Taylor, 1st Clerk in Civil Department, Chief Secretary's Office, 80*l.*; Peter Le Bas, Clerk in ditto, 121*l.*; Charles Crow, Clerk in ditto, 121*l.*; Charles B. Kippax, Clerk in ditto, 121*l.*; Edw. Cooke, Under Secretary in ditto, 79*l.*; John, Earl of Clare, Lord High Chancellor, 161*l.*; John Dwyer, Secretary to ditto, 130*l.*; John Berresford, Purse Bearer to ditto, 91*l.*; Francis Beaujohn, Trainbearer and Gentleman Usher to ditto, 54*l.*; William Pollock, 1st Clerk in Secretary of State's Office, Home Department, England, 54*l.*; Robert Reilly, Gentleman Porter to Lord Chancellor, 34*l.*; Marcus Beresford, Lieut.-General of the Ordnance, 600*l.*; Thomas Burgh, Treasurer and Paymaster to ditto, 500*l.*; Thomas Burgh, Agent to Royal Artillery Regiment of Ireland, 1,112*l.*; William Smith, 3d Clerk in Ordnance Office, 115*l.*; Edward Dalton, Assistant Clerk in Secretary's Office, Ordnance, 49*l.*; George F. D'Alton, 2d Clerk in Surveyor General's Office, Ordnance, 125*l.*; Thomas Dickinson, Clerk to Surveyor General of Ordnance, 250*l.*; Capt. Richard Legge, Chief Fire-master of the Royal Laboratory, Ordnance, 150*l.*; Stewart Bruce, Gentleman Usher to the Lord Lieutenant, 237*l.*; James Galbraith, Clerk to Attorney-General of Ireland, 446*l.*; John, Earl of Aldborough, Agent for all the Forces on the Irish Establishment serving abroad, 981*l.*; Solomon Delane, Cork Herald-at-Arms, 185*l.*; William Boulger, 1st Clerk to the Clerk of the Ordnance, 250*l.*; Anthony Cosgrave, Principal Messenger to Board of Ordnance, 94*l.*; Col. John Pratt, Comptroller Royal Laboratory, Ordnance, 200*l.*; Abraham B. King, King's Stationer, 363*l.*; Matthew

Franks, Deputy Keeper of the Rolls, 725*l.* ; William Turner, Clerk of the Treasurer of the Ordnance, 224*l.* ; Thomas Lindsay, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, 237*l.* ; Samuel Medicot, 2d to Principal Storekeeper, Ordnance, 145*l.* ; Geo. Charleton, Surgeon in attendance on Artificers of Ordnance, 42*l.* ; Mary Manser, Housekeeper of Board of Ordnance, 181*l.* ; William Cadge, Clerk of the Deliveries, Ordnance, 195*l.* ; James Baynham, Assistant Fire-master in Royal Laboratory, Ordnance, 130*l.* ; John Dwyer, Secretary to the Lord Chancellor, 500*l.* ; Joseph Atkinson, Secretary to the Board of Ordnance, 520*l.* ; Ponsonby Tottenham, Clerk of the Ordnance, 487*l.* ; Robert Wynne, Clerk of Deliveries in Ordnance, 400*l.* ; William Mollan, 2d Clerk to the Clerk of the Ordnance, 125*l.* ; John Hughes, 1st Clerk to Principal Storekeeper, Ordnance, 297*l.* ; Thos. Kemmis, Crown Solicitor, 314*l.* ; Richard Waller, Solicitor of the Revenue, 716*l.* ; Sir Chichester Fortescue, Ulster King-at-Arms, 140*l.* ; ditto, ditto, 691*l.* ; Donat Kinchy, Commissary of Camp, Equipage, and Stores, 182*l.* ; Elizabeth Litchfield, Necessary Woman to Privy Council, 3*l.* ; Thomas Cooper, Messenger to Privy Council of Great Britain, 3*l.* ; James Harding, Chamber Keeper in Privy Council, 7*l.* ; John D. Wheatly, Clerk in ditto, Great Britain, 21*l.* ; William Van, ditto, ditto, 21*l.* ; Henry Coles, Clerk to Secretary of Lord Lieutenant, resident in London, 218*l.* ; Patrick Madden, Messenger to ditto, 59*l.* ; William Randall, Purse Bearer to Lord Chancellor of England, 15*l.* ; William Buller, Wax Chaffre in Chancery, Great Britain, 3*l.* ; The Rev. Wm. Lloyd, Sealer of the High Court of Chancery, 5*l.* ; Walter Pye, Wax Chaffre in Chancery, Great Britain, 3*l.* ; Charles Dowse, Deputy Sealer in Chancery, England, 3*l.* ; Thomas Hand, one of the Gentlemen to the Chamber of the Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, 6*l.* ; Joseph Vernon, ditto, ditto, 1*l.* ; Geo. Lisbon, Porter to the Great Seal of Great Britain, 3*l.* ; Henry Hughes, Clerk in the Crown Office in England, 7*l.* ; John Hobson, Storekeeper in Ordnance Office, 616*l.* ; Maurice M'Donnell, a Labourer in the Ordnance, 18*l.* ; Richard Lane, ditto, ditto, 31*l.* ; Fielding Lyster, Clerk to Secretary of the Ordnance, 224*l.* ; Hon. John Yorke, Clerk of the Crown in England, 330*l.* ; Robert Uniacke, Surveyor-general of the Ordnance, 1,206*l.* ; Mrs. Waite and Mrs. Cooke, Joint Housekeepers of Dublin Castle, 37*l.* ; John Elliott, Labourer in the Ordnance, 49*l.* ; William M'Kay, Clerk in Council Office, 40*l.* ; John Patrickson, Usher of Council Chamber, 56*l.* ; John Patrickson, Deputy Clerk of the Council, 111*l.* ; Henry Upton, ditto, 115*l.* ; Lord Viscount Clifden, a Clerk of the Privy Council, 21*l.* ; Thomas Tighe, a Labourer in the Ordnance, 18*l.* ; John Ebbs, a Clerk in the Council Office, 60*l.* ; William Falkner, Clerk of the Council in England, 171*l.* ; Sir Stephen Cotrell, Clerk in the Privy Council in England, 607*l.* ; John Day, State Trumpeter, 8*l.* ; Christopher Pittner, ditto, 8*l.* ; John Jenkinson, Secretary in London to Lord Lieutenant, 1,027*l.* ; William Henry Freemantle, Solicitor in England for revenue in Ireland, 1,027*l.* ; Timothy Kelly, State Trumpeter, 8*l.* ; John Day, sen., ditto, 8*l.* ; John Boyce, ditto, 8*l.* ; Luke Heron, ditto, 8*l.* ; Stephen Phillips, Office Keeper in Military Department, 3*l.* ; Robert Pike, Chamber Keeper in Privy Council, Great Britain, 7*l.* ; Thomas Rashleigh, Deputy Clerk of the Crown in England, 641*l.* ; Enos Smith, a Clerk in the Privy Council of Great Britain, 169*l.* ; Vincent Litchfield, ditto, ditto, 62*l.* ; Edmund Connor, Publisher of the Army List, 175*l.* ; Charles P. Jones, Keeper of the Signet Office in England, 5*l.* ; Thomas Ryland, Master Furbisher in Ordnance, 80*l.* ; Earl of Carysfort, Commissioner for Custody of the Rolls, 1,307*l.* ; Earl of Glandore, ditto, ditto, 1,307*l.* ; G. J. Ridsdale, Athlone Pursuivant, 92*l.* ; Henry Minchin, Second Serjeant-at-Arms, 76*l.* ; James Uniacke, Clerk to Lieut.-General of the Ordnance, 70*l.* ; Viscount Limerick, Clerk

of the Crown, 405*l.*; James Ormsby, Deputy Keeper of the Privy Seal, 79*l.*; Thomas Rylands, Master Furbisher of Ordnance, 80*l.*; Thos. Bouchier, Deputy Clerk of the Crown, 168*l.*; Richard C. Carr, Solicitor for the Revenue, 716*l.*; Robert Grant, Clerk of the Works, Ordnance, 20*l.*; Thomas Poyle, King's Messenger, 43*l.*; William Breton, ditto, 43*l.*; Thomas Dawes, ditto, 64*l.*; James Flannagan, Porter at Chief Secretary's Office, 10*l.*; James Hyde, King's Messenger, 64*l.*; Henry Paine, Office-Keeper, Chief Secretary's Office, 10*l.*; John Erek, for loss of fees in Ordnance Office, 15*l.*; John Erek, Publisher of Army List, 175*l.*; Henry Paine, Office-Keeper, Chief Secretary's Office, 67*l.*; John Morton, Medical Supplier to Ordnance, 311*l.*; Charles Farran, Draughtsman to Ordnance, 60*l.*; John Devereux, Clerk to Comptroller of Royal Laboratory, 70*l.*; John Campbell, a Labourer to the Ordnance, 31*l.*; Henry Eustace, Aide-de-Camp to Master-General, Ordnance, 332*l.*; William Turner, Paymaster of late Irish Artillery, 316*l.*; Whitmore Davis, Commissary to Board of Ordnance, 182*l.*; Wm. Smith, Solicitor-General, 1,379*l.*; Wm. Monks, Assistant-Clerk of the Works, Ordnance, 80*l.*; Right Hon. John Stewart, Attorney-General, 2,086*l.*; Thos. M. Wistanley, Dublin Herald, 185*l.*; Richard Griffith, Forage Master, 547*l.*; Thomas Acris, Storekeeper to the Ordnance, 91*l.*; Robert Grant, Clerk in the Ordnance, 85*l.*; John Belson, Commissary of Ordnance, 182*l.*; William Monks, Clerk of the Works in Ordnance, 73*l.*; Patrick Hacket, Storekeeper of Ordnance of Belfast, 91*l.*; Patrick Maher, Storekeeper of Ordnance of Tarbut, 91*l.*; Laurence Owens, Porter to the Lord Lieutenant, 36*l.*; Richard Wrighton, Clerk to Storekeeper in Ordnance, 38*l.*; James Reilly, Clerk to Surveyor-General of Ordnance, 38*l.*; A. B. King, Printer to the late House of Commons, 921*l.*; Moses Barnett, Gatekeeper at the Ordnance Yard, 9*l.*; Ward Ramsay, Messenger to the Ordnance Board, 9*l.*; Charles Croker, Assistant Clerk of Check, Ordnance, 48*l.*; H. Maryon, King's Messenger, 64*l.*; George Grierson, King's Printer, 900*l.*; Thomas Watson, Master Cutler to Board of Ordnance, 28*l.*; Robert M'Farland, Gatekeeper Ordnance Stores, 56*l.*; Gawin Lane, Crier in Court of Chancery, 144*l.*; Richard Nash, Clerk in the Rolls Office, 35*l.*

For the Paymaster of Civil Services,

Paymaster of Civil Services Office,
Dublin Castle, 8th Aug. 1842.

A. CHALMERS.

[Almost the whole of these pensioners are now dead.—R. M. M.]

The practicability of DRAINING a large part of the BOGS OF IRELAND has long occupied the public mind; the following Table, which is prepared from official data, will show the extent and depth of the several bogs—the names of the proprietors to whom they belong—and the estimated cost of drainage. There can be no doubt that great benefit would ensue by a reclamation of those bogs.

Extracts from the Reports of the Commissioners appointed 15th Sept. 1809, to inquire into the them. ⁽¹⁾ Submitted to the Society for the

Districts.	Counties.	Extent in English Acres.	Cost of Drainage.	Elevation above the Sea at low water.	
				Greatest height.	Low height.
				Feet.	Feet.
Eastern part of Bog of Allen.	Kildare.	36,430	£77,017 19 8	312	228
Western part of Bog of Allen, called District of the Barrow	King's and Queen's Co.	41,075	66,978 8 8	329	203
District of the Boyne	Meath and Westmeath.	42,370	75,065 6 7	350	232
— of the Brusna	King's Co.	44,594	87,233 13 8	324	125
— of the Shannon	{ Westmeath, Longford, and King's Co.	34,500	63,435 7 1½	288	128
— of the Inny, and Lough Ree	Longford and Westmeath ⁽²⁾	34,569	17,284 10 0	268	191
— of Lough Gara	Roscommon, Sligo, Mayo ⁽³⁾	83,689	99,350 7 9	⁽⁵⁾ 415	204
— between Roscrea and Killynaule	Tipperary, Kilkenny, and Queen's Co.	36,025	58,647 17 1	488	340
— westward of Marburyborough	Queen's Co.	14,754	17,215 2 0	418	282
— of western extremity of Co. Clare	Clare.	22,340	31,728 12 6	130	64
— of Banks of the Barrow	Kildare and King's Co. ⁽⁴⁾	7,459	19,824 3 0	257	227
— of Lough Corrib	Galway and Mayo	83,724	117,982 0 0	326	46
Three Districts	Mayo and Sligo.	161,962	184,928 10 2	488	54
Dist. surrounding Lough Neagh, and extending to the River Bann	Antrim, Down, Tyrone, Armagh and Londonderry	64,855	51,884 0 0	200	93
District of Iveragh	Kerry.	43,567	18,208 11 11	250	75
— of Kenmare river	Kerry.	14,605	13,488 8 10	300	200
— of Laune and Lower Maine	Kerry.	17,990	19,855 7 9	160	25
— of Upper Maine	Kerry.	8,566	7,014 17 9	200	38
— of Slieve Laugarh	Kerry and Cork.	32,902	19,405 8 10	700	250
— of river Cashen	Kerry (northern part of)	31,514	29,937 19 4	110	35
— of Lough Ree	{ Longford, Leitrim, and Roscommon	26,630	13,315 0 0	229	144
— of southern extremity of river Suck	Galway and Roscommon	76,848	98,318 12 10	284	126
— of northern extremity of river Suck	Galway and Roscommon	52,390	59,708 2 0	300	150
Mountain Bogs and Bogs less than 500 acres, not included in the Reports	Kerry, Sligo, Galway, and Wicklow, &c.	1,013,358 1,816,642 2,830,000	£1,277,828 7 5½		

(1) This Commission cost 37,721*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.*, exclusive of the expense of Printing and Engraving Maps and Reports.—(2) Mr. Edgeworth estimates the cost of Drainage at 10*s.* per acre, and the cost of Reclamation at 8*l.* 15*s.* per acre; the entire expenditure, in order to reclaim the District of the Inny and Lough Ree, would be 181,619*l.*—(3) Engineer's Report, 492,77*a.* 1*r.* 23*p.*—(4) To this should be added the difference between the height of the Shannon at Carrick and Shannon Bridge.—(5) Engineer's Report, 4,577*a.* 2*r.* 24*p.*

NOTE.—One-fourth of the entire superficial extent of Ireland, included between a line drawn from Wicklow Head to Galway, and another line drawn from Howth Head to Sligo, comprises within it about six-sevenths of the Bogs of the Island, exclusive of mere mountain Bogs, and Bogs of less than 500 acres. This division of the Island from East to West is traversed by the Shannon from North to South; and were the Bogs to be divided into twenty parts, seventeen of them would be found between these lines, twelve parts west and five east of the non: of the remaining three parts, two are to the south and one to the north of this division.

Nature and extent of the Bogs of Ireland, and the practicability of Draining and Cultivating Improvement of Ireland, by P. J. HARTK, Esq.

Greatest depth. ft.	Average depth. Feet.	Rivers and Lakes into which it is proposed to drain the Bogs.	Names of principal Proprietors.	Engineers who surveyed.
41	22 to 25	Feagile and other Streams that fall into the Barrow	The Duke of Leinster, Marquess of Downshire, Lords Courtown and Downes, Trinity College, Wm. Murphy, Esq. &c.	R. Griffith, Esq.
41	22 to 25	Do. do.	Marquess of Downshire, Lords Charleville, Digby, Rosse, Ashtown, Galway, Portarlington, Rossmore, &c.	Do.
40	22 to 25	Streams which discharge into the Boyne.	Lords Longford, Darnley, Kilmaine, Belvidere, Charleville, Lanesboro', &c. &c.	J. A. Jones, Esq.
45	22 to 25	Do. do. into the Brusna.	Lords Charleville, Digby, Mountrath, Farnham, Rosse, J. O'Brien, Esq. &c.	J. Longfield, Esq.
44	30	Blackwater, Brusna, and Shannon.	Percy Magan, Ambrose Cox, Esqrs. &c.	T. Townshend, Esq.
47	30 to 35	Camlin and Inny.	Duke of Buckingham, Lord Darnley, &c.	R. L. Edgeworth, Esq.
45	20 to 30	Streams which discharge into Lough Gara.	Lord Dillon, Arth. French, Esq., O'Connor Don, &c.	J. Longfield, Esq.
33	16 to 20	Streams which discharge into the Nore and Suir.	Lords Kilkenny, Norbury, Portarlington, Upper Ossory, Carrick, Llandaff, Courtown, Ashbrook, &c.	David Agher, Esq.
35	18 to 20	Streams which discharge into the Nore and Barrow	Lords Maryboro', De Vesci, Norbury, Sir C. Coote, &c.	Do.
35	15 to 20	Dunbeg, &c.	Marquess Conyngham, Earl Milltown, Honbles. O.Vandeleur, and Col. Burton.	T. Cockburn, Esq.
36	20	Barrow.	Duke of Leinster, Marquess of Drogheda, Dean of St. Patrick's, &c.	Rd. Brassington, Esq.
45	15 to 20	Streams which discharge into Lough Corrib.	Lords Louth, Clanmorris, Abp. Tuam, Messrs. Daly, Blake, Browne, Kirwan.	J. A. Jones, Esq.
42	8 to 16	Lough Mask, Lough Conn, and Clew Bay.	Marquess of Sligo, Lords Lucan, Cremorne, Sir Samuel O'Malley, &c.	W. Bald, Esq.
		Blackwater, Bann, and Lough Neagh.		T. Townshend, Esq.
25	5 to 12	Cashen, &c.	Marquess of Lansdown, Lord Headly, Daniel O'Connell, Esq. &c.	A. Nimmo, Esq.
20	20	Blackwater, &c.	Mr. Bland, &c.	Do.
20	6	Lakes of Killarney.	Lords Kenmare, Ventry, Headly, Mr. Blenerhasset, &c.	Do.
22	10 to 15	Gheestan and Laune.	Lord Kenmare, Col. Crosbie, Mr. Herbert.	Do.
32	6 to 12	Blackwater, Coolraa, &c.	Messrs. Herbert, Cronin, &c.	Do.
32	12 to 20	Cashen.	Lord Ennismore, &c.	Do.
43	20 to 30	Shannon.	Lords Leitrim, Longford, Belmore, Grandard, &c.	R. L. Edgeworth, Esq.
30	20 to 25	Loughs Corrib, Mask, Gara, and river Suck.	Lords Clancarty, Clonbrock, Kilmaine, French, see of Clonfert, M.D. Bellew, Esq.	R. Griffith, Esq.
20	15	Suck.	Lords Hartland, Mount Sandford, M. D. Bellew, Esq. M. D.	Do.

HEIGHTS OF THE PRINCIPAL RIVERS AND LAKES ABOVE THE SEA AT LOW WATER; IN ORDER TO SHOW THE FALL FROM THE BOGS TO THE DRAIN.

	ft.	in.		ft.	in.		ft.	in.
The Shannon at Shannon	114	4	The Suir	—		Lough Innell	262	4
Harbour			The Nore	—		Lake of Killarney	40	0
Do. at Tarmonbarry	120	10	Lough Allen	160	3	Lough Mask	48	0
The Barrow at Monasteraven	208	4	Lough Neagh	40	0	Lough Con	30	0
Do. at Athy	188	1	Lough Foyle	—		Lough Gara	—	0
The Boyne at Edenderry	241	7	Lough Corrib	16	0	Lough Ree	—	0
The Brusna at Ferbane	153	7	Lough Erne	140	0	Lough Owel	—	0
The Suck at Ballinasloe	116	0						

With reference to the STATE OF CRIME in IRELAND, the following is a RETURN of OUTRAGES specially reported to the CONSTABULARY OFFICE during each of the Years 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, and 1842. It is satisfactory to perceive that Crime in general has not increased, and that, in several important descriptions, it has diminished.

Years	OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON.															OFFENCES AGAINST PROPERTY.															Total.						
	Homicide.*	Firing at the Person.	Conspiracy to Murder.	Assault with intent to Murder.	Administering Poison.	Rape.	Assault, with intent to commit a Rape.	Infanticide.	Abduction.	Assault on Police.	Aggravated Assault.	Assault endangering Life.	Assault, with intent to Rob.	Assault on Bailiffs or Process Servers.	Cutting or Maiming the Person.	Desecration of Children.	Assault on a Magistrate.	Manslaughter.	Concealing Birth.	Assault.	Incendary Fire.	Burglary.	Attempt at Burglary.	Housebreaking.	Highway Robbery.	Robbery.	Robbery of Ammunition.	Attempt at Robbery.	Taking and holding forcible Possession.	Cattle Stealing.		Illegal Shearing of Sheep.	Killing, Cutting, or Maiming Cattle.	Plundering Wrecks.	Sacrilege.	Robbery of Mail.	Injury of Property.	Embezzlement.
1837	23091	..	5	1	81	20	84	16	91	924	..	8	26	12	38	1	..	..	..	..	453	158	..	..	..	725	..	22	321	133	393	2	36	3	617	..	4,480
1838	24748	3	5	3	93	25	66	24	89	658	154	10	19	17	11	2	..	..	..	..	459	120	..	..	97	299	..	22	273	108	298	..	31	3	311	..	3,495
1839	19056	3	4	4	87	41	108	17	96	486	300	6	9	27	16	..	..	..	..	..	413	136	..	..	97	277	..	19	293	109	433	2	25	..	280	..	3,535
1840	12542	5	7	3	76	25	104	25	49	364	194	11	6	21	29	..	..	..	..	..	420	175	..	..	99	350	..	5	528	121	282	..	13	1	255	..	3,335
1841	10566	2	5	2	107	35	104	22	58	542	221	10	3	35	64	..	2	14	19	390	186	3	7	77	257	1	5	611	84	213	..	12	..	317	1	3,598	
1842	10674	4	3	2	104	44	127	14	54	420	249	8	4	17	142	..	..	..	..	501	415	..	..	105	332	..	3	16	1091	105	268	..	52	1	304	..	3,604

* Homicide by Maniacs not included.

Years	OFFENCES AGAINST THE PUBLIC PEACE.																								OTHER OFFENCES.				Total.						
	Demand or Robbery of Arms.	Attempt at Robbery of Arms.	Appearing Armed.	Faction Fight.	Party Fight.	Riot.	Administering Unlawful Oaths.	Threatening Notices or Letters.	Pound Breach.	Turning up Land.	Attacking Houses.	Rescuing Prisoners.	Resistance to Legal Process.	Illegal Meetings or Processions.	Levelling.	Attempt at Levelling.	Rescue of Property.	Attempt at Rescue of Property.	Resisting the Police.	Firing into Dwellings.	Injury to Places of Worship.	Duels.	Attack on Police Barrack.	Whiteboy Offences.	Party Demonstrations.	Combination.	Coining.	Prison Breaking; and Aiding the Escape of Prisoners.		Forgery; or Passing Forged Notes.	Uttering Base Coin.	Threatening Notices on one occasion.	Conspiracy to Commit a Felony.	Bigamy.	
1837	246	110	18	..	157	69	685	33	17	606	34	60	68	78	..	38	..	..	..	21	19	3	3	6	..	..	2	3	..	7	1	..	..	..	6,775
1838	179	..	46	14	..	121	53	417	20	8	330	20	47	81	48	..	6	..	23	22	..	..	1	..	..	8	1	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	4,945
1839	180	..	57	20	..	85	65	513	22	12	280	10	41	65	55	..	7	..	65	12	..	..	..	..	..	5	2	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,039
1840	177	..	41	4	..	58	49	453	21	9	229	4	41	21	46	..	13	..	68	7	..	2	2	..	..	7	3	11	2	..	23	..	..	..	4,626
1841	111	2	66	8	2	113	60	752	15	4	295	..	37	75	54	1	17	1	2	71	11	..	..	..	18	25	1	9	3	2	..	1	1	..	5,361
1842	158	2	55	8	3	78	51	825	26	7	337	5	71	46	47	..	30	..	1	99	12	..	..	..	22	10	4	7	8	..	..	..	..	..	6,535

N.B.—The total number of Criminals returned by the Clerks of the *Crown and Peace* in 1842, was 21,186. Of these there could read and write, males, 4,926 ; females, 625. Could read only, males, 2,212 ; females, 1,074. Could neither read nor write, males, 4,306 ; females, 2695. Instruction could not be ascertained, males, 4,343 ; females, 1,014.

According to the Official Report of the Inspectors-General of Prisons, &c. Ireland, in 1843, the following Table shows the number of PRISONERS confined in the Gaols of Ireland, on the 31st December, 1842.

GAOLS.	No. of Debtors.		No. of Male Criminals.		No. of Female Criminals.		No. of Prisoners Sick in Hospital.	No. of Lunatics.	
	Male.	Female.	Tried.	Untried.	Tried.	Untried.		Male.	Female.
Antrim	31	2	24	52	13	37	11	—	—
Armagh	41	4	48	18	20	5	5	—	—
Belfast	—	—	41	—	26	—	—	—	—
Carlow	8	5	27	8	16	3	1	1	1
Cavan	40	1	40	23	8	12	3	5	2
Clare	50	7	36	21	6	4	4	3	2
Cork, { County	23	2	109	17	26	12	7	—	—
{ City	20	2	27	8	22	6	5	—	—
Donegal	7	1	62	8	8	2	3	3	—
Down	51	7	58	17	30	12	6	2	1
Dublin	21	1	45	30	24	15	7	1	1
Newgate	—	—	—	74	—	60	20	9	2
Four Courts' Marshalsea, }	36	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Grangegorman Penitentiary, }	—	—	—	—	190	—	10	—	28
Richmond Bridewell	—	—	207	1	—	—	15	21	—
Fermanagh	45	4	33	7	14	8	12	5	3
Galway, { County	30	5	80	16	14	15	12	—	—
{ Town	8	—	12	8	6	6	—	—	—
Kerry	22	3	66	12	10	8	4	2	3
Kildare, { Naas	2	1	23	17	11	5	4	3	—
{ Athy	4	1	11	—	4	—	—	1	—
Kilkenny, { County	20	6	31	12	15	7	1	7	2
{ City	7	—	9	10	1	7	—	—	—
King's County	4	2	64	34	23	16	4	4	1
Leitrim	40	2	47	16	19	6	5	1	3
Limerick, { County	14	—	55	52	17	6	7	3	5
{ City	9	—	11	16	8	10	4	1	—
Londonderry	13	3	49	13	16	6	4	—	—
Longford	21	2	50	14	12	11	4	5	2
Louth	10	3	30	8	9	9	5	2	1
Drogheda	6	—	8	3	3	2	—	1	1
Mayo	45	1	105	17	22	12	6	2	3
Meath	5	2	22	8	4	2	2	7	8
Monaghan	54	5	40	9	18	7	13	3	1
Queen's County	24	5	44	24	12	17	4	2	1
Roscommon	24	1	49	30	26	10	9	2	3
Sligo	11	2	40	9	6	1	8	2	1
Tipperary, { Nenagh, Clonmel	24	2	109	35	28	26	15	5	—
Tyrone	33	4	51	14	13	4	22	11	5
Waterford, { County	2	2	39	8	13	7	3	—	—
{ City	6	—	16	2	3	—	—	—	—
Westmeath	18	3	39	16	12	8	3	2	1
Wexford	14	—	30	9	13	10	3	6	2
Wicklow	9	—	25	10	24	3	—	4	2
Total	852	94	1,812	606	766	397	251	126	85

**ABSTRACT of a RETURN of the TOTAL Number of PARLIAMENTARY ELECTORS
Registered for COUNTIES, CITIES, and BOROUGHs in IRELAND, on the
1st day of February in each of the Years 1835 and 1843.**

COUNTIES.	£50 Lease- holders	£50 Free- holders	£20 Free- holders	£20 Lease- holders	£10 Free- holders	£10 Lease- holders	Rent- charg- ers.	Total.
Total Number Registered to 1st of February, 1835 . . .	11,150	2	7,054	1,034	44,575	4,495	738	69,048
Total Number Registered from 1st of February, 1835, to 1st of February, 1843, inclusive . . .	12,823	2	5,426	1,534	37,252	5,087	1,625	63,389

NUMBER and QUALIFICATION of Parliamentary Electors.

CITIES.	£50 Free- holders	£20 Free- holders	£20 Lease- holders	£10 Free- holders	£10 Lease- holders	40s. Free- holders	£10 House- holders	Rent- chargers.	Freemen.	Other Corporate Right (if any).	Total.
Total Number Registered to 1st of February, 1835 . . .	759	772	367	214	1,087	1,502	8,290	33	4,525	—	17,549
Total Number Registered from 1st of February, 1835, to 1st of February, 1843, inclusive . . .	1,314	615	1 117	264	1,798	408	14,335	54	7,186	—	27,091

NUMBER and QUALIFICATION of Parliamentary Electors.

BOROUGHs.	Free- holders	Lease- holders	Householders.		Rent- chargers.	Freemen.	Other Corporate Rights (if any).	Total.
			£10	£5				
Total Number Registered to 1st of February, 1835 . . .	1,624	14	10,867	923	4	2,817	25	16,274
Total Number registered from 1st of February, 1835, to 1st of February, 1843, inclusive . . .	633	26	16,437	240	7	2,066	56	19,465

SUMMARY.

Total number of Parliamentary Electors, of all descriptions of qualification, registered for counties, cities, and boroughs in Ireland, to the 1st of February, 1835 . . .	102,871
Total number registered from 1st of Feb., 1835 to 1st Feb., 1843 . . .	109,945
Increase . . .	7,074
Total number of Parliamentary Electors, of all descriptions of qualification, registered for counties, cities, and boroughs in Ireland, to the 1st of February, 1837 . . .	124,277
Total number registered from 1st of Feb., 1835 to 1st of Feb., 1843 . . .	109,945
Decrease . . .	14,332

EXPENSE OF POOR LAW UNIONS IN IRELAND.

NAME of UNION.	DATE of first Admission of Paupers.	Number of Paupers Re- ceived in each Workhouse Half-year, 25 March, 1842.	TOTAL EXPENDITURE Repayments of Workhouse Loan, &c. &c.	NAME of UNION.	DATE of first Admission of Paupers.	Number of Paupers Re- ceived in each Workhouse Half-year, 25 March, 1842.	TOTAL EXPENDITURE Repayments of Workhouse Loan, &c. &c.
Abbeyleix	6 June 1842	693	3,254	Gortin	19 Feb. 1842	183	1,275
Ardee	13 May 1842	479	2,342	Kells	23 May 1842	496	2,834
Arranagh	4 Jan. 1842	786	4,658	Kilkeel	1 Sept. 1841	141	1,915
Athlone	22 Nov. 1841	-	3,766	Kilkenny	21 April 1842	1,446	7,033
Ballieborough	20 June 1842	696	3,143	Kilmallock	29 Mar. 1841	-	5,128
Ballinasloe	1 Jan. 1842	676	5,359	Kinsale	4 Dec. 1841	309	2,745
Ballinrobe	26 May 1842	264	2,639	Larne	4 Jan. 1843	159	874
Ballycastle	3 Jan. 1843	78	826	Limerick	20 May 1841	-	9,145
Balrothery	15 Mar. 1841	-	2,027	Lisburn	11 Feb. 1841	745	8,212
Baltinglass	28 Oct. 1841	-	3,551	Lismore	18 May 1842	198	1,872
Banbridge	22 June 1841	468	4,980	Londonderry	10 Nov. 1840	553	7,905
Bandon	17 Nov. 1841	493	4,809	Longford	24 Mar. 1842	677	4,385
Belfast	11 May 1841	1,470	10,572	Loughrea	25 Feb. 1842	-	2,292
Boyle	31 Dec. 1841	-	2,172	Lurgan	22 Feb. 1841	520	6,620
Callan	25 Mar. 1842	-	1,212	Magherafelt	11 Mar. 1842	439	2,720
Carrick-on-Shannon	21 July 1842	-	1,461	Mallow	2 Aug. 1842	356	1,736
Carrick-on-Suir	8 July 1842	-	1,250	Midleton	21 Aug. 1841	-	3,682
Cashel	28 Jan. 1842	-	3,157	Mohill	8 June 1842	-	1,245
Castleblaney	15 Dec. 1842	248	1,299	Monaghan	25 May 1842	347	2,574
Castlederg	2 Mar. 1841	146	2,243	Mullingar	8 Dec. 1842	448	2,320
Cavan	17 June 1842	1,088	3,776	Navan	4 May 1842	406	1,240
Cellbridge	9 June 1841	293	3,554	Nenagh	28 April 1842	-	3,605
Clogheen	29 June 1842	432	2,546	Newcastle	15 Mar. 1841	472	6,549
Clonmel	1 Jan. 1841	535	7,862	Newry	16 Dec. 1841	788	4,342
Coleraine	19 April 1842	506	2,771	Newtownards	4 Jan. 1842	399	3,146
Cookstown	31 May 1842	366	2,138	Newtown-Linavady	15 Mar. 1842	237	2,374
Cootehill	2 Dec. 1842	748	1,722	Omagh	24 Aug. 1841	614	5,038
Cork	1 Mar. 1840	3,868	37,547	Parsonstown	2 April 1842	618	3,812
Downpatrick	17 Sept. 1842	628	1,927	Rathdown	12 Oct. 1841	-	2,121
Drogheda	16 Dec. 1841	764	4,569	Rathkeale	26 July 1841	418	5,489
Dublin, North	4 May 1840	-	28,892	Roscrea	7 May 1842	631	1,117
Dublin, South	24 April 1840	-	32,597	Scariff	11 May 1842	-	2,147
Dungannon	23 June 1842	422	1,998	Shillelagh	18 Feb. 1842	-	2,610
Dungarvan	-	-	489	Shillbreen	19 Mar. 1842	400	3,651
Dunbarney	2 Oct. 1841	224	1,903	Sligo	17 Dec. 1841	-	3,634
Dunshaughlin	17 May 1841	502	4,305	Strabane	18 Nov. 1841	518	4,180
Edenderry	19 Mar. 1842	-	1,900	Thurles	7 Nov. 1842	364	994
Ennis	15 Dec. 1841	770	5,196	Tipperary	3 July 1841	864	8,057
Fermoy	6 July 1841	865	7,209	Trim	11 Oct. 1841	347	3,801
Galway	2 Mar. 1842	351	3,544	Tullamore	9 June 1842	-	2,048
Gorey	22 Jan. 1842	-	906				
Gort	11 Dec. 1841	228	2,476				
				TOTAL	- - -	63,150	371,812

THE END.







DATE DUE

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